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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL REC'D.

OCTOBER, 1867.

ST. PETER'S CENTENARY AND ITS TEACHING.

THE name of St. Peter hallowed the latest pages of the volume just closed by the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and with the name of St. Peter we desire to consecrate the earliest pages of the new volume which it this day commences. To crown our labours of the past year we gathered together, as in a garland, the choicest of the devotional flowers which Catholic love had caused to bloom around St. Peter's shrine on the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of the Prince of the Apostles. Like the flowers of which Wisdom said: *flores mei fructus*,¹ those flowers did not bloom idly, but ripened into fruits—fruits, which are for the healing of the nations. Such fruits are stored in the lessons which the Centenary teaches to all who care to listen to its teaching. For our part we count it a boon to be allowed to take our place among those who would learn, and we wish to register here, in front of our fourth volume, that it may guide us in our labours, what we have been taught by the solemn festival lately celebrated at Rome.

Loye for the Holy See is the first and most striking lesson that celebration has brought home to us. What power was it which drew together, in spite of inconveniences of all kinds, from every

¹ *Eccl., xxiv. 28.*

part of the earth's surface, one half of all the bishops of the world, so many thousand priests, so many hundreds of thousands of the faithful? One word from the Holy Father; a word not of command, but of request; hardly even a request, but rather the bare expression of a wish. The voice of the Vicar of Christ, therefore, finds its way straight to the heart of every Catholic in the world; and each and every individual of that almost countless throng of pilgrims has borne witness to the fact, that the Chair of St. Peter is the object of the reverence, the veneration, and the love of all Catholics.

And what motives led the Pope to issue his invitation, and made Catholics so docile to his wishes? The bishops were invited to Rome to celebrate the centenary of St. Peter, and to assist at the canonization of new Saints. But for these events, the invitation would not have been issued. Every one, therefore, of those who went to Rome, went there to venerate the shrine of the Apostle and the altars of the new Saints, and thus again, each of them testified that in the heart of a Catholic the love of Holiness is akin to the love of Unity; that, as the Church is One and Holy, so, the more tenderly we love the centre of Unity, the more closely do we bind ourselves to the source of Sanctity. Love for the purity of Catholic Holiness is therefore another of the lessons the Centenary would teach us. In the midst of the abominations of a wicked world, where heresy has perverted the moral sense of men, let us remember that we are children of the saints, and let us lift up our eyes to the glorious examples of heroic virtue that glow with heavenly brightness upon the altars of the Catholic Church.

And how did the pilgrim band spend the days of their visit to the shrines of the Apostles? In prayer: now before the golden confession of St. Peter, and now down in the dark caverns of the catacombs. How many Masses were said, how many graces received, how many vows paid, how many blessings—*de rore coeli et de pinguedine terrae*—asked for and obtained for nations beyond the seas, for outlying dioceses, for dear ones far away?

And as at Rome they offered to God the incense of prayer, so

to succour the poverty of His Vicar on earth did they bring their presents of gold. While so many hands were busy in plundering the Holy Father, his children's hands were more busy in sustaining him in his battle for the liberty of the Church. Besides this, they failed not in their addresses and acclamations, to give out-spoken utterance to their love for the Church and the Pope, to their sympathy with the Holy Father in his sufferings, and to their honest indignation against his brutal foes. And thereby they have taught us that the arms of our present warfare on behalf of the Church are Prayer, Alms, and Christian freedom of speech.

These are the glorious lessons which the Centenary has taught us, and with these to animate us, we recommence our humble labours. May it be our happy lot to contribute in these pages even in a slight degree, to lead others to fight for Catholic Unity and Sanctity by Prayer, by Alms, and by Christian freedom of speech!

JOHN KITE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH (1513-1521).

1.—*His early life.*

THE records that have come down to us concerning the episcopal life of John Kite, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland (1513-1521), are unfortunately meagre and scanty in the extreme. On the other hand, the information we possess of the part sustained by him as a statesman, at a period when considerable agitation prevailed in European politics, is copious and interesting in an unusual degree. This will serve to explain to the reader why, in our sketch of this distinguished man, we appear to exhibit the diplomatist rather than the pastor of souls. For our own part, we should undoubtedly have preferred in these pages to describe the sacerdotal side of his life; but in default of fitting materials for this, we are loth to neglect any fragment of history which may serve, were it only by its contrasted colours, to bring out in stronger relief one of the episcopal figures whose biographies mainly constitute the history of the Irish Church. Besides this source of interest, the life of Archbishop Kite is the history of one of those remarkable men who adorned the court of Henry the Eighth in the earlier and better

years of that monarch's reign. He had much intercourse not only with the king himself, but with Cardinal Wolsey, whose confidence he enjoyed, with Charles the Fifth and his statesmen, and he was brought into close contact with O'Neill in Ireland, and with the Duke of Albany in Scotland. Hence it happens that his biography brings vividly before us many of the leading men of the eventful sixteenth century, who by their good or evil deeds have created an interest in their own history which has not yet abated.

John Kitte, Kite, Kete, or Keyte (for the name is variously written), was born in London, and probably at Westminster. He was educated at Eton, and as his epitaph tells us, was one of the boys of Edward the Fourth's chapel. He continued in this position also under Henry the Seventh. From Eton he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, in 1480.¹ On being ordained priest, he became rector of Harlington, Middlesex, which benefice he resigned in 1510, when he obtained the prebend of Stratton in Sarum, and afterwards a prebend in Exeter. In 1510 he is mentioned in the State papers as chaplain to the king, and sub-dean of the Chapel Royal. A grant was issued to him under the privy seal, by which he was to receive the pension which the last elected prior of the monastery of St. Andrew, Northampton, was bound to give to a clerk of the nomination of the late king Henry the Seventh, who died without naming a clerk. This was not an unusual way of providing for ecclesiastics of merit. The prior of St. Frideswide's, at Oxford, was bound to pay a similar pension to Reginald Pole, then a student in the university of Oxford, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. The pension to be paid to John Kite was to be held by him until the prior should promote him to a competent benefice. Such a benefice was not long in coming. On 22nd September, 1510, he was presented to the church of Weye, or Weyhill, in the diocese of Winchester. He still continued to hold the office of sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, probably through favour of Cardinal Wolsey, who was ever his firm friend.

It has been well said that the reign of Henry the Eighth was "a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground". That period of the reign which corresponds with Archbishop Kite's employments at court, was the lightsome ground, across which the violent passions and brutal crimes which afterwards dishonoured the king, had not as yet flung a single shadow. With our knowledge of what he became at a later period we find it difficult to imagine what Henry the Eighth really was for some years after his accession to the crown. Giustiniani, the Venetian

¹ Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrig.*, p. 62.

ambassador, in a secret paper addressed to the Signoria, thus describes him :

" His majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom ; a great deal handsomer than the king of France ; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. He is very accomplished ; a good musician ; composes well ; is a most capital horseman ; a fine joustier ; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish ; is very religious ; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the Queen's chamber ; that is to say, vespers and compline".¹

His good Queen Catherine believed that the victory at Flodden and the capture of Terouenne " is all owing to the king's piety". Some curious details of his religious life are preserved in the " King's Book of payments ", which, as they concern the Chapel Royal during the term of Dr. Kite's superintendence, may with some propriety be inserted here. On each Sunday and saint's day there is mention of the king's offering at Mass. The children who sang the *Gloria in Excelsis* on Christmas Day received forty shillings from the royal bounty. Two Masses daily were ordered by the king to be said by the Friars Observants of Greenwich, and the same by the Friars Observants of Canterbury, of Southampton, and of Newcastle. Dr. Fisher receives one hundred pounds on bringing to the king the hallowed rose from the Pope. On Christmas and Easter mornings the king's " howselling " (i.e. communion) is marked by a special offering. The king's candle for Candlemas, his offerings at requiem masses, his visits to Westminster to gain the " pardon " there, the hallowing of the king's great ship, called *The Henry Grace a Dewe*, his alms to twenty-five priests for singing twenty-five masses before our Lady of Peace on All Souls Day, are all severally recorded as things of course. In a word, the life led by Henry the Eighth at that time, was the life of a truly Catholic and great king. Erasmus², in a letter to Paulus Bombasius, describes his court as a centre of letters and learning. Much as he dislikes courts, he would be glad, he says, were he young again, to return to England. He speaks highly of Henry's favours to learning. Katherine is not only a miracle of learning, but is not less pious than learned. Thomas Linacre is the king's physician ; Tunstal, Master of the Rolls (*a scriniis*) ; More, privy councillor ; Pace (*huic pene germanus*), secretary ; Colet, preacher ; Stokesley, who is well versed in the schoolmen and intimately acquainted with three languages, confessor (*a sacris*). It is a museum more than a court. The Venetian ambassador

¹ *Giust. Desp.*, ii. 812.

² No. 4840, 26th July, 1518.

above quoted, has left a vivid description¹ of Henry's appearance at a reception held in the palace. Giustiniani describes how he and his companions, after having pressed through three hundred halberdiers of the body guard, all as big as giants, came into the presence of the king, whom they found standing under a canopy of cloth of gold, leaning against his gilt throne, on which lay a gold brocade cushion, with the gold sword of state. "He wore a cap of crimson velvet, and the brim was looped up all round with laces and gold enamelled tags. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards. Very close round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a rough cut diamond, the size of the largest walnut I ever saw, and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl. His mantle was of purple, lined with white satin, the sleeves open, with a train more than four Venetian yards long. This mantle was girt in front like a gown, with a thick gold cord, from which there hung large golden acorns like those suspended from a cardinal's hat; over this mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendant St. George entirely of diamonds. His fingers were one mass of jewelled rings".

The love of splendour which distinguished the king was shown forth especially in the festivities which were held from time to time at the principal solemnities of the year, and in these the future primate, in his capacity of sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, had a considerable share. It is remarkable that the earliest mention of his nomination to the see of Armagh is to be found in the account of the festivities held in February, 1511, drawn up in 1513 by Richard Gibson at the king's command. The pageant prepared was called "The Golden Arbour in the orchard of Plesyer". The arbour was "set with wreathed pillars of shining purple, covered with fine gold, and upon them a vine of silver bearing grapes of gold; the benches of this arbour set and wrought with flowers, as roses, lilies, marigolds, primroses, cowslips, and such other; and the orchard set with orange trees, pomegranate trees, apple trees, pear trees, olive trees; and within this arbour were sitting twelve lords and ladies, and without on the side were eight minstrels with strange instruments, and before on the steps stood divers persons disguised as master, sub-dean, and others; and on the top, the children of the chapel singing". Among the persons who took part in the pageant were the King, Sir Thomas Knevett, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Wiltshire, and "*Mr. Subdean, now my Lord of Armapkan*".²

¹ *Desp.*, ii. 312.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1496.

2.—*Goes to Ireland as Primate.*

Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh, died in June, 1513, after a reign of thirty-three years and three months. Before the close of the year 1513, Pope Leo the Tenth by provision, appointed John Kite to succeed him. We have no information touching the place of the new Primate's consecration, or the prelates who consecrated him. He reached his diocese early in 1514, and we learn from a letter dated June 7th, 1514, written by him from Termonfeckin to Wolsey, then bishop of Lincoln, some particulars of his journey.¹ He sailed in a bark belonging to Chester, and when his vessel was approaching the Irish coast it was attacked by two pirate men-of-war, whom he styles "Bryttanes". With these dangerous foes the crew of his ship had "a sore fight". The town of Drogheda manned two ships and went out to assist against the pirates. One of the pirates was taken, and with it a merchantman laden with salt which had probably been seized by the freebooters. On his arrival in his diocese he found the country ravaged by disease. The political and social condition of the people, also, was unsatisfactory in the extreme. From Termonfeckin, where he took up his residence, he wrote to Wolsey on May 14th, to represent to him the situation of affairs. The English Pale is described in a valuable state paper² written in 1515, as stretching "from the town of Dundalk to the town of Darver, to the town of Ardee, always on the left side, leaving the marche on the right side, and so to the town of Sydan, to the town of Kells, to the town of Dangan, to Kilcock, to the town of Clane, to the town of Naas, to the bridge of Kilcullen, to the town of Ballymote, and so backward to the town of Rathmore, and to the town of Rathcoole, to the town of Tallaght, and to the town of Dalkey, leaving always the merche on the right hande from the said Dundalk, following the said course to the said town of Dalkey". Dr. Kite found the whole of this tract of country in a most perilous condition, and the inhabitants in great alarm. He assured them that the king would come before long to reform the state, and he observed in his letter to Wolsey, that the king was as much bound to reform abuses in Ireland as he was to maintain good order and justice in England. In the *Carew Papers*, lately published, we find a letter addressed by Dr. Kite in 1520 to the O'Neill. It is in Latin, and begins as follows: "*John by the grace of God, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, to the most illustrious O'Neill, Prince of Ulster and of his nation, greeting.*"

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland (1509-1513)*, page 1.

² *State of Ireland and plan for its Reformation. State Papers Ireland, Henry the Eighth*, vol. i. p. 1.

The writer then tells O'Neill that his safety depends on the king, and he should therefore show him all observance. He should cultivate a mind worthy of his abilities and his character, and no longer take delight in wild and barbarous manners, and be unacquainted with the comforts of life. It would be much better to live in a civilized fashion than to seek a living by arms and rapine, and to have no thought beyond pleasure and the belly. "I therefore beseech you to consider how many evils and perils you will be exposed to if you make the king your enemy, and on the other hand how happy you will be if you gain his favour".

This letter does not appear to have produced much effect upon the warlike O'Neills.

3.—Returns to England by command of Henry the Eighth.

However, the Primate was not allowed to remain long in his diocese, having been summoned to England by special mandate from the king. The writ of protection for himself and his see during his absence, and the license to be absent for an indefinite period, with authority to receive in the mean time all the profits of his diocese, are dated 20th September, 1616.¹ But at that date he had already been in London almost for an entire year; for we find his name among those who were present at the ceremonial upon Wolsey's receiving the cardinal's hat, Thursday, 15th November, 1515.

The various documents relating to Cardinal Wolsey contained in the volumes of state papers from which we have mainly derived the materials for this sketch, contribute to place the character and history of that eminent man in a more favourable light than the popular histories would allow. At the period of Dr. Kite's return to London, Wolsey was at the height of his power. Erasmus, writing to Cardinal Grimani, says of him, "He is omnipotent". "All the power of the state is centred in him", observed Giustiniani; "he is in fact *ipse rex*". "He is about forty-six years old", writes Giustiniani to his government in 1619, "very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the civil magistrates, officers, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs are managed by him, let their nature be what it may. He is pensive, and has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all paupers. He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope".² Even his bitter foe, Poly-

¹ *Rymer*, tom. xlii, p. 554.

² *Desp.*, ii, 314.

dore Vergil, admits that he was a good theologian (*divinis litteris non indoctus*), and informs us that he was a Thomist, and that he induced the king to study the works of Aquinas. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, in giving a reason for his own absence from the council, makes an incidental allusion, which tells that Wolsey was not insensible to the responsibility of the episcopal charge; he describes how his own mind "is troubled night and day with other men's iniquities more than he could write, of which feeling Wolsey told him he had some knowledge when he was bishop of Lincoln".

The earliest mention of his cardinalate occurs in a letter from Polydore Vergil from Rome, 21st May, 1514.¹ Four months later the king wrote to the Pope,² requesting him to make the Bishop of Lincoln a cardinal, and saying that "his merits are such that the king esteems him above his dearest friends, and can do nothing of the least importance without him". Leo the Tenth replied that "the honour solicited for Wolsey is surrounded with difficulties. It is much desired, and admits at once the wearer to the highest rank. He adds that he will comply with the king's wishes at a suitable time".³ A few months later the Bishop of Worcester wrote from Rome that "his Holiness is naturally slow, and will not create Wolsey a cardinal now, nor yet with those that he promised before. He offers him a bull of promotion, on condition he will not carry the insignia publicly". This proposal was not agreeable to the king or to Wolsey, who wrote to Worcester: "I cannot express how desirous the king is to have me advanced to the said honour, to the intent, that not only men might perceive how much the Pope favoureth the king and such as he entirely loveth, but also that thereby I shall be the more able to do his Grace service". At length, on the 7th September, the Bishop of Worcester writes, that "the Pope is so on fire, that he will insist on Wolsey's promotion in spite of all the cardinals. He has sent out briefs to summon the cardinals to Rome, who have now left for their holidays, stating that he wishes to appoint as cardinal 'unum prælatum dignissimum et maximum pro bono hujus Sanctae Sedis et ejus Sanctitatis'". On the 10th September, Leo the Tenth wrote to Wolsey to notify to him his election to the cardinalate.

On the 15th November the protonotary, bearing the cardinal's hat, entered London. He was met at the sea side, and afterwards at Blackheath, by the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Essex, and others. He proceeded through London with the Bishop and Earl riding on either side, the mayor, aldermen, and crafts, lining the streets. When the hat came to Westminster Abbey, the abbot and eight other abbots received it, and con-

¹ Vol. i. 5110.² Vol. i. 5318³ Vol. i. 5445.

veyed it to the high altar. Sunday the 18th, the Cardinal, with nobles and gentlemen, proceeded from his place to the Abbey. When the Cardinal reached the traverse, mass was sung by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter, before the Archbishop of Armagh and Dublin, the bishops of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Ely, and Llandaff; the abbots of Westminster, St. Alban's, Bury, Glastonbury, Reading, Gloucester, Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, and the prior of Coventry. The Bishop of Rochester was "crosier" to the Archbishop of Canterbury during mass. Dr. Colet, dean of St. Paul's, preached the sermon. He said "a cardinal represented the order of Seraphim, which continually burneth in the love of the glorious Trinity; and for these considerations a cardinal is only appareled with red, which colour only betokeneth nobleness". He exhorted Wolsey to execute righteousness to rich and poor, and desired all people to pray for him. The bull was read by Dr. Vecy, dean of the Chapel and of Exeter. The Cardinal kneeled before the high altar, where "he lay grovelling" during benediction and prayers concerning the high creation of a cardinal said over him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who set the hat upon his head. Then the *Te Deum* was sung. "All service and ceremonies finished, my lord came to the door of the Abbey, led by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. They proceeded to his place by Charing Cross; next before him the cross, preceding it the mace such as belongeth to a cardinal to have, then my Lord of Canterbury, having no cross borne before him, with the Bishop of Winchester, before them the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk together, and in like order the residue of the noblemen, as the Bishop of Durham with the Pope's orator and other bannerets, knights, and gentlemen after their degrees, and following the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the bishops. My Lord Cardinal's place being well sorted in every behalf, and used with goodly order, the hall and chambers garnished very sumptuously with rich arras, a great feast was kept as to such a high and honourable creation belongeth". The king, queen, the French queen, and all the noblemen above specified were present, with the barons of the exchequer, and the judges and sergeants at law.¹

The messenger, Bonifacio, who was bearer of the hat from Rome, brought with him from the Pope a ring, more than usually valuable, and a plenary indulgence to those who were present at the ceremony.

On February 21st, 1516, Archbishop Kite assisted at the christening of the Princess Mary at Greenwich. "From the court gate to the church door of the Friars was railed and hung

¹ Vol. ii. n. 1153.

with arras; the way being well gravelled and strewed with rushes. At the church door was set a house well framed of timber, covered with arras, where the Princess with her godfather and godmother abode. There she received her name Mary. Then they entered the church, which was hung with cloth of needlework, garnished with precious stones and pearls".¹ The font, the salt, the taper and the chrism were borne by peers. The Cardinal was godfather. The king was excessively fond of this daughter, and used to carry her about in his arms before the nobles of the court and the foreign ambassadors. The Venetian ambassador gives² the following account of his interview with the little princess:

"After this his majesty caused the princess, his daughter, who is two years old, to be brought into the apartment where we were; whereupon the right reverend Cardinal (Wolsey) and I, and all the other lords, kissed her hand, *pro more*; the greatest marks of honour being paid to her universally, more than to the queen herself. The moment she cast her eyes on the Reverend Dionysius Memo, who was there, she commenced calling out in English, '*Priest, priest*', and he was obliged to go and play for her, after which the king with the princess in his arms, came to me and said, '*Per Deum iste (Memo) est honestissimus vir et unus carissimus; nullus unquam servivit mihi fidelius melius et isto; scribatis Domino vestro quod habeat ipsum commendatum*'".

The ambassador concludes his letter with the characteristic remark, that "Memo is in such high favour that he will be able to advance the interests of Venice".

4.—*He is sent as ambassador to Spain.*

We have now to follow Archbishop Kite upon a new and larger field of action. In order to appreciate duly his new position, we must cast a rapid glance at the political state of Europe at the period when he commenced his diplomatic career.

It was the policy of Cardinal Wolsey to check the influence of France, which under the energy of Francis the First, aimed at aggrandizement at the expense of the other nations of Europe. With this view he endeavoured to attach to English interests the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, Spain, and the Swiss. The task was by no means easy. The Emperor, although he had received large sums of money from England, perfidiously sided with France. The Pope dreaded equally the Emperor and Francis, and could not be brought to act cordially with either. By the death of Ferdinand of Arragon, Charles succeeded to Spain, and it became a matter of the greatest importance to English policy to secure his coöperation and alliance. He was the can-

¹ Vol. ii. 1578.

² 8976.

dicate most likely to defeat the design the French king had, to win for himself the imperial diadem. Hitherto, Charles had not been favourably disposed towards England. But now, when it was necessary for him to journey into Spain to take possession of his new kingdom, he found that the help of England was indispensable to him. Henry the Eighth advanced to Charles in his need the sum of one hundred thousand florins. With this sum the Catholic king set out for Spain, where Cardinal Ximenes was straining every nerve to avert a civil war, which the mutual rivalries and jealousies between the Flemings and the Spaniards rendered only too probable. And yet, on the death of the great Cardinal, the ungrateful king appropriated to his own use the money left by Ximenes in legacies to his servants and charitable bequests, to the amount of two hundred and twelve thousand ducats of gold. Meantime while England was exciting in Charles distrust of France, mysterious conferences began to take place between the English and French ministers, and it soon oozed out that the two courts were likely to come to a friendly understanding. The French king offered four hundred thousand crowns for the surrender of Tournay, and England was not adverse to the bargain. This intelligence aroused the fears of Charles and his ministers, and the English court began to dread lest Spain should throw itself into the arms of France, and thereby inflict a fatal wound on the policy it had cost Wolsey so much labour to carry out. It was necessary that the state of the negotiation about Tournay should be sedulously concealed. For this purpose it was resolved that an embassy should be sent into Spain to Charles, and Archbishop Kite and John Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, were chosen for the purpose.

The instructions communicated to the ambassadors by Henry the Eighth were as follows:—1. They were to congratulate Charles on his prosperous voyage to Spain, and his favourable reception by his subjects. 2. The king is resolved to assist him with all his power. 3. He desires that whatever treaties be made by either parties shall be mutually communicated, agreeably to which the ambassadors were to explain away the negotiations with France. England, they were to say, had demanded redress from France for injuries at sea, and two French ambassadors had come to London ostensibly to repress piracy, but really to offer a large sum for the surrender of Tournay. Henry had refused to accede without consulting Charles, and the French king was busy making preparations by land and sea to obtain the town by force of arms. Charles was to be asked to assist Henry in case of invasion.

By these negotiations it was hoped that any coalition between France and Spain would be prevented, and prevented in

such a fashion that France, from being hostile to England, should become her ally, and Spain, from being weak, should become a power able to check France abroad, and at the same time bound by the ties of gratitude to England, to whose help she owed her increased advantages.

The Primate and Lord Berners set out on their important journey in February, 1518. In the *King's Book of Payments*, there is an entry of five marks a day for one hundred and eighty-two days to the Archbishop of Armagh going to Spain, and to Lord Berners of forty shillings a day. In addition to this, the two ambassadors received two hundred ducats (each ducat being four shillings and six pence) "for transporting them into Spain". In July they received another sum, the Archbishop £303 16s. 8d., and Lord Berners £182 10s., and in November a third sum, the Archbishop £233 6s. 8d., and Lord Berners £140. In their letters to Henry the Eighth and to Cardinal Wolsey, the ambassadors themselves have written the history of their embassy. On the 12th of May they wrote to the king from Saragossa (the letter is in the Primate's handwriting), that on arriving at the court, after many delays and countermands, they were at last ordered to wait for the king at Almasana, on the borders of Arragon. He arrived there on St. George's day in the afternoon, wearing the garter about his neck, accompanied by a very great court. He kept evensong in his robe of the order. About two hours before his coming the chancellor came to them, with Lord Fynes and about twenty other noblemen, who welcomed them heartily, and bade them wait on the king next morning. To their credence and proposals the chancellor answered that the king thanked Henry for sending so far, and would be quite ready to add anything to the confederation that Henry wished. Spinelly, another English agent at the Spanish court, tells us that at nine o'clock on the morning fixed for the audience, several noblemen came to conduct the English king's ambassadors to the court. "After my Lord of Arnachan had made the proposition with good eloquencya and audacya", the chancellor remitted their further communication, as the king was to depart on the same day.

We shall not attempt to follow the intricate and tedious recital of conferences and debates, which took place bewteen the ambassadors and the Spanish court. No less than eighteen despatches from the Primate are contained in the volume from which we have quoted so much. Suffice to say, that the ends of the embassy were fully accomplished. The negotiations were so carefully handled, that Charles resigned himself to see Tournay become French, and was led to feel that it was to England he owed the secure possession of his Spanish kingdom. Besides, he was

grateful that the ambitious longings of Francis after the imperial crown had been effectually repressed by the English diplomacy, and he could not but feel that his own prospects of attaining to the empire depended on the continuance of friendly relations between himself and Henry the Eighth. As to France, not only was her enmity disarmed, but by the marriage of the Princess Mary and the Dauphin, a union which was the work of Wolsey, the two crowns were joined in closest friendship. Pope Leo the Tenth, who had good reason to fear both Francis and Charles, looked with respect towards England, as the only power which, being independent of both, was able to help the Holy See against their attempts. Thus England saw herself raised to the position of arbiter among the nations of Europe, and this brilliant triumph was due solely to the soaring and masterly policy of the great Cardinal.

In a letter to Wolsey, written from Saragossa, 17th December, 1518, the Primate says that though his (Kite's) despatches, either for their shortness or their rarity have been "taken displeasantly", he has never failed to write as much as he knew, and whenever he could hear of a post going. He announces that they are about to take their leave of Spain. They are twenty-four days' journey from the sea, where they will take their passage with the first favourable wind, though Lord Berners is "marvellous loth thereto", not being yet fully recovered. Their purses compel them to take the nearest way. They have sold their plate and other things. The last letters from home were not of such as to make them merry. He hopes that if the sea "shall not like" them, their returning by land will be taken in good part.¹

5.—He returns to London.

Dr. Kite arrived in England early in the year 1519. The volume of State papers now in the press² will probably supply us with information as to how he was received upon his return, and as to what his employments were. In the year 1520 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the jewel office.³ In July, 1520, he attended Cardinal Wolsey to Calais, on occasion of the celebrated interview between the kings of England and France, which had been brought about by the skill of the Cardinal. On the 8th July, Wolsey came to Dover, and on the 20th he sailed for Calais, accompanied by the Primate of Ireland, Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester, the lords St. John Ferres and Herbert, the bishops of Durham and Ely, Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir John Peche, and many others.

¹ No. 4660.

² Vol. iii. *Letters and Papers Henry the Eighth.*

³ Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.*, p. 62.

6.—*He resigns the Primacy, and is made Archbishop of Thebes and commendatory Bishop of Carlisle.*

In 1521 he resigned of his own accord the primatial see of Armagh. Probably he felt that, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, which exacted from him a protracted absence from Ireland, he could not conscientiously continue at the head of the Irish Church. It was one of the worst features of the melancholy period which preceded the so-called reformation, that bishops were not allowed to remain with the flocks which the Holy Ghost had placed them to govern, but were forced by a supposed political necessity (and perhaps to avoid greater evils) to undertake worldly business foreign to their own sacred calling. He was succeeded in Armagh by George Cromer, who was consecrated in England the April after Dr. Kite's resignation. On his resignation of the primatial see he was appointed Archbishop of Thebes *in partibus*, and immediately after commendatory bishop of Carlisle, of which see the temporalities were restored to him, according to the legal phrase, on 11th November, 1521. By the influence of Cardinal Wolsey a large share of the expenses ordinarily incurred on such occasions, was remitted to him. In Carlisle he exercised in a special degree his favourite virtue of hospitality. He built extensively at Rose Castle, the episcopal residence of the bishops of that see. In March, 1522, he received a letter from Henry the Eighth, requiring him to join Lord Dacre as his counsellor and treasurer in the payment of the garrison, as well as for rewards to be paid to the gentlemen of the Borders, who had done the king acceptable service in resistance of the authority of the Duke of Albany.¹ In 1524–1526, he was again in commissions to treat for peace with Scotland. There exists in Rymer² a recognizance entered into by Sir Thomas Kytson to him as bishop commendatory of Carlisle, dated 4th June, 1533, in which the conditions of the purchase of an estate in Cornwall by him are laid down.

7.—*His death.*

On June 18th, 1537, finding himself near his end, he made his will (which was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury three days after), wherein he bequeathed his body to be buried by that of his father in St. Margaret's church, Westminster. On the 19th June he expired at Stepney, near London, at a very advanced age, and was buried in the church there, "almost in the middle of the chancel, inclining to the north".³ A marble monument was erected over his remains, and upon it was en-

¹ Thorpe's *Calend. of State Papers, Scotland*, vol. i. n. 96. ² Tom. xiv. p. 465
³ Harris' Ware.

graved the following epitaph, which has justly been styled
“unworthy of so learned an age”:

Under this ston closeyde and marmorate
Lyeth John Kite, Londoner natyfie,
Encreasing in vertues rose to high estate.
In the fourth Edwards Chapell by his young lyffe,
Sith which the seventh Henryes servyce primatyfie
Proceeding still in vertuous efficace
To be in favour with this our Kings Grace,
With witt endewyd chosen to be Legate
Sent into Spayne, where he right joyfully
Combyned with Princes in peace most amate:
In Grace Archbishop elected worthely,
And last of Carlyel ruling pastorally
Kepyng nobyl houshold with great hospitality:
One thousand five hundred thirty and seven
Inviterate with pastoral carys, consumed with age,
The nintenth of June reckoned ful even,
Passyd to hevyn from worldly pilgrimage:
Of whos soul, good pepul of cherite
Pray, as you would be prayed for; for thus must ye lie.
Jesu mercy; Lady help.

THE LATEST DEFENCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.¹

1. THE method of defence observed by the champions of the Irish Establishment has, of late, undergone an important change. In the beginning, they relied mainly upon the historical case which the ingenuity of Archdeacon Lee, Rev. Alfred Lee, Archdeacon Stopford, and others, had constructed on its behalf. By degrees, even the dullest began to perceive from the admirable statements on the Catholic side, that the verdict of history, far from endorsing the defence submitted by these writers, did fully and completely refute it. Then came Mr. Hardinge's book, which, by its ridiculous blunders, helped not a little to the overthrow of the cause it was intended to support. Hence it has come to pass that the recent literature published in defence of the Establish-

¹ 1. *A Charge, etc.*, by Hamilton Verschoyle, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore, June and July, 1867.

2. *A Charge, etc.*, by Robert Daly, D.D., Bishop of Cashel and Emly, Waterford and Lismore, June, 1867.

3. *The Case of the Established Church*, by James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Bishop of Ossory,

4. *The Distinctive Principles of the Church*, an address delivered before the Irish Church Society, May 15, 1867, by Rev. W. Maturin, D.D.

ment does not place the historical argument in a very prominent light. Another class of arguments was that employed by the rhetoricians of the party, who, in parliament and elsewhere, poured forth in burning words their feelings of amazement that men should be found daring enough to assail the Church which was the teeming mother of Protestant blessings to the realm. But the rhetoricians were surprised to find that their bombast was simply laughed out of court. Then there came moderate men who, for their parts, were content to breathe gentle sighs over the losses that were sure to come upon mental culture and good breeding if the Church were disendowed. But weak voices such as these had no chance of being heard amid the din of battle. Then came the loyalists, who declared that the safety of the constitution depended, as on its very basis, on the maintenance of the Established Church. But, by a strange perverseness of reasoning, these loyalists invariably pointed with pride to the fact, that the Fenians had no objection whatever to the Established Church; that, amid the many cries raised by these misguided men, whose energies were directed to overturn the laws and the constitution, not one word was to be heard as directed against the Church which was upheld by law as the very basis of the constitution. Besides this, it was not easy to understand the loyalty which showed itself principally in illegal acts of Orangeism.

2. Thus it has come to pass that the chief characteristic of their latest publications is neither research, nor eloquence, nor moderation, nor loyalty, but simply a spirit of furious bigotry. The writers do not indeed discard the old arguments, however weak and broken they may be, but they now appear to rest their defence mainly upon the ground, that the Irish Protestant Church is the true Church. The Establishment is to be kept up *because* it teaches true religion. "Our contention with the Church of Rome", says Dr. Verschoyle of Kilmore, "is not about a point of order, but for the faith once delivered to the saints, which she corrupts and makes void by human traditions. We cannot give place to her ministers, or countenance their peculiar work in any way (however full of zeal for God and fervent piety many of them have been and are), as tending to the destruction and not the salvation of the people's souls. We would extend to them the largest amount of toleration, and treat them with neighbourly kindness and charity; but we must, as in duty bound, set our face as a flint against the system as vitally erroneous. It is not then right reason or genuine justice which vindicates the proposed measure of disendowment, for they 'can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth' (II. Cor., xii. 8)". And still less should numbers turn the scales against the truth, "for then it

must needs be driven out of the world" (page 9-10). And again, page 14, "the principle of a Church" is declared to consist in its being "a witness of the truth and a teacher of true religion, above one that witnessed a lie and taught soul destroying error". And (page 15) the position of the Established Church is that it is "the recognized organ for diffusing true religion through the land". And again:

"Some of the kings of Judah, though otherwise godly, thought to buy off the hostility of the king of Babylon by robbing the temple of its gold and laying it at his feet; but the ravenous appetite of him who would be supreme over all, was not to be thus sated, for, after a while, not only the temple itself, but the whole realm became the victims which he devoured. If the temple of truth be not only stripped of its gold, but the idols of transubstantiation and of the Virgin Mary be set up therein to purchase peace, not with the people of the country, but with the people who derive their inspiration from Rome, then the state, which has wilfully abandoned her post of honour amongst the nations, and has betrayed the faith she has once defended, will assuredly reap a fresh harvest of troubles in Ireland" (page 17).

Dr. O'Brien of Ossory prefaces his work with the following remarks:

"I fear that the friends of the Church will think—that many of them at least will think—that I should have done more wisely for the Church, if I had made it more an object to conciliate its enemies. I do not think so. I do not think that the motives by which the assailants of the Church are animated leave them accessible to the influence of soft words. If I did—if I thought that the interests of the Church required that its enemies should be addressed with 'bated breath and in a bondsman's key',—though I could not do this good office for it myself, yet I should have been very careful to avoid every thing that was calculated to deter those who could from undertaking it, or calculated to throw any hindrance in the way of its being done effectively by them. But, as I said, I do not think that it would avail. When Hector sees his terrible foe approaching, he thinks for a moment of propitiating him rather than resisting him: but the thought is but for a moment. And so I believe it is with us. The time for such amenities is past, and the friends of the Church must not think of soothing its enemies, but of resisting them as best they can".

After this preface Dr. Daly begins his essay by observing that in *the Irish Church Question* there are two distinct, though connected, questions involved. "The first is: Ought any branch of the Reformed Catholic Church to be established in this country? And the second—supposing the first to be answered in the affirmative—Is the actual Establishment on so much too large a scale that it may and ought to be considerably reduced?" He deals with

the latter of these questions in the first place, and then passing on to the second, distinctly lays down in the words used by an eminent statesman in 1835, that "there is no principle upon which the Church Establishment can be rightly or permanently upheld, but that it was the Establishment which taught the truth". These views Dr. O'Brien accepts as his own, and thus concludes:

"I hold firmly by the conclusion that a state is bound by its duty to God and to the people whom He has confided to its care, to choose as the Established Church of the country from among the various religious communities which exist in it, the representative of the Catholic Church which holds the truth and teaches the truth".

3. It is plain from these statements that in the opinion of those bishops the claims of the Irish Establishment are mainly religious; that its best defence is the theological one; that its true merits are the doctrines it teaches; that its office is to teach the true religion in face of the Catholic Church, which teaches soul-destroying error. Hence all plans of disendowment are sinful and sacrilegious, and all laws, human and divine, call upon the English government to preserve intact the Irish Church as the pillar of the truth.

This line of defence, so clearly and plainly laid down by such authorities, challenges our attention, and we proceed to consider it in itself, in its consequences, and in its application to the actual circumstances of the Irish Protestant Church.

4. And first of all, touching the general question of union between Church and State, we Catholics have well defined principles from which we will never consent to depart. The fifty-fifth proposition condemned in the *Syllabus* runs thus: *The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church.* But the principle sounds far differently on the lips of a Catholic and on those of a Protestant. Dr. O'Brien would impose on the state, that is the government of the country, the duty of choosing from among the various religious communities which exist in it, the representative of the truth. Suppose the choice to be made, and the chosen religion elevated socially and politically over all others, to be presented by the government to the people as the only teacher of truth, may not the people ask: "What warrant have we that the state has made a right choice? And if they interrogate the state: Are you certain, and of absolute certainty, that the religion you have chosen is the only true religion? the state must needs reply: No; we are not absolutely certain of it. It is the fundamental principle of Protestantism that each one is to decide for himself in matters of religion, and that no human power ought to stand between the soul and its God. No one is infallible, but it has pleased us to choose this

religion, and we will wed to it all the power and influence of the state, in order that the whole nation may be brought under its sway". In other words, the Protestant principle of an Established Church involves the most flagrant inconsistency and the greatest tyranny: he who concedes to others the absolute liberty of believing what they please, cannot consistently hold up to them his own belief as the sole truth, especially when he admits that he may have been mistaken in making choice of that belief. What is this but the giving to the civil ruler a right to invade the sacred sanctuary of the soul, and to subject to his rude caprice the holiest of holy things? How different does the theory of union between Church and State appear in the light of Catholic principles! According to their teaching, no fallible authority has the right of proposing to a people as truth the religion that may have approved itself to its uncertain judgment. The rulers as well as their subjects are equally bound to submit to the infallible voice of the Church of God; and if both governors and governed unite in receiving the teachings of that infallible authority, the state may and ought to protect that Church. But in such union there is no taint of tyranny. The state does not enforce as truth, doctrines which it *has chosen* to designate as true, but it places as truth before the people what an infallible authority, revered as such by the people and by itself, has declared to be true. And as long as religious unity exists in a nation, this blessed union between Church and State ought to be maintained as the source of numberless blessings to society. But if, through some gigantic social convulsion, or by the operation of other causes, this religious harmony is once broken, and if instead of worshipping at the same altar, men shall have been led to erect altar against altar, and to constitute themselves into sects, then on the part of the state it may become lawful and at times obligatory to grant political toleration. But in no case is it lawful for the state, of its own authority, to dictate to the people in matters of religion.

The case as between Catholics and Protestants stands thus: Dr. O'Brien holds that every one is to guide himself in matters of religion, and *therefore* he holds it is the duty of the state to choose for him a certain religious body which is to teach him what it pleases to call the truth, and to affect him in his religious belief through a thousand channels of influence. The Catholic holds that every one is to submit to the revelation made by God and conveyed to him through a divinely appointed organ, which God will preserve from straying or leading him astray. The state, as such, has no right to interfere with religion; where all are Catholic, it is its duty to protect the Catholic Church, but where religious unity has disappeared, and especially where the state itself professes that it may err in religious matters, it is

nothing short of tyranny to set up a religion as true, which that state is willing to admit may yet be false. Thus the Catholic theory is consistent and worthy of human liberty; the Protestant, contradictory and degrading.

5. Let us now consider the consequences which naturally flow from this latest defence of the Establishment, which says that the Irish Protestant Church is to retain its endowments because it teaches the true religion as opposed to the soul-destroying doctrines of Catholicism. According to the dignitaries from whom we quote, this is the true plea for the Law Church. But if they be correct in this, they have succeeded in justifying, and on their own principles, all that Catholics ever have done against the Establishment. By their own admission the Establishment is a symbol which, when translated into words, means this: The Catholic religion is a soul-destroying error. If this be so, can they blame any Catholic for endeavouring to effect the disendowment? Surely, they cannot expect a nation like Ireland, into whose heart of hearts the Catholic faith has entered deep, which for love of it has lost her wealth and her place among the nations of the earth, whose children have bled for it, and died gladly in its defence, could remain silent in view of an institution which its own bishops say means nothing but insult and contumely of the Catholic religion! Why, then, does Dr. Verschoyle, after insulting the honest poverty of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland, by saying that it is by "a righteous judgment of God, which has befallen them for their adherence to errors that made the Church of God a synagogue of Satan, that they should be in the humiliating position of asking alms from the people for their support",—why does he complain of them for wishing to depose the Established Church from its place as the upholder of true religion in the land?

There is one excellent result which must follow from this outspoken defence of the Establishment. The true state of the case is thereby made clear, and the true character of the Establishment thereby revealed to Catholics. There is no longer any room for deception: the highest Protestant authorities have informed the Catholic citizen that the Establishment is nothing else than a standing protest on the part of the nation that the Catholic religion is "a soul-destroying error and a synagogue of Satan", and that to remove the Establishment is to withdraw such a protest. It becomes, therefore, the conscientious duty of every Catholic to employ all the political power placed in his hands to effect the removal of the Establishment. Otherwise, as far as in him lies, he co-operates in that protest, and helps to brand his holy religion as an imposture. Thus it happens that the bishops have given the signal for war, and for a war which must be kept

up as long as Catholics have any power in the state. As long as a Catholic vote can help to make or mar a member of parliament; as long as a Catholic meeting can make the voice of a free people heard in the kingdom; as long as the press can direct public opinion; as long as petitions can be signed, so long must there be an incessant warfare waged by Catholics against the Established Church. *Non meus est hic sermo:* it is the teaching of the Protestant bishops themselves, who declare that the true principle on which the Establishment rests is, that it has been chosen by the state as the teacher of true religion, as opposed to "soul-destroying errors, and the synagogues of Satan". If there is to be an Establishment at all, they must have it on those terms; if it be maintained on terms other than those, it will be almost valueless in their eyes. Such a defence as this is a direct challenge to all who have any political power, and who are not members of the Established Church. It is the fruit of the rampant bigotry which it was hoped had died out. It is, in plainest terms, the assertion of that spirit of ascendancy which is a standing outrage and insult to the Catholics of Ireland. And after this, what becomes of that fair vision of peace which was bidden to arise by some noble and generous souls who loved to think that the Protestants of Ireland could be led to abate their extravagant pretensions and to consent to dwell on a level with the Catholics upon whom they have trampled for so many ages!

6. Let us now see how the application of this principle will work. Since our adversaries have now chosen to transfer the question from the political to the theological field, and to rest their defence of the Establishment mainly on its being the chair of truth and "the pillar by which it is held forth in Ireland", let us look into its claims to that high position. And to the end that our examination may be the more securely conducted, let us review by aid of their own works, the doctrines of the leading men in its communion. We do not intend to pass judgment here on each of the doctrines held by them individually; this would be an endless and an unprofitable task. Our purpose is narrower and more easily attained. It is to show that the Law Church in Ireland has no fixed doctrine which it may teach; that its members are in a state of utter bewilderment in matters of faith; that the teachings of its accredited clergy range from the wildest rationalism to High Church tenets, passing through every intermediate shade of thought; that there is no authority within it to decide what is to be held and what to be avoided; and consequently, since truth is one, that it is an enormous pretension on its part to aspire to be maintained as the recognized teacher of true doctrine in Ireland.

A Jove principium: let us begin with the bishops. Even

the bishops themselves are at variance as to doctrine, and the differences that divide them are enormous. What a chasm between the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and his immediate predecessor! Dr. Whately was accused by his own as one holding unsound opinions on the essential doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Dr. Trench has been accused by his own as a Puseyite and a Papist. Dr. Daly of Cashel denounces (p. 22) Rev. Dr. Maturin, of Dublin, as a "deceitful teacher", "a recruiting-officer for the Romish Church", one "against whom and whose system there is as much reason to give warning as against those who circulate the *Directorium Anglicanum*, one who is the more dangerous on account of the favour he is supposed to enjoy". Dr. Trench allows that gentleman to teach and even to obtain promotion in his diocese. The same Dr. Daly indignantly lashes the steps that have lately been taken to acknowledge, as in close union with the United Church of England and Ireland, the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, "notwithstanding that she holds that which we have seen to be at the bottom of the Ritualistic movement, namely, what they call the objective presence of Christ in the sacraments, and which our great reformer Cranmer said was the root out of which grew the whole tree of Popery". "It is to me", he adds, "a greater subject of regret that a high dignitary of our Church should last year have consented to lay the first stone of the Scottish Cathedral in Inverness, and in his speech state that the Scottish Episcopal Church is the only true representative of the Church of England in Scotland". And the good bishop repeats what he said in 1845, that if his own Episcopal Church "should turn away from the truth, and introduce a service that speaks more like transubstantiation than ever was spoken by any Church but the Church of Rome, I would feel myself bound to protest against her heresy, and to separate from her communion". Thus, what one bishop calls *heresy*, the other holds to be saving truth; and while the Scottish Church is accepted by some as orthodox in its doctrine of the Eucharist, by others it is anathematised as opposed to truth.

And as the bishops, so the inferior clergy. The great training school of the Protestant clergy in Ireland is Trinity College, Dublin. Now where did the desolating system of Positivism first show itself in public in Ireland? Within the walls of the Protestant University. It was there that W. E. H. Lecky received into his mind the germs which afterwards grew into his pernicious book on *The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*. It was there that the Rev. James Barlow proclaimed that the doctrine of the everlasting punishment of the wicked was to be abandoned because jarring with the civilization of the nineteenth cen-

tury.¹ It was there that Rev. J. H. Jellett reduced the question of the inspiration of difficult parts of the Holy Scripture to a mere "balance of probabilities", of which balance each student was to be the judge, determining for himself whether "the external evidence of inspiration is sufficient to overcome the internal improbability". And we are assured upon good authority that the current of thought among the students is setting altogether in the direction towards which this rationalistic literature points. Scandalised by the appearance of such books in a Christian community, we looked for some authoritative denunciation of them on the part of the authorities of the Protestant Church; but we looked in vain. The only voice that was raised in reprobation was the voice of the Catholic Church, which by the lips of the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, avenged the outraged majesty of Christian truth.

And whilst one portion of the clergy thus inclines to Rationalism, another flies off towards dissent of the lowest kind:

"A few months ago, there were", says Dr. Maturin, "no less than three ordained clergymen of the Church of England acting publicly in Dublin alone as dissenting ministers; while some years ago it was stated that a dissenting movement, which was then of recent origin, had, in the short time during which it prevailed, been joined by no fewer than thirty clergymen of our Church".

To these we have to add the party typified in Rev. Dr. Maturin, of whom Dr. Daly writes:

"He is evidently making a move backward towards Rome, when he says that 'our Church stands between the system of Protestantism and the system of Romanism'; and when, as to the principle on which our reformers acted, he says, 'Their appeal was to Scripture and antiquity; Scripture as the repository, the Church as the witness of the truth'".

We say nothing of the countless shades of doctrine and ritual which prevail in the Anglican Church, all of which might fairly also be placed to the credit of the *United Church of England and Ireland*.

The state of the laity shall be described by Dr. Maturin:

"There is a state of feeling and opinion, deeply rooted and widely spread in our Church, which has no parallel, I believe, in any other religious community. It may be described in general as ignoring the existence of anything distinctive in the character or teaching of the Church of England, and regarding it as one—the most respectable perhaps, but not always the purest—among several sects into which

¹ *Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death. An Essay*, by James Barlow, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin, 1865. Cf. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i. p. 217.

Protestantism is divided ; some of these sects more scriptural than others, but all agreeing in the same fundamental truths, and separated only by minor and non-essential differences. This common sentiment shows itself in various aspects ; but I refer to it now as bearing upon the way in which so many view the doctrines of their own Church. Some Church people are ignorant of the fact that the Church possesses any distinctive doctrines at all. Others think that, if ever she did possess such, they are now obsolete, left in the Prayer Book by mistake—on a principle of compromise—or with the understanding that they should not be maintained ; or that they are the dregs of Romanism from which the same Prayer Book was never thoroughly purged, and that it needs farther revision to adapt it to the more enlightened Protestantism of the present age ; or, again, that the terms in which they are expressed may be so explained, softened, toned down, qualified, as to render the statements they contain harmless after all, if not satisfactory. Thus suspicion and dislike are common feelings that prevail on this subject ; and a half-hearted tolerance is the nearest approach to cordiality. Now this, I say, is peculiar to our Church. In other religious bodies you will find that those doctrines or practices by which they are distinguished, furnish the very points on which their respective members are sure to be best instructed. The Roman Catholic is well acquainted with the peculiar tenets of his own Church, and so on his side is the Presbyterian or the Methodist. Nay more ; these are the very points on which they are each commonly most zealous, neither afraid nor ashamed, but openly avowing and boldly maintaining them. It is exactly the reverse with many Church people ; they are not ignorant merely, but antagonistic. There is a sensitive shrinking from Church doctrine, as if they were afraid it would do them some inexplicable harm, as if it was something they should be ashamed to own, like a discreditable friend or connection ; something that, if they were once to accept, would lead them astray, whither they know not, and which it is therefore best to avoid altogether. Nor is this feeling confined exclusively to those who reject Church doctrine. It is, strange to say, shared to some extent by those who actually hold it, but hold it with a timid hand, as if they feared to grasp it—as men hold a dangerous weapon whose use they do not fully understand. They regard it as a trust to be kept, carefully perhaps, but secretly ; hid in a napkin ; not produced, not turned to account, not taught,—at any rate till people are quite ripe and ready to learn, till it is perfectly safe,—in other words, till it becomes almost superfluous to teach them. In short, the expectation seems to be, that people will learn Church doctrine in some happy future by an instinct as happy ; and that, when this is the case, it may be held, inculcated, and defended plainly and fearlessly".

This, then, on the showing of its own defenders, is the internal condition of the Established Church. In it bishop contends with bishop on matters of faith ; in it the clergy are divided one from the other as far as Rationalism is distant from the High Church ; in it the laity have either no knowledge of the religious

principles of their faith, or are afraid of them. And yet this Babel of confusion is confidently exhibited to the state by Dr. O'Brien and his compeers as the one Church which teaches the truth, as the pillar of sound religion, as the heaven-sent witness against the Catholic Church, which they are pleased to style "a synagogue of Satan"! Even if it be granted that a Protestant may consistently demand an Established Church—even if it be prudent on the part of Irish Protestants to urge such a demand, still the state could not with any propriety choose as the *one* organ of truth, a body so much torn by dissensions, so helpless to control its members, so thorough a failure in all respects as the Law Church of Ireland.

THE NEW RELIGIONS OF AMERICA.

THE many ties that link the United States to this country, forbid an Irishman to look with indifference upon the social changes which affect society within the great republic. Beyond all things else, the religious condition of a country which is the home of so many millions of our race, must ever challenge our attention. The thousands of guileless young men and women who annually leave our shores rich in faith, in simplicity of character, in moral purity—into what kind of society do they carry this precious freight? Had they remained at home, we could forecast their career blameless though lowly, in some quiet country valley, within sight of the humble chapel, under the fatherly care of a good priest. But, when they are once fairly launched upon their new life, what are their chances? what are their dangers? what their circumstances? Such questions as these spring unbidden to the lips at the frequent sight of emigrants wending their dolorous way towards our Irish seaports. The sketches of the wild and novel forms which religion has assumed in America, lately drawn by an intelligent writer, whose words we follow as closely as possible, will help the reader to frame the answer for himself.¹

The first religious body whose habitation the author visited, was the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, commonly known in America as the Shakers: Shakers being a term of mockery and reproach. The chief home of those fanatics is a village called Mount Lebanon, standing on a sunny hill-side, three miles south of New Lebanon Springs, in the

¹ *New America*, by William Hepworth Dixon, two vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867.

upper country of the lovely river Hudson. Though of American growth, this body owes its origin to England, having had for its first foundress an English female seer.

About a hundred years ago a poor woman living at Bolton-on-the-Moors, in South Lancashire, announced that she had received a call from heaven to go about the streets of her native town and testify the truth. Her name was Jane Wardlaw, and her husband, a tailor, was her first convert. These poor people had belonged to the Society of Friends, and had lived from their youth upward in the heart of a wild rocky district, in the midst of a coarse and ungodly population. She went out into the marketplace and declared to the world that the end of all things was at hand, that Christ was about to reign, and that His second appearance would be in a woman's form, as had been prefigured in the Psalms. She never declared in words that she herself was the Christ; but she acted as if the plenitude of power had been committed to her, receiving converts in His name, confessing and remitting sins, and holding communication with unseen spirits.

Among her early converts was Anne Lee, born of a poor blacksmith, in Toad Lane (Todd Street), Manchester. This girl had been brought up first in a cotton-mill, next in a public kitchen, and was violent in her conduct and a prey to convulsions. When yet a child, she had been married to a neighbouring lad named Stanley, to whom she bore four children, who all died young. She, too, soon began to sally forth like Jane Wardlaw, to testify for the truth. But the magistrates had her sent to the Old Baily prison as a disturber of the public peace. While there she said a light had shone upon her, and the Lord Jesus had stood before her in the cell, and became one with her in form and spirit. This privilege, recounted by her to the little church of five or six persons, obtained for her from them the rank of mother, as the queen described by David, and the bride of the Apocalypse, in whom Christ had come again.

As the rough factory boys and girls only laughed at her, Anne received a revelation to go to America, where she and her church were to find the Promised Land. Five men and two women accompanied her. Arrived in America, she separated herself from her husband, in accordance with the fixed principle she had assumed, that she and her people were to wage continual war against the flesh. By lust man fell from heaven, by continence only could he hope to regain it. Her disciples must live as the angels, neither marrying nor giving in marriage. Her husband had no faith at all in her, and became a backslider. The little band of seven believers in Mother Anne's divine commission went up first to Albany, and then to Niskenna, where they

waited in their lonely huts for three years and six months. At length in 1780, a revivalist movement took place in the neighbourhood, and among other wealthy people Joseph Meachan and Lucy Wright became followers of Anne. The first of these she adopted as her eldest son, who was to be the heir of her power in the Church. The war of independence was then raging, and her peculiar doctrines involved the little band in many troubles. After many journeys, in 1784, she gathered together around her her disciples, gave them her blessing, and after yielding up the visible keys of her kingdom to Joseph and Lucy, as her successors in the male and female headships of the kingdom, she passed away.

Not that she died: for her successors proclaimed to all that she had merely become changed and made invisible to the flesh through excess of light. Mother Anne had withdrawn herself for a little from the world, but she would live and reign for ever among her own true children of the resurrection. In dreams and ecstasies she could still be heard. This was the true resurrection, and her followers expect no other.

As yet the believers in Mother Anne were living mixed up with the Gentiles. Now Joseph and Lucy withdrew them apart into settlements: to Water Vliet and Mount Lebanon in New York; to Harvard and Shirley, in Massachusetts; to Enfield, in Connecticut; to Canterbury, in New Hampshire; to Union Village and White Water, in Ohio; to Pleasant Hill and South Union, in Kentucky. Under their rule a covenant was written down and accepted by the brethren; the divine government was confirmed; elders and deacons, male and female, were appointed; celibacy was confirmed as binding on the saints, and community of goods was introduced among them. In 1796, Joseph passed out of sight, and left Lucy to govern the church for twenty-five years. She, too, named her successor an elderess, not a mother. The name of the present leader is Betsey Yates, commonly called Elderess Betsey, who represents Mother Anne only in the body, for the Mother is always present in the spirit among her children. Daniel Boler is the chief elder, and Elder Frederick the official preacher of Shaker doctrine. At present they have eighteen establishments, and the census of 1860 returns them as six thousand strong.

The estate on and around Mount Lebanon, visited by our author, consists of nearly ten thousand acres of the best land in the state of New York. These ten thousand acres bloom like a fair garden. "The hand of man has been laid on the soil with a light though a tender grasp, doing its work of beauty, and calling forth beauty in exchange for love and care. Where can you find an orchard like this young plantation on our left? Where,

save in England, do you see such a sward? The trees are greener, the roses pinker, the cottages neater, than on any other slope. New Lebanon has almost the face of an English valley rich with the culture of a thousand years. You see that the men who till these fields, who tend these gardens, who bind these sheaves, who train these vines, who plant these apple trees, have been drawn into putting their love into the daily task; and you hear with no surprise that these toilers, ploughing and planting in their quaint garb, consider their labour on the soil as a part of their ritual, looking upon the earth as a stained and degraded sphere which they have been called to redeem from corruption and restore to God" (page 83-84)

The village is formed of a host of houses standing in gardens, each house having its own male and its own female head. The co-heads of the entire society are Elder Frederick and Elderess Antoinette. "The streets are quiet; for here you have no grog-shop, no beer-house, no lock-up, no pound; of the dozen edifices rising about you—work-rooms, barns, tabernacle, stables, kitchens, schools, and dormitories—not one is either foul or noisy. The paint is all fresh; the planks are all bright; the windows are all clean. The walls appear as though they had been built only yesterday; a perfume as from many unguents floats down the lane; and the curtains and window-blinds are of spotless white. The people are like their village, soft in speech, demure in bearing, gentle in face. Every one seems busy, every one, tranquil.

"The interiors of the houses do not belie the promise of the exterior. The greatest attention is paid in every building to scientific ventilation". The visitors' house, which stands apart, is plainly and neatly furnished. In the houses of the brethren, males and females dwell apart as to their rooms, though they eat at a common table and lodge under a common roof. A husband and wife who join the community become simply brother and sister.

"The Shakers dine in silence. Brothers and sisters sit in a common room, at tables ranged in a line a few feet apart. They eat at six in the morning, at noon, at six in the evening. They rally to the sound of a bell, file into the eating room in a single line, women going up to one end of the room, men to the other; when they drop on their knees for a short and silent prayer; sit down and eat, helping each other to the food. Not a word is spoken, unless a brother should need help from a brother, a sister from a sister. A whisper serves. No one gossips with her neighbour; even the help that any one may need is given and taken without thanks. Elder Frederick sits at the end, not at the head of the table. Elderess Antoinette at the other end. The food, though it is very good of its kind, and very well cooked, is simple, being

wholly, or almost wholly, produce of the earth—tomatoes, roast apples, peaches, potatoes, squash, hominy, boiled corn, and the like. The grapes are excellent, reminding one of those of Bethlehem; and the eggs, hard eggs, boiled eggs, scrambled eggs, are delicious. The drink is water, milk, and tea. Then we have pies, tarts, candies, dried fruits, and syrups. For my own part, being a gentile and a sinner, I have been indulged in cutlets, chickens, and home-made wine" (p. 95-96).

Every man has a trade: some have two or three trades. Every one must take his part in the family business, and follow his occupation, however high his rank and calling in the church.

Such is the every-day life of the Shakers: the doctrines which have made them what they are, are based on these leading principles: The kingdom of heaven has come; Christ has actually appeared on earth; the personal rule of God has been restored. Hence it follows that the old law is abolished; the command to multiply has ceased, Adam's sin has been atoned; the intercourse of heaven and earth has been restored; the curse is taken away from labour; the earth and all that is on it will be redeemed; angels and spirits have become, as of old, the familiars and ministers of men.

Only a chosen few are called by God to the knowledge of these mighty changes. The elect who are thus called die to the world, its pleasures, and its passions, and are born again to a new life of the soul. No one can be born into their body, as no member of their church can marry. As in heaven so on earth, the sexes must dwell apart. We once heard from a distinguished Catholic missionary an account of a visit paid by him to a Shaker village. He was received in the visitors' house and treated with kindest hospitality. The elder came to pay him a visit, and congratulated him on the celibate life he led. "But", he added, "what you have chosen for yourself you ought also to recommend to others, that all may be led to give up marriage". "On the contrary", replied the priest, "I teach that marriage is holy and a sacrament. What would become of the human race if your views were generally adopted? It would perish in the course of a few generations". "What of that", said the elder, "let it perish!"

Whoever enters the Shaker union must pay off all debts, cancel all wills and settlements, renounce all honours, give up his friends and kinsmen as though he were parted from them by the grave. "They take no part in politics, they vote for no president, they hold no meetings, they want nothing from the White House. The right to think, vote, speak, and travel, is to them but an idle dream; they live with angels, and are more familiar (as they tell me) with the dead than with the living. Sister

Mary, who was sitting in my room not an hour ago, close to my hand, and leaning on this Bible, which then lay open at the Canticles, told me that the room was full of spirits, of beings as palpable, as audible to her, as my own figure and my own voice. The dreamy look, the wandering eye, the rapt expression, would have alarmed me for her state of health, only that I know with what sweet decorum she conducts her life, and with what subtle fingers she makes damson tarts" (p. 108).

According to the Shaker doctrine every human being will be saved.

How is the community to be recruited if its rules forbid marriage among its members? The losses by death each year must be considerable; how are the vacant places to be filled? "By revivals or spiritual cycles", replied Elder Frederick. Every great spiritual revival which has agitated America since the Shaker church was planted, has led to a new society being founded on the principles of Mother Anne. The revivals have been eighteen, the Shaker settlements are eighteen also. It will be within the memory of our readers how the Irish Protestants gloried in the Ulster revivals some years ago. Mr. Dixon has been a witness of these revivals as well as of the revivals in America, by means of which the Shaker churches are recruited, and we leave it to him to compare the two classes of phenomena:

"When the last Ulster revival broke out, I happened to be in Derry; and having watched the course of that spiritual hurricane from Derry to Belfast, I am able to say, that, excepting the scenery and the manners, a revival in Ulster is very much the same thing as a spiritual cycle in Ohio and Indiana.

"In this country, the religious passion breaks out like a fever, in the hottest places and in the wildest parts; always in a sect of extreme opinions, generally among the Ranters, the Turkers, the Seventh-day Baptists, the Come-outers, and the Methodists.

"Yet a camp-meeting, such as I have twice seen in the wilds of Ohio and Indiana, is a subject full of interest, not without touches in its humour and in its earnestness to unlock the fountains of our smiles and tears. The hour may be five in the afternoon of a windless October day, when myriads of yellow flowers and red mosses light up the sward—when the leaves of the oak and the plane are deepening into brown—when the maples gleam with crimson, and the hickory drips with gold. Among the roots and holes of ancient trees, amidst buzzing insects and whirring birds, rise a multitude of booths and tents, with an aspect strange yet homely. Carts and wagons are unhorsed; the animals tethered to the ground, or straying in search of grass. In a dozen large booths men are eating, drinking, smoking, praying. Some fellows are playing games; some lolling on the turf; others are lighting fires; many are cooking food. Those lads are cutting pines; these girls are getting water from the stream. In the

centre of the camp, a pale revivalist marabout, standing on the stump of a tree, is screeching and roaring to a wild hot throng of listeners, most of them farmers and farmers' wives from the settlements far and near; a sprinkling of negroes, a few red men in their paint and feathers—all equally ablaze with the orator himself, fierce partners in his zeal, and feeders of his fire. His periods are broken by shouts and sobs; his gestures are answered by yells and groans. Without let, without pause in his discourse, he goes tearing on, belching forth a hurricane of words and screams; while the men sit round him, white and still, writhing and livid, their lips all pressed, their hands all knotted, with the panic and despair of sin; and the women rush wildly about the camp, tossing up their arms, groaning out their confessions, casting themselves downwards on the earth, swooning into sudden hysterics, streaming at the eyes, and foaming at the mouth; the staid Indian looking with contempt on these miseries of the white man's squaw, and the negroes breaking forth into sobs and cries, and convulsive raptures of 'Glory! glory! Alleluja!'

"Many visitors fall sick, and some die in the camp. In the agonies of this strife against the power of sin and the fear of death (I am told by men who have often watched these spiritual tempests), the passions seem all to be unloosed, and to go astray without let or guide. 'I like to hear of a revival', said to me a lawyer of Indianapolis; 'it brings on a crop of cases'. In the revivalist camp men quarrel, and fight, and make love to their neighbour's wives. A Methodist preacher of twenty-five years' experience, first in New England, then on the frontiers, afterwards on the battle-fields of Virginia, said to me, 'Religious passion includes all other passion; you cannot excite one without stirring up the others. In our church we know the evil, and we have to guard against it as best we may. The young men who get up revivals are always objects of suspicion to their elders; many go wrong, I would say one in twenty at the least; more, far more, than that number bring scandal on the Church by their thoughtless behaviour in the revivalist camp'".

The next body claiming our attention is that of the Spiritualists. The history of this movement is well known to all who have read Dr. Brownson's *The Convert*. The third national convention of Spiritualists was held in Providence, in the month of August last, and eighteen states and territories were represented on the platform. Those who saw the persons composing the meeting were struck with their wild appearance. Their eyes were preternaturally bright; their faces preternaturally pale. Many of them practised imposition of hands; nearly all the men wore long hair, nearly all the women were closely cropped. One of the vice-presidents announced that more than three millions of Americans, men and women, have already entered into this movement. "No Church in the United States, not even the Methodist", says Mr. Dixon, "can sum up half that number of actual members". But a well informed writer in these pages

(*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. ii. pag. 444), thinks that the number of Catholics in the States must be between three or four millions. The Spiritualist millions announce their personal conviction that the old religions are exhausted, that the churches founded on them are dead, that new revelations are required by man. They affirm that these revelations are made by the rappings of unknown agents, the drawings by unseen hands, and the other phenomena presented by Spiritualism. They have a well constructed organization, with progressive schools, catechisms, newspapers; male and female prophets, mediums, and clairvoyants, Sunday services, camp meetings, and general conferences. A tenth part of the population in the New England States, a fifteenth part of the population of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, believe in those revelations from the spirit world. A very remarkable feature of the convention was the tone of stern hostility towards the religious creeds and moral standards of all Christian nations, which marked the speeches both of men and women. One lady declared that she for one would build no more churches; "for they had already too long oppressed and benighted humanity". "I am infidel", exclaimed the aged John Pierpoint, "to a great many of the forms of popular religion, because I do not believe in many of the points which are held by a majority of the Christians, nay, even of the Protestant Church". Instead of putting his faith in creeds and canons, he put it in progress, liberty, and spirits.

Another celibate sect is that of the Tunkers, as they are called by the profane, on account of their Baptist tendencies (the word *tunker* meaning to dip), or the Brethren, as they are known among themselves. Their neighbours call them the Harmless People. They live in little villages and groups of farms, for their common advantage, and not in separate communities like the Shakers. They remain subject to the civil law. They believe that all men will be saved; a dogma which is common to almost every new sect in the United States. They dress plain, avoid compliments, refuse to swear or fight, never go to law, employ no salaried priest, and consider the two sexes alike eligible for the sacred ministry. They hold strong views about the holiness of a single life, hold celibacy in the highest honour, and though they do not refuse to unite in marriage any brother and sister who may desire it, they never fail to impress upon the candidates for matrimony the superior virtues of a single life.

In strange contrast to these celibate societies is the body of reformers who call themselves Perfectionists, or Bible Communists. They profess to base their theory of family life on the New Testament, most of all on the teachings of St. Paul. They have restored, they say, the divine government of the world;

they have put the two sexes on an equal footing; they have declared marriage a fraud, and property a theft; they have abolished for themselves all human laws; they have formally renounced their allegiance to the United States.

The founder of this school is John Humphrey Noyes, whom Mr. Dixon describes as "a tall, pale man, with sandy hair and beard, gray, dreamy eyes, good mouth, white temples, and a noble forehead. He has been in turn a graduate of Dartmouth College, Connecticut, a law clerk at Putney in Vermont, a theological student at Andover, Massachusetts, a preacher at Yale College, New Haven, a seceder from the Congregational Church, an outcast, a heretic, an agitator, a dreamer, an experimentalizer; finally, he is now acknowledged by many people as a sect founder, a revelator, a prophet, enjoying light from heaven and personal intimacies with God"—p. 209.

The rule of faith and the rule of life of this new Church are both equally plain. The Perfectionist has a right to do what he likes. He can do nothing wrong, because the Holy Spirit sustains and guards him. He knows no law: no commandment in the ten, no statute on the rolls is binding on him—a child of grace. Laws are for sinners; he is a saint. Noyes practised this doctrine. He had been a teetotaller: on assuming holiness he began to drink ardent spirits. He had been temperate: he now began to indulge his palate. He had been chaste and regular in his habits: he now began to consort with harlots and thieves. And in doing all this he did no wrong: he had trusted himself to God, and walked through sin untouched. And how is a man to arrive at this stage of grace? Nothing is more easy; you have only to wish it, and at once, without good works, without prayers, by faith alone, you are freed from the power of sin.

There are three establishments belonging to the Perfectionists, in Wallingford, Brooklyn, and Oneida Creek. Mr. Dixon spent some days at Oneida as the guest of Noyes, and thus describes the appearance of the spot:

"Roads have been cut through the forest; bridges have been built; the creek has been trained and dammed; mills for slitting planks and for driving wheels have been erected; the bush has been cleared away; a great hall, offices, and workshops have been raised; lawns have been laid out; shrubberies planted and footways gravelled; orchards and vineyards have been reared and fenced; manufactures have been set going—iron-work, satchel-making, fruit-preserving, silk-spinning; and the whole aspect of this wild forest land has been beautified into the likeness of a rich demesne in Kent. Few corners of America can compete in loveliness with the swards and gardens lying about the home of the Oneida family, as those things arrest the eyes of a stranger coming upon them from the rough fields even of

the settled region of New York. . . . The estate is about six hundred acres in extent; the family gathered under one roof number about three hundred. Everything at Oneida Creek suggests taste, repose, and wealth; and the account-books prove that during the past seven or eight years the family have been making a good deal of money, which they have usefully laid out, either in the erection of new mills, or in draining and enriching the soil".

The rule laid upon all at Oneida Creek is simply this—the duty of enjoying life. The saints in that house were simply men in the position of Adam before the fall; men without sin; men to whom everything was lawful, because everything was pure. Why should they not eat, drink, and love to their heart's content, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit? All property is made over to Christ, the saints retain only the use of it. The wives and children of the family are as common as the property, the very soul of the system being a system which Mr. Dixon calls *pantagamy*, and which it is exceedingly difficult to explain in English. The whole family is one marriage circle, every man being the husband and brother of every woman, every woman being the wife and sister of every man. Marriage as a rite and as a fact they have abolished for ever, in the name of true religion. Every new member, whether male or female, becomes married to the entire family on entering the association.

The Bible Communists, like other communists, found it hard at first to support themselves. The principal income of the Oneida family is derived from the sale of their vermin traps. Sewell Newhouse, a Canadian trapper, who had joined the family, constructed an ingenious trap which soon became a favourite article. In a single year they made eighty thousand dollars of profit by their traps, and the present annual revenue from the same source is about three thousand pounds sterling.

The Bible Families are likely to increase. "They meet", said Elder Frederick to Mr. Dixon, "the desires of a great many men and women in this country; giving, in the name of religious service, a free rein to the passions, with a deep sense of repose. The Bible Communists give a pious charter to free love, and the sentiment of free love is rooted in the heart of New York"—p. 263.

These are some of the wild forms of religion in America, forms as grotesque and monstrous as the Gnostic sects described by the Fathers of the first four centuries. Such are the noxious vapours poisoning the air which so many millions of our race are compelled to breathe. And all these blasphemous doctrines, these extravagant superstitions, these infamous orgies, are declared by millions to be the result of their study of the Holy Bible, interpreted according to the inspirations of the Holy Ghost! And thus, in our

age, the Protestant rule of faith has made a religion of superstition, of voluptuousness, and of rationalism. And from its fruits you shall know it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN IRELAND.—THE ROLL OF 1560.

To the Editors of the Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

GENTLEMEN.—In the September number of your journal, in the article noticing recent publications on the above subjects, allusion is made to the notorious list of the spiritual and temporal peers, alleged to have assisted at Sussex's parliament in 1560, the original of which is now stated to have unaccountably disappeared from the Rolls Office. The writer says that it betrays manifest indications of being derived from a later and unauthenticated source. When the late Mr. Hardiman published what he called a copy, in his edition of the Statute of Kilkenny, he wrote that it was then in existence, though in a state of decay, being in some parts quite illegible. This was in 1842, and his intention was, as he says, to preserve it, as it had not been previously printed. But in this he was mistaken, as a copy differing in some respects had been printed, so far back as 1831, by William Lynch, in his *Feudal Dignities of Ireland*, p. 343. In Hardiman's copy there are *no* contractions of either names or titles, such being the case in Lynch's in nearly twenty places, while Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, is designated *Lord* Treasurer of Ireland by Lynch, and *Sub-Treasurer* by Hardiman. Again, in neither copy have lords Athenry or Curcy Christian names prefixed, seven bishops being also defective in that respect, while in both, four barons take precedence of viscounts, who are followed by barons, a very unofficial mode of registry. No officer of parliament would be guilty of such heraldic anomalies or mistakes, precedence of rank (as all who have examined the journals of the Lords are aware) being a vital point, on which the Irish peers were particularly sensitive, so much so as frequently to require the royal interposition.

The roll in question has been called by Sir William Betham, in his memoir of the family of Fleming of Slane, a parliament pawn, that is, a schedule of writs to be issued for the ensuing parliament, a title and character against which Lynch properly argues, from its *heading*, and from the fact that it contains lists

of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, *actually elected* and returned by the sheriffs, proving that it must have been prepared some time or other *after* parliament had assembled. The time, or for what purpose, it is difficult to ascertain, but the defect of Christian names shows that it was not immediate, and the probability is, that it was fabricated to show summons and sittings of the temporal peers, in order to substantiate peerage claims for which such proofs were absolutely necessary. The name of Roger (Skiddy), bishop of Cork and Cloyne, being inscribed on the roll, has always tarnished it as apocryphal, as it was not till 29th October, 1561, he obtained confirmation from the dean and chapter, nearly a year after the parliament sat, and on which day he also obtained restitution of the temporalities from Queen Elizabeth by virtue of which he became a peer of parliament. It would certainly be very strange if the chancellor should summon to parliament as a spiritual peer, one who, according to the construction of the laws of England, was not a full bishop, and who only received the queen's letter on 31st July, 1561, directed to himself and Sussex, for Skiddy's admission. The bishop of Ross is also entered on this roll, being one of those to whom *no* Christian name is prefixed. Ware writes that Dermot Mac Domnail died in 1552; yet it was a question with him whether he did not resign before his death, as he found one John, called Bishop of Ross, on the 12th of August, 1551. But this entry is the only mention of such a bishop in any record, and the name John is most likely a mistake for Dermot. He gives as his successor Thomas O'Herlihy, who was sitting in 1563, having assisted at the Council of Trent in that year. We now know that O'Herlihy was not appointed by the Pope till December, 1561, and consequently could not have been present in the parliament of 1560, and although in the interval between Mac Domnail and O'Herlihy the Pope appointed Maurice O'Fihely and Maurice Hea to this see, no one will presume that the latter would be summoned, or attend if summoned. In like manner we have the "Episcopus" or "Epus.", "Aledenen", i. e. the Bishop of Killala. Redmund O'Gallagher had been appointed bishop by the Pope in 1545, by whom he was translated to Derry in 1569, and was killed by the English in O'Kane's country, 15th March, 1601. It is utterly incredible that he would attend, living so remote from English influence in the north-west of Connaught.

Conceding for a moment that the document is genuine, and not fabricated for a special purpose, it affords within itself no evidence as to what part any of the lords took on any question brought before them, how they voted, *content* or *non-content*. Some of them may have acquiesced in the surreptitious passing

of the act of uniformity; for instance, of the spiritual peers, Curwin of Dublin, and Devereux of Ferns; but it is admitted on all hands that two of these named on the roll, namely, Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, acted quite otherwise. Butler, Earl of Ormond, or as he is generally called "Black Tom", may have been a supporter of English minions to gratify his revenge against Desmond; but it was a hypocritical support, for when the hour of death came, he, like many another unfortunate, died an unworthy member of the Church of Rome. Gerald Earl of Kildare, so often in after life suspected and imprisoned by the Dublin cabal, the unfortunate Gerald Earl of Desmond, and Eustace Viscount Baltinglass, who were the suffering champions of Catholicity, we may be assured never revolted against their original principles; in fact Sussex as well as Curwin, as all extant records show, were in the then existing uncertainty of the descent of the crown, mere temporizers, not knowing how soon Mary Stuart, the devoted and inflexible adherent of Catholic principles, would be queen, and therefore very unlikely to exercise coercive measures.

But were these lords present, and did they vote? The former is not only the crucial test of the authenticity of this roll, on which depends whether it was an after-invention or not, but is the sole and real question involved. I have no doubt it is a fabrication; the anomalies and mistakes and difficulties as to Skiddy and Gallagher are very strong; but there is one other objection which I consider conclusive, and which will require great ingenuity to controvert and set aside. One of the temporal peers named on this famous roll as being present, was *actually dead* when the parliament sat. The heading of the roll states that it sat on the 11th of January, in the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that is 1560, as she ascended the throne, 17th November, 1558. Now the thirteenth on the list is "Ricardus Nugent miles, baro de Delvyn". Turn now to Archdall's *Irish Peerage*, vol. i. p. 232, and we find that this Richard Nugent, eighth baron of Delvin, made his will 23rd November, 1559, and that it was found by *post mortem* inquisition he died on the 10th of December, same year. The entry, therefore, of his attendance and sitting is false, and from this fatal mistake we may judge of the entire document. There could be no mistake about the Christian name; it is *Richard* on the roll; and his eldest son and successor was *Christopher*, only fifteen years old at his father's death, who consequently could not sit as a peer. Archdall observed this, but merely says that the fact of his having died on the 10th December, "proves that the inserting his name in this roll, as one of the lords present in the parliament held by the Lord Deputy Sussex, 12th January, 1559-60, is a mistake". But it was a fortunate mistake for the eluci-

tion of truth and exposure of falsehood, no matter how ingeniously concocted. It is very questionable but the name of Barry, lord of Buttevante, is not also fraudulently introduced. It was a feudal title; the preceding peer left daughters, and it was by entail James Fitz Richard Barry Roe succeeded his deceased cousin, who died in March, 1557, and it was not till 27th April, 1561, that the former had special livery of the inheritance by which he became entitled. But the case of Lord Delvin is enough and satisfactory.

J. W. H.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I. A Limerick correspondent asks what is to be understood by the formula *ob inopiam sacerdotum*, which occurs in the petition addressed by the Irish bishops to Propaganda, and which seems to limit the permission granted by the Holy See for masses *de Requiem* to be celebrated on doubles *praesente cadavere*. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i. page 296.

To this question we reply:—

1. That this formula having been inserted in the petition of our bishops to the Holy See, each bishop is the authentic interpreter of it for his own clergy.

2. The *inopia sacerdotum* is not to be too strictly interpreted, as if it should necessarily imply the absence of a sufficient number of priests to sing a high mass. It is to be understood as the normal condition of our parishes and churches, contrasted with the facilities for solemn ceremonies which are to be met with in continental Catholic countries.

3. The general scarcity of priests in our Church as contrasted with other Catholic countries, oftentimes occasions many difficulties, which must be taken into account when explaining the above formula: for instance, the necessary expense and similar inconveniences which might not be compatible with the circumstances of the relatives of the deceased.

4. The same formula occurs in the permission granted to England by rescript of 7th March, 1847. Now it is interpreted in England in its widest bearing; and even in religious houses, where we should suppose that a sufficient number of priests might easily be found, a low mass is said *praesente cadavere*, in accordance with this concession of the Holy See.

II. A much respected correspondent inquires “if an altar may be consecrated in a church which has not yet been consecrated”.

We believe that an altar may be consecrated in a church which has not been consecrated. It has been done in the Basilica of St. Paul's at Rome.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

CIRCULAR OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS.

Per illustris ac Rme. Domine,

Quum Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius PP. IX. in supremo Apostolici Ministerii fastigio Speculator a Deo datus sit domui Israel, ideo si ulla sese offerat opportuna occasio, qua veram populi Christiani felicitatem promovere, vel mala eidem iam illata ac etiam tantummodo forsaa impendentia agnoscere queat, eam nulla interposita mora arripit et amplectitur, ut providentiae et auctoritatis suaे studium impense collocet, aut aptiora remedia alacriter adhibeat.

Iam vero in hac tanta temporum rerumque acerbitate nonnisi singulari Dei beneficio sibi datum iudicans, quod in proxima festiva celebrite centenariae memoriae de glorioso Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli martyrio, et canonizationis tot Christianae religionis heroum, amplissimam pulcherrimamque solio suo coronam faciant nedum S. R. E. Cardinales, sed etiam tot Rmi. Episcopi ex omnibus terrarum partibus profecti, periucunda eorumdem praesentia et opera sapienter sibi utendum statuit, mandavitque Episcopis in Urbe praesentibus quasdam proponi quaestiones circa graviora ecclesiasticae disciplinae capita, ut de vero illorum statu certior factus, id suo tempore decernere valeat, quod in Domino expedire iudicaverit.

Quae sint huiusmodi disciplinae capita, super quibus ex mandato Sanctitatis Suae haec Sacra Concilii Congregatio ab Amplitudine Tua relationem et sententiam, quantum ad Tuam Dioecesim pertinet, nunc exquirit, luculenter prostant in syllabo quaestionum quem hic adnectimus. Si quid vero aliud forte sit, quod abusum sapiat, aut gravem in urgenda sacrorum Canonum executione difficultatem involvat, Tibi exponere et declarare integrum erit: Apostolica namque Sedes, re mature perspensa, succurrere et providere, prout rerum ac temporum ratio postulaverit, procul dubio non remorabitur.

Ne autem ad hanc relationem cumulate perficiendam Dominationi Tuae congrua temporis commoditas desit, trium vel quatuor, si opus fuerit, mensium spatium a die praesentium Literarum conceditur. Caeterum eamdem relationem mittendam curabis ad ipsam Sanctitatem Suam, vel ad hanc S. Congregationem.

Interim impensa animi mei sensa ex corde profiteor Amplitudini Tuae, cui fausta quaque ac salutaria adprecor a Domino. Amplitudinis Tuae.

Datum Romae ex S. C. Concilii die 6 Junii 1867.

Uti Frater

P. CARD. CATERINI PRAEF.

Quaestiones quae ab Apostolica Sede Episcopis proponuntur.

1. Ultrum accurate serventur canonicae praescriptiones, quibus omnino interdicitur, quominus haeretici vel schismatici, in administratione Baptismi, patrini munere fungantur?

2. Quanam forma et quibusnam cautelis probetur libertas status pro contrahendis matrimonii: et utrum ipsimet Episcopo vel eius Curiae episcopali reservetur iudicium super status cuiusque contrahentis libertate. Quidnam tandem hac super re denuo sancire expediret, prae oculis habita Instructione die 21 Augusti 1670 s. m. Clementis X. auctoritate edita?

3. Quaenam adhiberi possent remedia ad impedienda mala ex civili quod appellant matrimonio provenientia?

4. Pluribus in locis, ubi haereses impune grassantur, mixta connubia ex Summi Pontificis dispensatione quandoque permittuntur, sub expressa tamen conditione de praemittendis necessariis opportunisque cautionibus, iis praesertim quae naturali ac divino iure in hisce connubiis requiruntur. Minime dubitari fas est, quin locorum Ordinarii ab huiusmodi contrahendis nuptiis fideles avertant ac deterrent, et tandem, si graves adsint rationes, in exequenda apostolica facultate dispensandi super mixtae religionis impedimento, omni cura studioque advigilent, ut dictae conditiones, sicuti par est, in tuto ponantur. At enimvero postquam promissae fuerint, sanctene diligenterque adimpleri solent, et quibusnam mediis posset praecaveri, ne quis a datis cautionibus servandis temere se subducatur?

5. Quomodo entendum, ut in praedicatione verbi Dei sacrae conaciones ea gravitate semper habeantur, ut ab omni vanitatis et novitatis spiritu praeserventur immunes, itemque omnis doctrinae ratio, quae traditur fidelibus, in verbo Dei reipsa contineatur, ideoque ex Scriptura et traditionibus, sicut decet, hauriatur?

6. Dolendum summopere est, ut populares scholae quae patent omnibus cuiusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim instituta, quae litteris severioribusque disciplinis tradendis et educationi iuuentutis curandae sunt destinata, eximantur pluribus in locis ab Ecclesiae auctoritate moderatrice vi et influxu, plenaque civilis ac politicae auctoritatis arbitrio subiiciantur ad imperantium placita et ad communium aetatis opinionum amussim: quidnam itaque effici posset, quo congruum tanto malo remedium afferatur, et Christifidelibus suppetat Catholicae instructionis et educationis adiumentum?

7. Maxime interest, ut adolescentes clerici humanioribus litteris severioribusque disciplinis recte imbuantur. Quid igitur praescribi posset ad Cleri institutionem magis ac magis fovendam accommodatum, praesertim ut latinarum litterarum, rationalis philosophiae ab omni erroris periculo intaminatae, sanaeque theologiae iurisque canonici studium in seminariis potissimum diocesanis floreat?

8. Quibusnam mediis excitandi essent clerici, qui praesertim sacerdotio sunt initiati, ut emenso scholarum curriculo, studiis theologicis et canonici impensius vacare non desistant? Praeterea quid statendum efficiendumque, ut qui ad sacros ordines iam promoti, excellenteri ingenio praediti, in decurrentis philosophiae ac theologiae studiis

praestantiores habitu sunt, possint in divinis sacrisque omnibus disciplinis et nominatim in divinarum Scripturarum, sanctorum Patrum, ecclesiasticae historiae sacrique iuris scientia penitus excoli?

9. Iuxta ea, quae a Concilio Tridentino c. 16, vers. 23 de *reform.* praescribuntur, quicumque ordinatur illi Ecclesia aut pio loco pro cuius necessitate aut utilitate assumitur adscribi debet, ubi suis fungatur muneribus nec incertis vagetur sedibus: quod si locum inconsulto Episcopo deseruerit, ei sacrorum exercitium interdicitur. Haec praeescriptiones nec plene neque ubique servantur. Quomodo ergo his praescriptionibus supplendum, et quid statui posset, ut clerici propriae dioecesi servitium, et suo Praesuli reverentiam et obedientiam continuo praestent?

10. Plures prodierunt et in dies prodeunt congregations et instituta virorum et mulierum, qui votis simplicibus obstricti piis munib; obeundis se addicunt. Expedite ut potius congregations ab Apostolica Sede probatae augeantur latius et crescant quam ut novae eundem prope finem habentes constituantur et efformentur?

11. Utrum sede episcopali ob mortem vel renunciationem vel translationem Episcopi vacante, Capitulum Ecclesiae cathedralis in Vicario capitulari eligendo plena libertate fruatur?

12. Quanam forma indicatur et fiat concursus, qui in provisione ecclesiarum parochialium peragi debet iuxta decretum Concilii Tridentini sess. 24, *de reform.* c. 18, et Constitutionem sa.me. Benedicti XIV. quae die 14 Decembris 1742 data incipit *Cum illud.*

13. Utrum et quonodo expediret numerum caussarum augere, quibus parochi ecclesiis suis iure privari possunt: nec non et procedendi formam laxius praestituere, qua ad huiusmodi privationes facilis, salva iustitia, possit deveniri?

14. Quomodo executioni traditur quod de suspensionibus *ex informata conscientia* vulgo dictis decernitur a Concilio Tridentino c. 1, sess. 14 *de reformat.* Et circa huius decreti sensum et applicationem estne aliquid animadvertisendum?

15. Quonam modo Episcopi iudicariam qua pollut potestatem in cognoscendis caassis ecclesiasticis, potissimum matrimonialibus, exercant, et quanam procedendi atque appellations interponendi methodo utantur?

16. Quaenam mala proveniant ex domestico famulatu, quem familiis Catholicis praestant personae vel sectis proscriptis vel haeresi addictae vel etiam non baptizatae: et quodnam hisce malis posset opportune remedium afferri?

17. Quidnam circa sacra coemeteria adnotandum sit: quinam hac de re abusus irreperint et quomodo tolli possent?

II.

ALLOCUTION DELIVERED BY PIUS IX. 20TH SEPTEMBER.

Venerabiles Fratres,

Universus catholicus orbis noscit, Venerabiles Fratres, maxima damna, gravissimasque injurias Catholicae Ecclesiae, Nobis, et huic

Apostolicae Sedi, Episcopis, Sacrisque Administris, Religiosis utriusque sexus Familii, aliisque piis Institutis a Subalpino Gubernio pluribus abhinc annis illatas, omnibus divinis humanisque juribus conculcatis, et ecclesiasticis poenis, ac censuris plane despectis, quemadmodum saepe lamentari, et reprobare coacti fuimus. Idem vero Gubernium quotidie magis vexans Ecclesiam, eamque opprimere contendens post alias editas leges ipsi, ejusque auctoritatibus adversas, et iecirco a Nobis damnatas, eo injustitiae devenit, ut minime exhortuerit legem proponere, approbare, sancire, et promulgare, quae insuis, et usurpati regionibus temerario, ac sacrilego prorsus ausu Ecclesiam propriis omnibus bonis cum ingenti ipsius quoque civilis societatis damno spoliavit, sibique vindicavit, et eadem bona vendenda constituit. Omnes profecto vident quam injusta, et quam immanis sit haec lex, qua et inviolabile possidendi jus, quo Ecclesia ex divina sua instutione pollet, oppugnat, et omnia naturalia divina et humana jura proculcantur, omnes utriusque Cleri viri de re catholica, et humana societate optime meriti, et Virgines Deo sacrae ad tristissimam egestatem, ac mendicitatem rediguntur.

In tanta igitur Ecclesiae ruina, omniumque juriuum eversione Nos, qui ipsius Ecclesiae, et justitiae causam pro supremi Apostolici Nostri ministerii officio studiosissime tueri, defendere et vindicare debemus, nullo certe modo silere possumus. Itaque in hoc amplissimo vestro conventu Nostram extollimus vocem, et commemoratam legem auctoritate Nostra Apostolica reprobamus, damnamus, eamque omnino irritam, et nullam declaramus. Ipsius autem legis auctores, et fautores sciant se misere incidisse in ecclesiasticas poenas, et censuras, quas Sacri Canones, Apostolicae Constitutiones, et Generalium Conciliorum Decreta ipso facto incurrendas infligunt contra Ecclesiae, ejusque juriuum, ac bonorum usurpatores, et invasores. Paveant insuper et contremiscant hi acerrimi Ecclesiae hostes, ac pro certo habeant, gravissimas, severissimasque eis a Deo Ecclesiae sanctae auctore et vindice poenas parari, nisi vere poenitentes redierint ad cor, et illata eidem Ecclesia damna resarcire, ac reparare studuerint, quemadmodum Nos vel maxime optamus, et a miserationum Domino humiliiter enixeque exposcimus.

Hac autem occasione sciatis velimus, Venerabiles Fratres, mendacem quemdam libellum gallice scriptum et Parisiis recens editum fuisse, quo cum summa perfidia, et impudentia in lectoris animum dubia insinuantur, ut luctuosissimae rerum in Mexico vicissitudines huic Apostolicae Sedi aliquo modo attribuendae sint. Quod quidem quam falsum, quam absurdum sit, omnes certe noscunt, atque id luce clarius appetet, inter alia documenta, ex epistola Nobis die XVIII superioris mensis Junii ab infelicissimo Maximiliano in carcere scripta, antequam indignam et crudelem mortem obiret.

Hanc ipsam vero nacti opportunitatem continere non possumus, quin meritas, amplissimasque laudes tribuamus clarissimae memoriae Ludovico Altieri, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinali, et Albani Episcopo. Ipse enim, ut optime nostis, summo loco natus claris virtutibus ornatus, gravissimisque muneribus perfunctus, Nobisque

carus, ubi primum accepit horrificum cholerae morbum Albanum grassari, sui omnino immemor et caritatis aestu in commissum sibi gregem flagrans, illuc statim advolavit. Ac nullis laboribus, nullis consiliis, nullisque incommodis, et periculis parcens, dies noctesque sine mora et requie miseros infirmos, et moribundos spiritualibus quibusque praesidiis, et omni alia ope suis propriis manibus juvare reficeret ac solari nunquam cessavit, donec horribili morbo corruptus, veluti bonus pastor dedit animam suam pro ovibus suis. Evidem illius memoria in Ecclesiae fastis semper in benedictione erit quandoquidem christiana caritatis victima fortunatam obiit mortem, et maximam ac nunquam interitaram gloriam sibi, Ecclesiae ac nobilissimo vestro, omniumque catholicorum Antistitutum Ordini comparavit. Nos quidem etiamsi gravi moerore affecti fuerimus, vix dum ejusdem Cardinalis obitum audivimus, tamen magna consolatione sustentamur, quod certam spem habemus, illius animam ad coelestem patriam pervenisse, ibique in Domino exultare, ac fervidas Deo pro Nobis, Vobisque, et universa Ecclesia preces offere. Debitam quoque laudem tribuum utrique Albani Clero, qui illustria sui Antistitis vestigia sequens cum ipsis vitae discrimine omnem, religiosam praesertim, operam aegrotantibus, morientibusque sedulo navare non destitit. Omnibus etiam praeconiis digni sunt Nostri milites ibi morantes tum a publica securitate servanda, vulgo *Gendarmi*, tum qui *Zuavi* appellantur; nam vitae periculo plane spreto, in defunctorum potissimum humandis corporibus praeciarum christiana caritatis praebuerunt exemplum.

Denique, Venerabiles Fratres, ne desistamus levare animas nostras ad Dominum Deum Nostrum, qui est multae miercordiae omnibus invocantibus eum et Ipsum jugiter oremus, et obsecremus, ut strenue Vobiscum stantes in paelio, atque opposentes murum pro domo Israel, Ecclesiae suae sanctae causam viriliter propugnare, et omnes Ecclesiae inimicos ad justitiae, salutisque semitas reducere possimus.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.

The MacGillicuddy Papers, etc., by W. Maziere Brady, D.D.
London: Longman, 1857.

This work contains extracts from the family papers of *the MacGillicuddy*, and affords a valuable and trustworthy illustration of the means by which family estates were preserved despite the persecution of Elizabeth and the confiscations of succeeding reigns. In 1718 the heir to that great name signed the renunciation of the faith of his fathers: he thus improved his temporal estate, but lost all claim to the consideration and esteem of this Catholic nation.

II.

Familiar Discourses to the Young, etc., by a Catholic Priest.
Duffy, 1867.

We heartily commend this volume to our readers. The exhortations which it contains embrace the chief points of instruction which are needed by the young of every grade. Parents as well as children—those who are advanced in years, as well as the young who are beginning life's battle, will find much to edify and instruct them. The volume displays throughout a depth of piety and learning seldom to be met with under such an unpretending title.

III.

The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Reagh, etc., by Daniel Mac Carthy. London: Longmans, 1867.

Mr. Mac Carthy in this work has rendered good service to our national history. Though he merely claims to present to us the life of an individual, he gives in reality the history of Ireland at a period of thrilling interest. Florence Mac Carthy, tanist of Carbery, was one of the chief opponents of Elizabethan rule in Ireland, and was one of those most feared by the English agents in this country towards the close of her reign. Hitherto his history was scarcely known to us except through the pages of the *Hibernia Pacata*; and even in this prejudiced narrative of an open enemy, Florence Mac Carthy was found to display unusual abilities, and a military genius of the highest order. The present *life* is derived from the original State Papers and other authentic sources. It presents in detail the chief events of the war in Munster towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and unfolds to us in the fullest light, that dauntless courage and consummate skill which gave the stamp of heroism to the character of this Irish chieftain, and proves him to have been justly beloved by the people whilst he was the terror of the enemies of Ireland. The whole volume is an exhaustless mine of thrilling incidents and important details connected with the history of Ireland in Elizabeth's reign.

IV.

Evangelia Dominicarum et Festorum totius anni, homilicis explicationibus secundum mentem SS. Patrum et Catholicorum interpretum illustrata, opera Francisci Xaverii Schouppe, S.J. Bruxellis, tom. i. ii. pp. 501, 494.

This is one of the many useful compilations for which the clergy have reason to be grateful to F. Schouppe. It is intended as a companion book to the *Adjumenta Oratoris Sacri*, of which

we gave some account to our readers last year. It does not contain set discourses methodically arranged, but rather gives a full exposition of the text, in order that the preacher may, by his own labour, construct therefrom his sermons for the people.

The sources whence the explanation is derived are the works of the Holy Fathers, and of approved Catholic commentators, such as Toletus, Maldonatus, Lucas Brugeusis, A Lapide, Patrizi, etc. The moral or tropological sense is generally drawn from the meditations of Lud. de Ponte. Each Gospel has annexed to it a double explanation, the first according to the literal sense, the second according to the mystic and accommodated senses.

An *Introduction* on the various senses of Scripture, a summary of the Gospel History, and an interesting table of the distances of the various places visited by our Lord in His journeyings on earth, contribute to make this excellent work still more complete and useful.

v.

Romanus Pontifex, tanquam Primas Ecclesiae et Princeps civilis e monumentis Omnium Seculorum demonstratur, addita amplissima litteratura, auctore, Augustino de Roskovany Episcopo Nitriensi: Nitriae, 1867. 5 vols.

This valuable collection of documents from the Scripture, the Fathers, the letters and decrees of the Popes, declarations of councils, bishops, and sovereigns, supplies the student with the groundwork of the entire treatise *De Romano Pontifice*. The *literature*, or list of books on the subject, in each age, which is subjoined, renders it easy to appreciate the relative value of each of the documents themselves. Vol. i., contains the documents and literature of the first fifteen centuries regarding the primacy; vol. ii., those of the sixteenth and seventeenth; vol. iii., of the eighteenth; vol. iv., of the nineteenth, down to 1865; and vol. v., those concerning the temporal power from the fourth century to the year 1865 of the nineteenth.

VI.

The Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern, by the Rev. A. Cogan, vol. ii. Dublin, 1867.

We congratulate the Rev. Mr. Cogan on having brought to a happy conclusion the second volume of his History of the Diocese of Meath. No one seems better suited than the author to achieve the great work which he proposed to himself. With untiring industry he examined every record connected with his subject: continual references to communications received from others, show that he spared no trouble to seek at the hands of

others particular items which their researches might have gleaned : he consulted the local clergy and the aged parishioners of each district : he visited the crosses, the holy wells, the ruined churches, the *places of refuge* hallowed by sacred traditions, the secluded spots where the Holy Sacrifice was offered up by stealth in the days of persecution ; and in a lively style presents to us the results of his investigations.

He resumes the history of the bishops of Meath with Dr. William Walsh, who being appointed in 1554, braved the fury of Elizabethan bigotry, and in penalty was deprived of the temporalities of his see. For some years after his demise the administration of the diocese was entrusted to the care of vicars general till the consecration of Dr. Thomas Dease, on the 14th of May, 1622. As early as 1611 he had been summoned to that dignity by Rome, but declined to accept it. He regarded, however, the second summons to it as a command, and courageously entered on the perilous duties imposed on him. Many interesting facts connected with him are given to us by Father Cogan, but there are some features of his public career which, we think, might be placed in a clearer light. The lives of the succeeding bishops, Anthony Mac Geoghegan, Patrick Plunket, James Cusack, Patrick Tyrrell, etc., are all treated with a master's hand ; but by far the most valuable contribution to our ecclesiastical history contained in the present volume are the original papers now published for the first time, connected with the episcopate of Dr. Patrick Joseph Plunket, a name still familiar to the more aged of our clergy. Our limits will not allow us for the present to enter into further details, but we trust we have said enough to awaken the interest of our readers, and we sincerely hope that the learned author will soon favour us with the third volume of his valuable work.

VII.

When does the Church speak infallibly ? or the Nature and Scope of the Church's Teaching Office, by Thomas Francis Knox, of the Oratory. London : Burns, Oates, and Co., 1867, pp. 92.

In the brief preface prefixed to this book, the reverend author modestly disclaims for it all pretensions to be a theological and scientific treatise. And yet, we believe that it will be highly esteemed by those who value theology, and by all who are trained to scientific method. The work is addressed to Catholics who as such believe in an infallible Church. Taking the infallibility of the Church as the starting point, it addresses itself to various questions concerning the subject, the object-matter of infallibility, and concerning the way in which the Church teaches. These questions are as follows :

1. What is the subject of the Church's infallibility as teacher—*i.e.*, in what person or persons does her gift of teaching with infallibility reside?
2. What is the object-matter of her infallibility—*i.e.*, what precisely is the sphere within which she teaches infallibly?
3. In what way does she exercise her office as teacher?
4. What are the nature and character of her doctrinal condemnations?
5. What obligation does her teaching lay upon the faithful?

In replying to these questions the author displays much judgment and learning. Under the second question he considers as objects of infallibility—1, truths explicitly or implicitly contained in the original revelation; 2, general principles of morality, if any, not contained in the deposit; 3, dogmatic and moral facts under which come—*a.* the meaning of books in relation to faith; *b.* canonization of saints; *c.* general ecclesiastical discipline and worship; *d.* approbation of religious orders; *e.* condemnation of secret and other societies, education, particular moral facts; 4, political truths and principles; 5, theological conclusions; 6, philosophy and natural sciences.

In conclusion the author offers a few brief remarks on the practical bearing of the subject of which he has been treating. As a convenient mode of doing this he chooses the form of answers to objections which may suggest themselves against the doctrine he has set forth. We make room for one of these remarks:

"First, then, it may be said, that to oblige Catholics under pain of mortal sin to submit their intellect to the Church's teaching on a variety of matters philosophical, political, scientific, and the like, which are only remotely connected with faith and morals, is to lay upon them an intolerable burden, such as will crush out all activity of mind, and be a perpetual hamper to them in all scientific researches.—To this objection it may be answered, that it really begs the question; for all its force comes from the implied assumption that the Church is not infallible in such matters. If she is infallible, as she claims by her acts to be, what she teaches concerning these things is absolute truth. And no addition to our stock of truth, whencesoever it comes, and on whatever grounds it rests, can justly be regarded as an intellectual burden. On the contrary, it is an intellectual benefit, as tending to clear our views, to save us from possible errors, and to advance us in the pursuit of truth. The difficulty is at bottom precisely the same as that which non-Catholics feel about the Church's teaching in matters of faith. To them it seems a tyranny in her to oblige reasonable beings to believe dogmas which do not rest for their evidence on natural reason".

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1867.

GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO. V.

"READER, you are beginning to suspect us. 'How long do we purpose to detain people?' For anything that appears we may be designing to write on to the twentieth century. 'And whither are we going?' Towards what object? which is as urgent a quære as *how far*. Perhaps we may be leading you into treason. You feel symptoms of doubt and restiveness; and like Hamlet with his father's ghost, you will follow us no further unless we explain what it is that we are in quest of".

These words of Thomas De Quincey to his readers in the middle of one of his discursive essays, which, interesting as they certainly are in all their parts, yet sometimes beget a feeling of weariness from the uncomfortable apprehension that they will never come to an end, are, perhaps, scarcely less appropriate in our own case. It may be that our readers have been left too long in the uneasy state of suspense and hope deferred. They came to our pages to look for a practical solution of the question, Is Geology at variance with the Bible? and what avails it, they may ask, to discourse to them of the Gulf Stream, and Rivers, and Glaciers, and Alluvial Plains, and Coral Rocks, and Coal Mines? Month after month they have been following us with painful steps through tedious disquisitions, straining their eyes to see the end, but the end is not yet in sight. Well, then, if they will rest for a few minutes by the way, we will pause, too, and tell them what we are about, and try to bring more clearly before their minds the object at which we are aiming.

Our design from the beginning was to consider the points of contact between Geology and Revelation; to examine the relations that exist between these two departments of knowledge,—one resting upon reason and observation, the other given to us from Heaven; and to inquire how far it may be possible to adopt the conclusions of the former, while we adhere, at the same time, with unswerving fidelity, to the unchangeable truths of the latter. With this end in view, we proceeded at once to sketch out the more prominent features of Geological theory; not the particular theory of one writer, or of one school, but that more general theory which is adopted by all writers, and prevails in every school. This theory, we were well aware, is in many points widely at variance with the common notions of sensible and even well-informed men who have not devoted much attention to the study of Physical science. And it occurred to us that, possibly, many of our readers might be disposed to cut the controversy short, by rejecting in a summary way the whole system of Geology, and treating it as an empty shadow or an idle dream. This, we were convinced, would be a mistaken and a mischievous course. Geology is not a house of cards that it may be blown down by a breath. It is a hypothesis, a theory, if you will: but we cannot in fairness deny that behind this theory there are facts,—unexpected, startling, significant facts; that these facts, when considered in their relations to one another, and when illustrated by the present phenomena of Nature, and when skilfully grouped together, as they have been, by able men, disclose certain general truths, and suggest certain arguments, which do seem to point in the direction of those conclusions at which Geologists have arrived.

If, therefore, we would investigate fairly the claims of Geology, we must first learn to appreciate the significance of these facts, and to estimate the value of these arguments. Now this is precisely what we have been trying to do. We are not writing a treatise on Geology. Certainly not: it would be a presumption in us, with our scanty knowledge, to attempt it. Besides, Geology has its own professors, and its lecture halls, and its manuals. Neither do we mean to assume the character of the advocates or champions of Geology. It does not ask our services; in its cause are enrolled the most illustrious names which for the last fifty years have adorned the annals of Physical Science. Nay, we do not even want to insist upon that more general theory of Geology which we are endeavouring to explain and to illustrate. We propose only to collect from various sources, and to string together the evidence that may be adduced in its favour; that so, when we come hereafter to consider this theory in its relation with the History of the Bible, we may not incur

the risk of discomfiture by denying that which has been proved by facts, but rather approach the subject with such knowledge as may help us to discover the real harmony, that we know must exist between the truths inscribed on the works of God, and those which are recorded in His Written Word.

In the accomplishment of this task we have devoted ourselves chiefly to the study of the Aqueous or Stratified Rocks. According to Geologists, these rocks, such as we find them now, were not the immediate work of creation, but were slowly produced in the long lapse of ages, and laid out one above another, by a vast and complex machinery of secondary causes. The elements of which they are composed were gathered together from many and various sources; sometimes from the ocean, sometimes from the air, sometimes from other pre-existing rocks; and, for aught we know, may have had a long and eventful history before they came to assume their present structure and arrangement. Thus, for example, the Conglomerates, and Sandstones, with which we are so familiar, are made up of broken fragments derived from earlier rocks, and then transported to distant sites by the mountain torrents, or the stately rivers of vast continents, or the silent currents of the sea; the Limestone with which we build our houses is the work of living animals that once swarmed in countless myriads beneath the waters of the ocean; and the Coal which supplies the motive power to our manufactories, our railways, our ships of war and commerce, is but the modern representative of ancient swamps and forests, which, having been buried in the earth, and there, by the action of chemical laws, endowed with new properties, were laid by for the future use of man in the great storehouse of Nature.

This mode of accounting for the origin and formation of Stratified Rocks constitutes in a manner the framework that supports and binds together the whole system of Geology. If it be once fairly established, Geology is entitled to take high rank as a Physical Science. If on the contrary it should prove to be without foundation, then Geology is no longer a science, but a dream. Moreover, it is this theory of stratification which, from the first, has brought Geology into contact with Revelation. For Geologists have been led to infer the extreme Antiquity of the Earth, from the immense thickness of the Stratified Rocks on the one hand, and, on the other, the very slow and gradual process by which each stratum in the series has been in its turn, spread out and consolidated. Those likewise who claim for the Human Race a greater Antiquity than the Bible allows, seek for their proofs in the supposed origin and antiquity of those superficial deposits, in which the remains of Man or his works are sometimes found entombed.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the theory of

Stratified Rocks should engage the largest share of our attention when we undertake to discuss the relations of Geology to Revealed Religion. For the present we say nothing about the conclusions that flow from this theory, or the errors to which it has led when hastily or ignorantly applied: we are only investigating the evidence by which it is supported. In our former papers we have drawn out at some length the line of reasoning which is derived from the character of the Aqueous Rocks themselves, when considered in the light of Nature's present operations. We have shown that Stratified Rocks of many different kinds, just such as those which compose the Crust of the Earth, have been produced by natural causes within historic times; and we have explained some of the more simple and intelligible parts of that complex machinery, which, even now, is busily at work gathering, sorting, distributing, piling up together, and consolidating the materials of new strata all over the world. These considerations, we took occasion to point out, beget a strong presumption in favour of the Geological theory. Here we have Nature at work, actually bringing into existence a stratum of rock before our eyes. And there, in the Crust of the Earth, we find another stratum of precisely the same kind already finished. What can be more reasonable than to ascribe the one to the action of the same causes which we see at work upon the other? And thus, by extending the area of our observations from one class of Aqueous Rocks to another, the idea gradually grows upon us that these rocks have been spread out, stratum upon stratum, during many successive ages, by the agency of secondary causes similar to those which are still in operation; and that each stratum, in its turn, as it first came into existence, was for a time the uppermost of the series.

We are now about to consider a new and independent testimony in favour of this conclusion. It is the testimony of Fossil Remains. On this branch of our subject we do not mean to offer much in the way of argument strictly so called. We shall content ourselves with a simple statement of facts, and leave them to produce their own impression. It will be necessary at the outset to explain some technical matters, that what we have to say hereafter may be the better understood: and if in this we are somewhat dry and tiresome, we will try to make amends by the curious and interesting story of Nature's long buried works, which we hope in the sequel to unfold.

When the word *Fossil* was first introduced into the English language, it was employed to designate, as the etymology suggests, whatever is dug out of the earth.¹ But it is now generally

¹ From the Latin *Fossilis*, dug up, from *fodio*, to dig.

used in a much more restricted sense, being applied only to *the remains of plants and animals imbedded in the Crust of the Earth and there preserved by natural causes.* When we speak of *remains*, we must be understood to include even those seemingly transient impressions, such as foot-prints in the sand, which having been made permanent by accidental circumstances, and thus engraved, as it were, on the archives of Nature, now bear witness to the former existence of organic life.

Now in every part of the world where the Stratified Rocks have been laid open to view, remains of this kind are found scattered on all sides in the most profuse abundance. In Europe, in America, in Australia, in the frozen wastes of Siberia, in the countless islands scattered over the waters of the Pacific, there is scarcely a single formation, from the lowest in the series to the highest, that, when it is fairly explored, does not yield up vast stores of shells, together with bones and teeth, and sometimes whole skeletons of animals, and fragments of wood, and impressions of leaves, and other organic substances.

These Fossil Remains do not always occur in the same state of preservation. Sometimes we have the bone, or plant, or shell, in its natural condition; still retaining not only its own peculiar form and structure, but likewise the very same organic substance of which it was originally composed. Examples innumerable may be seen in the British Museum, or, indeed, in almost any Geological collection: the noble skeleton of an ancient Irish Elk, which stands erect in the Museum of Irish Industry, and of which all the bones are perfectly preserved, must be familiar to many of our readers.

It happens, however, more frequently that the organic substance itself has disappeared, but has left an impression on the rock, that now bears witness to its former presence. Thus, for instance, when a shell has been dissolved and carried away by water percolating the rock, it has very often left after it, on the hard stone, a mould of its outer surface and a cast of its inner surface, with a cavity between corresponding to the thickness of the shell. In such cases we have the form, the size, and the superficial markings of the organic body, but we have no part of its original substance, and no traces of its internal structure. This form of fossilization, as Sir Charles Lyell has well put it, "may be easily understood if we examine the mud recently thrown out from a pond or canal in which there are shells. If the mud be argillaceous, it acquires consistency in drying, and on breaking open a portion of it, we find that each shell has left impressions of its external form. If we then remove the shell itself we find within a solid nucleus of clay, having the form of the interior of the shell".¹ In many cases the space first occu-

¹ *Elements of Geology*, p. 38.

pied by the shell is not left empty when the shell has been removed, but is filled up with a calcareous, or siliceous, or some other mineral substance. The mineral thus introduced becomes the exact counterpart of the organic body which has disappeared; and has been justly compared to a bronze statue, which exhibits the exterior form and lineaments, but not the internal organization nor the substance of the object it represents.

There is a third form, more wonderful still, in which Fossil Remains are not uncommonly found. The original body has passed away as in the former case, and yet not only does its *outward form* remain, but even its *internal texture* is perfectly preserved in the solid stone which has taken its place. This kind of change is exhibited most remarkably in the vegetable kingdom. Fossil trees of great size are formed, of which *the whole substance has been changed from wood to stone*; yet so, that the minute cells and fibres, and the rings of annual growth, may still be clearly traced; nay, even those delicate spiral vessels which, from their extreme minuteness, can be discerned only by the aid of the microscope.¹ Thus the tree remains complete in all its parts; but it is no longer a tree of wood; it is, so to speak, a tree of stone.

The mystery of this extraordinary transformation has not yet been fully cleared up by scientific men; but the general principle, at least, is sufficiently understood. It is thus briefly explained by Sir Charles Lyell: "If an organic substance is exposed in the open air to the action of the sun and rain, it will in time putrefy, or be dissolved into its component elements, consisting usually of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon. These will readily be absorbed by the atmosphere or be washed away by rain, so that all vestiges of the dead animal or plant disappear. But if the same substances be submerged in water, they decompose more gradually, and if buried in the earth, still more slowly, as in the familiar example of wooden piles or other buried timber. Now, if as fast as each particle is set free by putrefaction in a fluid or gaseous state, a particle equally minute of carbonate of lime, flint, or other mineral is at hand and ready to be precipitated, we may imagine this inorganic matter to take the place just before left unoccupied by the organic molecule. In this manner a cast of the interior of certain vessels may first be taken, and afterwards the more solid walls of the same may decay and suffer a like transmutation".² This exposition, so simple and luminous in itself, may, perhaps, be rendered still more intelligible to the general reader by an ingenious illustration of Mr. Jukes. "It is", he says, "as if a house were gradually rebuilt, brick by brick, or stone by stone, a brick or a

¹ Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, p. 39.

² Id., ib., p. 40.

stone of a different kind having been substituted for each of the former ones, the shape and size of the house, the forms and arrangements of its rooms, passages, and closets, and even the number and shape of the bricks and stones, remaining unaltered".¹

This singular kind of petrifaction, by which not only the external form, but even the organic tissue itself, is converted into stone, has been illustrated, in a very interesting way by Professor Göppert of Breslau. With a view to imitate as nearly as he could the process of Nature, "he steeped a variety of animal and vegetable substances in waters, some holding siliceous, others calcareous, others metallic matter in solution. He found that in the period of a few weeks, or even days, the organic bodies thus immersed were mineralized to a certain extent. Thus, for example, thin vertical slices of deal, taken from the Scotch fir, were immersed in a moderately strong solution of sulphate of iron. When they had been thoroughly soaked in the liquid for several days, they were dried and exposed to a red heat until the vegetable matter was burnt up and nothing remained but an oxide of iron, which was found to have taken the form of the deal so exactly that casts even of the dotted vessels peculiar to this family of plants, were distinctly visible under the microscope".²

If we have succeeded in making ourselves understood, the reader will now have a pretty accurate notion of what is meant, in modern Geology, by Fossil Remains. They are the remains or impressions of plants and animals, buried in the earth by natural causes, and preserved to our time in any one of the three forms we have just described. Either the body itself remains, still retaining its own natural substance, together with its external form and its internal structure; or secondly, the organic substance and the organic structure have both disappeared, but the outward form and the superficial markings have been left impressed on the solid rock; or thirdly, the substance of the body has been converted into stone, but with such a delicate art and with such exquisite skill, that it is in all respects, outwardly and inwardly, still the same body with a new substance. We should observe, however, that these three different forms of fossilization, which we have successively described, are not always clearly distinct in the actual fossil specimens, but are often curiously blended together according as the original organic substance has been more or less completely displaced, or the process of petrifaction has been more or less perfectly accomplished.

¹ Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, p. 375.

² Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, pp. 40-41.

It will probably have occurred to the intelligent reader that we have already had some insight into the Fossil world, when investigating the origin of Organic Rocks. We have seen, for instance, that Coal is the representative to our age of swamps and forests that once covered the earth with vegetation; that Mountain Limestone is chiefly formed from the skeletons of reef-building corals; and that the great Chalk strata of Europe are almost entirely derived from the remains of marine shells. But we must observe that these and such like rocks, while they afford us much valuable information about the ancient organic condition of our planet, are not, strictly speaking, Fossil Remains. For, not only has the substance of the organic bodies they represent entirely passed away, but the internal structure has been in great part effaced, and even the outward forms and superficial markings have disappeared. They contain, it is true, great multitudes of Fossils: in the Coal, for example, are found, as we have seen, trunks of trees, together with the impressions of plants and leaves; in the Chalk and Mountain Limestone, fragments of shells and corals are often discovered in a state of perfect preservation: but the great bulk of these formations is made up not so much of Fossil Remains, as of that into which Fossil Remains have been converted; Coal, for instance, is something more than Fossil wood; Chalk, and Limestone, and Marble, are something more than Fossil shells and corals.

He who would impress upon his mind a vivid and accurate idea of the nature and variety of Fossil Remains, must not be content with any mere verbal description, but try to gather his impressions from actual observation. Let him go, for instance, to the British Museum, and walk slowly through the long suite of noble galleries which are exclusively devoted to this branch of science. He will feel as if transported into another world, the reality of which he could scarcely have believed if he had not seen it with his own eyes. Before him, and behind him, and on each side of him, as he moves along, are spread out in long array forms of beasts, and birds, and fish, and amphibious animals, such as he has never seen before, nor dreamt of in his wildest dreams. Yet much as he may wonder at these strange figures, he never for a moment doubts that they were once indued with life, and moved over the surface of the earth, or disported in the waters of the deep. Nay more, though the forms are new to him, he will be at no loss, however inexperienced in Natural History, to find many analogies between the creation in the midst of which he stands and that with which he has been hitherto familiar. There are quadrupeds, and bipeds, and reptiles. Some of the animals were manifestly designed to walk on dry land, some to swim in the sea, and some to fly in the

air. Some are armed with claws like the lion or the tiger, others have the paddles of a turtle, and others again have the fins of a fish. Here is an enormous beast that might almost pass for an elephant, though an experienced eye will not fail to detect an important difference; and there is an amphibious monster that suggests the idea of a crocodile; and again a little further is an unsightly creature which unites the general characteristics of the diminutive sloth with the colossal proportions of the largest rhinoceros.

If left to mere conjecture, the visitor would perhaps suppose that these uncouth monsters had been brought together by some adventurous traveller from the remote regions of the world. But no: he will find on inquiry that the vast majority belong to species which for centuries have not been known to flourish on the Earth; and that many of the strangest forms before him have been dug up almost from beneath the very soil on which he stands,—from the quarries of Surrey, of Sussex, and of Kent, and from the deep cuttings on the many lines of railway that diverge from the great metropolis of London. The life they represent so vividly is, indeed, widely different from that which flourishes around us; but it is the life not so much of a far distant country, as the life of a far distant age.

It must not be supposed, however, that such skeletons as those which first arrest the eye in the galleries of the British Museum—so colossal in their proportions and so complete in all their details—fairly exhibit the general character of Fossil Remains. Perfect skeletons of gigantic animals are rarely to be found. They are the exception and not the general rule,—the magnificent reward of long and toilsome exploration, or, it may be, the chance discovery that brings wealth to the humble home of some rustic labourer. Very different are the common every day discoveries of the working Geologist. Disjointed bones and skulls, and scattered teeth, and fragments of shells, and the eggs of birds, and the impressions of leaves,—these are the ordinary relics that Nature has stored up for our instruction in the various strata of the Earth's Crust: and these likewise constitute by far the greater part of the treasures which are gathered together in our Geological Museums.

We will, suppose, then, that the visitor has gratified his sense of wonder in gazing at the larger and more striking forms, few in number, that rise up prominently before him, and seem to stare at him in return from their hollow sockets: he must next turn his attention to the cases that stand against the walls, and to the cabinets that stretch along the galleries in distant perspective. Let him survey that multitude of bones of every shape and size, and those countless legions of shells, and then try to

realise to his mind what a profusion and variety of animal life are here represented. And yet he must remember that this is but a single collection. There are thousands of others, public and private, scattered over England, and France, and Germany, and Italy, and, beyond the Atlantic, on the continent of America, and even in Australia; all of which have been furnished from a few isolated spots,—scarcely more than specks on the surface of the Globe,—where the depths of the Earth have chanced to be laid open to the explorations of the Geologist.

Lastly, before he leaves this splendid gallery, let him take a passing glance at the Organic Remains of the vegetable world. There is no mistaking the forms here presented to his view. He will recognize at once the massive and lofty trunks of forest trees with their spreading branches; the tender foliage of the lesser plants; and, in particular, the graceful fern, which cannot fail to attract his eye by its unrivalled luxuriance. But if the forms are familiar, how strange is the substance, of this ancient vegetation! The forest tree has been turned into sandstone; many of the plants are of the hardest flint; and the rich green of the fern has given place to the jet black colour of coal. Let him take a magnifying glass and scrutinize the internal structure of these mineralized remains; for the more closely they are examined the more wonderful they are. He can observe without difficulty their minute cells and fibres, the exact counterpart of those which may be seen in the plants that are now growing upon the earth; he may detect the little seed-vessels on the under surface of the coaly fern; nay, if he get a polished transverse section of the sandstone tree, he may count the rings that mark its annual growth, and tell the age to which it attained in its primeval forest.

From the galleries of the Museum we must now descend into the subterranean recesses of the mine and the quarry. For it is not enough to be familiar with the appearance of Fossil Remains, as they are laid out for show by human hands: we must see them also as they lie imbedded in the successive strata of the Earth's Crust, which are the shelves of Nature's cabinet. We shall begin with the celebrated quarries of Monte Bolca, in Northern Italy, not far from Verona. The hill on which these quarries are situated is described as being "composed of argillaceous and calcareous strata, with beds of a cream-coloured fissile limestone, which readily separates into laminae of moderate thickness".¹ Now in this hard limestone rock the entire skeletons of many different species of fish are found imbedded in profuse abundance, and in perfect preservation. They lie parallel

¹ Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, p. 269.

to the layers of the rock, and are sometimes *so closely packed together that many individuals are contained in a single block.*¹ The quarries have been worked only by students of Natural History for the sake of the Organic remains, and are, therefore, of very limited extent; yet so abundant are these fossil treasures that *upwards of a hundred different species* have been discovered, and thousands of specimens have been dispersed over the cabinets of Europe.² From these facts Geologists have been led to conclude;—that the strata in question were deposited on the bed of an ancient sea in which these fishes swam; that the waters of the sea were suddenly rendered noxious, probably by the eruption of volcanic matter; that the fishes in consequence perished in large numbers, and were then almost immediately imbedded in the calcareous deposits of which the strata are composed.

These views receive no small confirmation from a very remarkable phenomenon to which we may be allowed, in passing, to call attention. In the year 1831 a volcanic island was suddenly thrown up in the Mediterranean between Sicily and the African coast; and the waters of the sea were at the same time observed to be charged with a red mud over a very wide area, while hundreds of dead fish were seen floating on the surface. Is it not pretty plain that when the mud subsided many of the fish were enveloped in the deposit, and thus preserved to future times? If so, then, we should have an exact modern parallel to the fossil fishes of Monte Bolca. But for the present it is our purpose rather to describe facts than to develop theories.

Our next illustration will be taken from the important group of rocks known by the name of the Lias Formation. In England this formation stretches, as a belt of varying width, from Whitby on the coast of Yorkshire, in a south-westerly direction, passing through Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and terminating at Lyme Regis, on the south coast of Dorsetshire. It is composed chiefly of limestone, marl, and clay, and is famous among Geologists for the number and variety of its great fossil reptiles. Of these the most remarkable, as well for its peculiar structure as for its immense size, is the *Ichthyosaurus* or *Fish-like lizard*.

This monster of the ancient seas combined, as its name denotes, the essential characters of a reptile with the form and habits of a fish. No such creature has been known to exist within historic times; but, nevertheless, all the various parts of its complicated structure have their analogies, more or less per-

¹ Buckland, *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. p. 123.

² Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, p. 269; also Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, p. 687.

fect, in the present creation. It has the head of a Lizard, the beak of a Porpoise, the teeth of a Crocodile, the back bone of a Fish, and the paddles of a Whale. In length it sometimes exceeded thirty feet; it had a short thick neck, an enormous stomach, a long and powerful tail. This last appendage, together with four great paddles or fins, constituted the chief organs of motion. But of all its parts the head was perhaps the most wonderful and characteristic. In the larger species the jaws were six feet long, and armed with two rows of conical sharp-pointed teeth,—a hundred below, a hundred and ten above. The cavities in which the eyes were set measured often fourteen inches across, and the eye-balls themselves must have been larger than a man's head.¹

Now what we want particularly to impress upon our readers is, that the remains of this singular aquatic reptile abound throughout the whole extent of the Lias Formation of England. Far down below the surface of the earth they are found imbedded in the marls, and clays, and limestones of Dorsetshire, and Gloucester, and Warwick, and Leicester, and Yorkshire.² Sometimes whole skeletons are found entire with scarcely a single bone removed from the place it occupied during life; but more frequently the scattered fragments are found lying about in a state of confused disorder;—skulls, and jaw-bones, and teeth, and paddles, and the joints of the vertebral column and of the tail. The neighbourhood of Lyme Regis is a perfect cabinet of these curious treasures. In some of the specimens there exhumed, a singular circumstance has been observed, which is deserving of special notice. We should naturally have expected, from the prodigious power of this animal, from the expansion of his jaws and the immense size of his stomach, that he preyed upon the other fish and reptiles that had the misfortune to inhabit the waters in which he lived. And so indeed it was. For here enclosed within his vast ribs, in the place that once was his stomach, are still preserved the remains of his half-digested food; and amidst the debris we can distinguish the bones and scales of his victims. Nay, in some of the more colossal specimens of this ancient monster, we can distinctly recognize the remains of his own smaller brethren; which, though less frequent than the bones of fishes, are still sufficiently numerous to prove that, when he wanted to appease his hunger, he did not even spare the less powerful members of his own species.³

It is with facts like these, which are revealed by the Crust of

¹ See Buckland, *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i., pp. 168 186; Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, pp. 576-581; Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, pp. 420-425; Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, pp. 598-599.

² Buckland, ib., p. 168.

³ Buckland, ib., p. 189.

the Earth all over the world, that Geologists are called upon to deal. When they meet with skeletons and bones such as we have been describing, buried deep in the hard rock hundreds of feet beneath the green grass and the waving corn, they cannot help but ask the question: Where did these creatures come from? When did they live? And by what revolutions were they imbedded here, and lifted up from beneath the waters of the deep?

The Pampas of South America are not less famous in Geology for the remains of gigantic quadrupeds, than the Lias of England for its colossal marine reptiles. These vast undulating plains, which present to the eye for nine hundred miles a waving sea of grass, consist chiefly of stratified beds of gravel and reddish mud: and it is in these beds that the remains of many unshapely but powerful terrestrial animals have been found imbedded. So abundant are they, that it is said a line drawn in any direction through the country would cut through some skeleton or bones.¹ Indeed Mr. Darwin is of opinion that the whole area of the Pampas is one wide sepulchre of these extinct animals.² It will be enough for our purpose to describe one in particular, which from its prodigious bulk has received the appropriate name of *Megatherium* or the *great wild beast*.

As in the case of the Ichthyosaurus so also in the case of this great land monster, we can find some analogy to all its parts amongst the existing creation. In its head and shoulders it resembled the sloth which still browses on the green foliage of the trees in the dense forests of South America; while in its legs and feet it combined the characteristics of the Ant-Eater and the Armadillo. These, it would seem, are the principal modern representatives of the family to which it belonged: but it is distinguished from them all by its colossal proportions. It was often twelve feet long and eight feet high; its fore-feet were a yard in length and twelve inches in breadth, terminating in gigantic claws; its haunches were five feet wide, and its thigh bone was three times as big as that of the largest elephant.³ "His entire frame", as Dr. Buckland has admirably observed and carefully demonstrated, "was an apparatus of colossal mechanism, adapted exactly to the work it had to do; strong and ponderous, in proportion as this work was heavy, and calculated to be the vehicle of life and enjoyment to a gigantic race of quadrupeds, which, though they have ceased to be counted among the living inhabitants of our planet, have, in

¹ Mantell, *Fossils of the British Museum*, p. 477.

¹ Id., ib.

¹ Buckland, *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. pp. 139-164; Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, pp. 166-169; *Fossils of the British Museum*, pp. 476-480; Knight's *English Cyclopaedia*, Nat. Hist. Division, article, *Megatheridae*.

their fossil bones, left behind them imperishable monuments of the consummate skill with which they were constructed,—each limb, and fragment of a limb, forming co-ordinate parts of a well adjusted and perfect whole; and through all their deviations from the form and proportions of the limbs of other quadrupeds, affording fresh proofs of the infinitely varied and inexhaustible contrivances of Creative Wisdom".¹

This Leviathan of the Pampas, as he has been justly called, became first known in Europe towards the close of the last century. In the year 1789 a skeleton was dug up, almost entire, about three miles to the south-west of Buenos Ayres, and was presented by the Marquis of Loreto to the Royal Museum at Madrid, where it still remains.² Since that time other specimens, besides numerous fragments, have been discovered, chiefly through the zeal and energy of Sir Woodbine Parish; by the aid of which the form, structure, and consequently the habits of this clumsy and ponderous animal have been fully ascertained.³ The complete skeleton which forms so prominent an object of attraction in the British Museum, is only a model; but it has been constructed with great care from the original bones, some of which are to be found in the wall-cases of the same room, and others in the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.⁴

Passing from the petrified fish, and the reptiles, and the quadrupeds, that thus come forth as it were from their graves to bring us tidings of an extinct creation, we must next turn our attention for a moment to Fossil Shells. These relics of the ancient world, which are scattered with profuse abundance through all the strata of the Earth's Crust, may seem, indeed, of little value to the careless observer; but to the practised eye of science they are full of instruction. They have been aptly called the *Medals of Creation*; for stamped upon their surface they bear the impress of the age to which they belong; and they constitute the largest, we may say perhaps, the most valuable part of those unwritten records from which the Geologist seeks to gather the ancient history of our Globe.

As regards the prodigious abundance of Fossil Shells preserved in the Crust of the Earth, it is unnecessary for us here to speak. We have already seen that the great mass of many limestone formations is composed almost exclusively of such remains, broken up into minute fragments, and more or less altered by chemical agency; and besides, there are quarries within the reach

¹ Bridgewater Treatise, p. 164.

² Knight's English Cyclopaedia, loco citato.

³ Id., ib.

⁴ Mantell, *Fossils of the British Museum*, pp. 465, 477, 478, 479.

of all, where they may collect at pleasure these interesting relics of the olden time. But there are some facts of peculiar significance connected with Fossil Shells, which we shall here briefly state. In the first place, we should observe, that there is a marked and well known difference between the shells of those animals that live only in the sea, and of those that inhabit rivers, and of those, finally, that frequent the brackish waters of estuaries. Now it has been made clear beyond all reasonable doubt, by the explorations of Geologists, that *sea-shells abound in great numbers far away from the present line of coast, in the heart of vast continents.* Again, they are found, not merely on the surface, but *buried deep in the Crust of the Earth, and overlaid in many cases by numerous strata of solid rock, thousands of feet in thickness.* Thirdly, “*they occur at all heights above the level of the ocean,* having been observed at elevations of more than eight thousand feet in the Pyrenees, ten thousand in the Alps, thirteen thousand in the Andes, and above eighteen thousand feet in the Himalaya”.¹ Here, therefore, occurs once again a subject of inquiry that must force itself on the mind of a Geologist:—how can the shells of marine animals have come to exist so far away from the sea? how have they been lifted up to the highest pinnacles of lofty mountains?

Before we bring our subterranean excursion to an end, we have yet to search among the cabinets of Nature’s Museum for some Fossil Remains of the *Vegetable Kingdom*. No better example could be desired than that which is found in the celebrated quarries of Portland on the south coast of England. In one of these quarries a vertical section, extending from the surface downwards to the depth of about thirty feet, presents the following succession of strata arranged in horizontal layers:—first, a light covering of vegetable soil, beneath which are thin beds of cream-coloured limestone, forming a stratum of solid rock ten feet thick; then a bed of dark brown loam, mixed with rounded fragments of stone, and varying in thickness from twelve to eighteen inches. This is known to the quarrymen by the name of the *Dirt-bed*, and seems, in former ages, to have supported a luxuriant vegetation; for all around are scattered the petrified fragments of an ancient forest. The prostrate trunks and shattered branches of great trees are met at every step; but what is most striking and peculiar is, that, in many cases, the petrified stumps are still standing erect, with their roots fixed in the thin stratum of loam, and their stumps stretching upwards into the hard limestone rock. Immediately below the *Dirt-bed* is another thick stratum of limestone, and below this again is a stratum of the famous Portland stone, so highly prized for build-

¹ Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, p. 4.

ing purposes. As the quarries of Portland are worked chiefly for the sake of this building stone, little attention is paid to the Dirt-bed and its contents, which are commonly thrown aside by the quarrymen as rubbish.

The scene of this petrified forest is thus described by Dr. Mantell:—"On one of my visits to the island (in the summer of 1832), the surface of a large area of the Dirt-bed was cleared preparatory to its removal, and the appearance presented was most striking. The floor of the quarry was literally strewn with fossil wood, and before me was a petrified forest, the trees and plants, like the inhabitants of the city in Arabian story, being converted into stone, yet still remaining in the places which they occupied when alive! Some of the trunks were surrounded by a conical mound of calcareous earth, which had, evidently, when in the state of mud, accumulated round the roots. The upright trunks were generally a few feet apart, and but three or four feet high; their summits were broken and splintered, as if they had been snapped or wrench'd off by a hurricane at a short distance from the ground. Some were two feet in diameter, and the united fragments of one of the prostrate trunks indicated a total length of from thirty to forty feet; in many specimens, portions of the branches remained attached to the stem".¹

It is time we should come to an end. We have tried to jot down some general facts about Fossil Remains, in such a manner as to present a faithful and comprehensive, though, of necessity, a very imperfect sketch of this great subject. Our readers will easily find opportunities of filling up for themselves the details of the picture. There are few, we should suppose, who may not occasionally have access to those splendid Museums of Geology which have been set up in all the great towns of Europe; and the still more extensive cabinets of Nature's Museum, spread out beneath our feet, are within the reach of all.

But even the scanty notions that may be gathered from these pages are sufficient, we hope, to satisfy all reasonable minds of this important truth, that the bones, and skeletons, and petrified trees and plants, we have been describing, are really the *relics of organic life* that once flourished on the earth or in the waters of the ancient seas. Yet obvious as this fact must appear to all who have fully realized the character and appearance of these Fossil Remains, it has been often vigorously assailed and vehemently denounced. In the early days of Geology phenomena of this kind were ascribed, not uncommonly, to the "plastic power of Nature", or to the influence of the stars.² Such

¹ *Wonders of Geology*, p. 400.

² Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, cap. ii. and iii.

notions, however, meet with little support among modern writers. They were nothing more than wild fancies, without any foundation either in the evidence of facts or in the analogy of Nature. The "plastic power of Nature" was a phrase that sounded well, perhaps, in the ears of unreflecting people; but no one ever undertook to show that Nature really possesses that "plastic power" which was so readily imputed to her. No one ever undertook to show that it is the way of Nature to make the stems, and branches, and leaves of trees, without the previous process of vegetation; or to make bones and skeletons which have never been invested with the ordinary appendages of flesh and blood. Yet surely this is a theory that requires proof; for all our experience of the laws of Nature points directly to the opposite conclusion. And as for the influence of the stars, we may be content to adopt the language of the celebrated painter Leonardo da Vinci:—"They tell us that these shells were formed in the hills by the influence of the stars; but I ask where in the hills are the stars now forming shells of distinct ages and species? and how can the stars explain the origin of gravel occurring at different heights and composed of pebbles rounded as if by the action of running water? or in what manner can such a cause account for the petrification in the same places of various leaves, seaweeds, and marine crabs?"¹

In modern times the form of objection has been somewhat changed. We are told by some writers that, when we seek to explain the existence of Fossil Remains by the action of natural laws, we seem to forget the Omnipotence of God. They urge upon us, with much solemnity, that He could have made bones, and shells, and skeletons, and petrified wood, though there had been no living animal to which these bones belonged, and no living tree that had been changed into stone. And if He made them, might He not disperse them up and down through His creation, on the lofty mountains, and in the hidden valley, and in the profound depths of the sea? and buried them in the lime-stone rocks and in the soft clay? and arranged them in groups, or scattered them in wild confusion as He best pleased?

To this line of argument we must be content to reply, that we have no wish to limit the power of God. But we have learned from our daily experience that in the physical world He is pleased to employ the agency of secondary causes; and when we know that for many ages a certain effect has been uniformly produced by a certain cause, *and not otherwise*, then if we again see the effect, we *infer the cause*. When a traveller in the untrodden wilds of Western America, comes upon a forest of great

¹ See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, p. 31, who refers to "Da Vinci's MSS. now in the library of the Institute of France".

trees, or a herd of unknown animals, surely he never thinks of supposing that the wild beasts and the forest trees came directly from the hand of the Creator, in that state of maturity in which he beholds them. And why? for it might be argued that the power of God is unbounded, and He might have created them as they now are if He had so pleased. Is it not that the traveller is impelled, by an instinct of his nature, to interpret the works of God which he now sees for the first time, according to the analogy of those with which he has been long familiar? Now this is just the principle for which we are contending. According to all our experience of the works of God in the physical world, the living body comes first, and the skeleton afterwards; the living tree comes first, and afterwards the prostrate trunk and the splintered branches. Therefore when we meet with a skeleton, we conclude that it was once a living body; and when we find the petrified stems, and branches, and leaves of trees, we have no doubt that they are the remains of an ancient vegetation.

But in truth, if any one, *with all the facts of the case fully before his mind*, were deliberately to adopt this theory, that Fossils, as we find them now, were created by God in the Crust of the Earth, we candidly confess we have no argument that we should think likely to shake his conviction, just as we should be utterly at a loss if he were to say that the Round Towers of Ireland, or the Pyramids of Egypt, were created by God from the beginning. The evidence of human workmanship is certainly not more clear in the one case, than the evidence of animal and vegetable life in the other. We believe, however, that no such persons are to be found; that theories of this kind have their origin, not so much in false reasoning, as in imperfect knowledge of facts; and we have, therefore, judged it more expedient not to spend our time in a discussion of philosophical axioms, but to set forth the facts, and leave them to speak for themselves.

THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE.¹

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, in his address to those bishops of the Reformed Church in visible communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, who were lately assembled at Lambeth, pronounced the Pan-Anglican conference to be "a remarkable manifestation of life and energy in the several branches of the Anglican communion". We are disposed to concede to the Lambeth meeting the representative character claimed for it in these words, and to accept it as presenting, upon the whole, a fair estimate of the amount of vital energy existing in Anglicanism. But, we are of opinion, that upon a careful examination of all the facts which ushered in, accompanied, and followed the meeting itself, our readers will agree with us in considering it to indicate energies in a state of exhaustion, and a life that is passing away.

We do not deny that orderly synodical action on the part of the bishops, regulated by the canon law, is a token of healthy vital energy in the ecclesiastical body. On the contrary, we point to the whole spirit of the canons prescribing frequent provincial, and more frequent diocesan synods, as proof that the neglect of such action is a sign of growing weakness. But then, what are we to think of the state of Anglicanism, which for three hundred years has been wholly without synods? If, to Anglican minds, a synod is a manifestation of life and energy, then they must admit that Anglicanism for some three hundred years has been torpid and prostrate. If, on the other hand, a synod is not an indication of vigour, what grounds are there for the Lambeth alleluias?

We cannot look on the conference, whatever the amount of its success, as the result of a design suggested to the chief rulers of the Church by their desire to promote the general welfare of the body; on the contrary, it is due rather to a happy series of partial and unconnected efforts on the part of those outside. The action which produced it was spasmodic rather than vital; it originated at the extremities of the system, not at the heart. The conference was forced upon the church in England from without. It was at the instance of the Canadian bishops in the first place; subsequently, at that of other colonial bishops, that the project was entertained at all. Afterwards, the Episcopal Church of America was included, one of its bishops having declared that it would be a very graceful act if the invitations were extended to that church also. And, be it remembered, the meeting claims not to be a synod, but a mere conference; one out of the many conferences of which this year has been marvel-

¹ *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, etc.* Rivington.

lously fertile. And why does it abjure the synodical character? Not, certainly, because the bishops are opposed to synodical action; on the contrary, it is notorious that many among them sigh after such action; and in one of the resolutions synods are suggested as among the most efficient remedies for the evils that afflict the church. The true reason is assigned by the president when he says "that the bishops deemed it far better on this occasion to do too little than attempt too much, and instead of dealing with propositions which can lead to no efficient results, to confine themselves to matters admitting of a practical and beneficial solution". In other words, they felt that they had no authority to make canons, and that, were they to attempt any exercise of authority, their own people would abandon them. It is a poor boast for a church to point, as to a manifestation of its vitality, to a conference which dared not be a synod; which took place but once in three hundred years; which even that once was convened almost by chance; and which avowedly and deliberately set itself to do too little, as the only practical result it could hope to achieve.

The topics to which the bishops addressed themselves are not of a very important character. With the exception of the first, on the best way of promoting the reunion of Christendom, which is of general importance, and about which the bishops had nothing to propose, the other nine subjects concern the practical difficulties that have sprung up in the colonial churches. The notification of the establishment of new sees, commendatory letters, the relation of metropolitans to their subjects, conditions of union with the church at home, missionary bishoprics, and the subordination of missionaries, are, after all, subjects connected with the very rudiments and beginnings of a church. If such points are still unsettled, all we can say is, that we no longer feel surprised at the complete failure of the Anglican missions. A Church which has yet to fix the relations of missionaries to their bishops, of bishops to their metropolitans; of metropolitans abroad to the bishops at home, can hardly have much vitality and energy to boast of. But, what especially strikes us in this list of subjects submitted to the conference, is not so much what it includes as what it excludes. The Archbishop of Canterbury himself feels that some explanation is due to account for the omission of the more important subjects that the state of the English Church naturally suggests at this critical period of her history:

"Some may be of opinion that subjects have been omitted which ought to have found a place in our deliberations; that we should have been assembled with the view of defining the limits of theological truth: but it has been deemed far better, on the first occasion of our

meeting in such form, rather to do too little than attempt too much, and instead of dealing with propositions which can lead to no efficient result, to confine ourselves to matters admitting of a practical and beneficial solution" (page 9).

It would indeed have seemed natural that at a moment when Anglicanism is rent with doctrinal controversies affecting almost every article in the Apostles' Creed, the assembled prelates should have borne witness to the faith that is in them. Between Rationalism, in forms that are of the wildest it has ever assumed, and Ritualism, which is changing the face of the Establishment, there is hardly a shade of thought which is not represented in Anglican pulpits. On the most essential points of Christianity, the faith of Anglicanism is divided and shifting. And yet, in this moment of supreme peril, the bishops are deliberately and wilfully silent, and the Archbishop of Canterbury warns them against defining the limits of theological truth. It was not thus that St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke to the bishops of his day, when dangers assailed the Church in England:

"Dearly beloved brethren", said he to the English prelates, "why do you not rise with me against the malignant? Why do you not take your stand with me against such as work iniquity? Know you not that *the Lord will scatter the bones of them that please men?* *They shall be confounded because God hath despised them* (Ps., lii.). Your discretion knoweth well enough that the error which is not checked, is approved of; that truth, when left defenceless, is oppressed; and, according to Gregory, he that hasteneth not to correct what stands in need of correction, seems to side with the guilty".¹

Nor is the archbishop's excuse for this silence, a satisfactory one, or creditable to Anglicanism. To say that any utterance pronounced by the conference on matters of doctrine could lead to no efficient result, may account, at the moment, for the silence of the bishops; but, on the other hand, it is a revelation of the depth of the abyss into which Anglicanism has fallen. Not only is it torn by controversies on the most central Christian truths, but its own bishops publicly declare that they are powerless to apply an efficient remedy to its wounds.

As a matter of prudence this silence, however, was politic, if not Christian. It is pretty certain than any doctrinal decision the bishops might come to would carry with it no weight. But it is also pretty certain that the conference itself never would agree on any doctrinal decision. The elements of which it was composed were too heterogeneous and conflicting ever to be brought into unity of opinion on matters of faith. The list of

¹ Ep. S. Thom. Cant. ad Epos. Angliae, apud Harduin. Concilior tom. VI. part 2. page 1887.

signatures in the official document is broken up into five groups of names; and this arrangement invites and facilitates a closer examination of the component parts of the conference. The first group (23) embraces the bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland; the second group (6) represents the Protestant Episcopal Church of Scotland; the third group (24), the Colonial bishops; the fourth group (19), the Episcopalian bishops of the United States; and the fifth and last group (4), the bishops who have retired from the labours of colonial dioceses. The fact that these prelates met together is, no doubt, a *prima facie* proof that they agree together upon many points. But admitting this harmony on the part of those who joined the conference, we are compelled to believe that those who, as a matter of principle, declined to come, are not of the same way of thinking with those who did actually come. And this is already one patent sign of discord in the Anglican body.

Then, looking at the names forming the English and Irish group, we ask is there any power on earth that could bring into harmony the views respectively held by S. Oxon. and H. Kilnure? Or how could John Lincoln, who denounces the pseudo-Catholic movement of to-day, agree with W. K. Sarum, who claims for himself *all* the priestly powers claimed by the Roman Church? What form of Christian faith could be subscribed by the Bishop of St. David's and the Bishop of London, who are friendly towards Dr. Colenso, and by the Archbishop of Dublin, who anathematises him? Dr. Jeune, of Peterborough, according to the *Church News*,¹ "has floundered into heresy by indirectly recommending to his flock that corrupt and corrupting novelty of semi-infidel Protestants, evening communions"; how could he unite on the Eucharist-doctrine with an episcopal champion of the *Directorum Anglicanum*? The High Church, and the Broad Church, and the Low Church, had each their representatives present, and is it to be hoped that they could agree?

The details which have been communicated to the American papers by some of the American prelates on their return from the conference fully bear out what we have said. As may be seen from the curious statement in the note,² not only did the

¹ October 16th, 1867.

² See *New York Church Journal*:

"The two subjects that caused the greatest discussion were—first, the statement of the standard of true Catholicity, and secondly, the question of Natal. On the former of these points, the programme of proposed business mentioned only the First Four General Councils. On the first day, the Bishop of Vermont moved to change the four to six, and earnestly supported the motion.

* The Bishop of Illinois moved to omit the numeral, making the reference indefinite; and the Bishop of Winchester then proposed to omit the phrase altogether, which was carried. But this conclusion was felt to be too unsatisfactory to stand. The discussions on that day were so prolonged, that they did not get through with

members disagree one from the other so thoroughly as to render it impossible to define even the number of general councils, but, it appears, the Archbishop of Canterbury previously to the meeting had actually entered into engagements with some of the bishops that the meeting should make no declarations of doctrine.

Next comes the Scottish group, the members of which again are at war with each other and with their neighbours. The Bishop of Brechin, conspicuous by his absence from the conference, is too Catholic for some of his compeers. The English

the first resolution; and, accordingly, on a subsequent day, when passing upon the latter clause of it, the 'undisputed General Councils' were all acknowledged; an expression precisely equivalent to the 'first six'.

"The other matter of interest—the Natal question—will have a fair chance. The Archbishop of Canterbury, knowing the unwillingness of many of the English bishops to venture upon so entirely unprecedented a step as the calling of such a council, and anxious to forestall as much as possible their objections to so strange a novelty, had intended to keep the subject of Dr. Colenso out entirely. The colonial Church, however, regarded this as the most important subject to be treated; and a large proportion of them, as well as of the American bishops, would certainly never have attended at all had they understood it was to be excluded. Not finding it in express terms on the programme, they first succeeded at the preliminary meeting in making the programme open to amendment, as well as to the introduction of new matter. Then, on three or four of the intervening days, a number of the colonial bishops met for consultation. But by conferring with leading English bishops also, the difficulties of the question were made so apparent, that the Bishop of Cape Town was persuaded to accept the appointment of a committee to consider anew the whole difficulty from the beginning. When the matter came up in this shape in the council, he made a noble and unflinching speech, upholding as fearlessly as ever the righteous necessity of the course that has been pursued in South Africa.

"The Bishop of Vermont then moved as a substitute a preamble and resolution which comes straight up to the mark on the whole Colenso question, urging its adoption as the true course. The Bishop of Salisbury supported him with a whole-hearted singleness and boldness, worthy of all honour. Other bishops took the same ground, and not one word was said by anyone against the correctness of the position taken by the Bishop of Vermont. But the Bishop of St. David's rose and stated that the archbishop had pledged himself to him that the Colenso question should not be acted on in the conference, and he appealed to 'the honour' of the archbishop to say whether this were not so.

"The archbishop said that it was so, and that to act directly on the question of Dr. Colenso would be the breach of an honourable understanding. It was intended to convey this understanding in those words of the invitation which said that the meeting would of course not be competent to make declarations of doctrine; but this phrase was unfortunately too vague to convey the full strength of the 'understanding'; for the question in South Africa is not only one of doctrine, but of fact, and canon and civil law. After what had been said by the archbishop, however, it was seen that to push the matter against the engagements of the distinguished prelate who issued the invitations, was not advisable, and the matter dropped, the Bishop of Vermont making a closing speech on the sense of duty which had compelled him to make his motion. But the thing would not rest. On the last day, the Bishop of St. Andrew's earnestly appealed to the Bishop of St. David's to waive his 'understanding' with the archbishop, in order to introduce a declaration on the fact of the present status of Dr. Colenso, drawn up by the Bishop of Oxford, to be introduced and acted on. It was then produced as a paper signed 'by the bishops assembled at Lambeth', the words 'in conference' being omitted; and it was at once signed by all the American and colonial bishops, and, we believe, by all or nearly all the rest, the act being done in the same room and during the continuance of the session".

Church periodicals some time ago were full of statements and explanations concerning the treatment which the Coadjutor of Edinburgh met with from some English bishops, who refused him permission to officiate in their dioceses. And have we not heard Dr. Daly of Cashel denounce in his last charge the entire communion service of the Scottish Episcopal Church as *heretical*? And did he not publicly express his protest against the conduct of a distinguished prelate of the United Church of England and Ireland, who consented to communicate *in sacris* with the Scottish Episcopalians? The Scottish bishops, far from introducing harmony, would prove to be an apple of discord in any attempt at a doctrinal decision.

Next comes the Colonial group, who may really feel proud of the position they have achieved for themselves. Not only is the origin of the conference to be attributed to them, but almost all the resolutions deal with their special grievances. Unquestionably, however, they have cost their mother church dear. First of all, who selects the new bishops for the colonies and the missionary churches? It is well known, that with some exceptions, they are designated by one or other of the great missionary associations who annually pour out upon benighted foreign countries a torrent of Bibles and whole families of evangelical missionaries. These missionary societies for the most part are broad and evangelical in their views, and are not amenable to episcopal nor even to exclusively clerical control. The principle which would bring bishops thus appointed by such voluntary societies, and place them on the same benches with the bishops of England, is one fraught with danger to the Anglican Church. What if they outnumbered the home bishops? What if they were representatives of as various forms of dissent as numerous as the countries to which they belong? As it is, they have been the occasion of considerable confusion and difference of opinion in the conference. In St. James's Hall, at the close of the conference, the Metropolitan of Cape Town announced that

"one of the last acts of the synod had been to endorse the righteous conclusion of the Province of Canterbury with regard to the appointment of one who should go forth as a bishop to minister to the souls of those who felt themselves as sheep without a shepherd in Natal. Their beloved Primate was prepared to join in recommending one to go forth to be the chief pastor in that distracted land".

Upon which, a layman thus writes to the *Times*:

"That is, there being already in Natal a branch of the Church of England with a bishop, appointed, like all other bishops of our Church, by the Queen, the lay head of the Church, and confirmed in his position by decisions of competent courts both in England and Natal, the Primate proposes to send out another bishop of Natal.

"Such a bishop must be either, first, a bishop of the Church of England, or secondly, a bishop of a local Church, whether of Natal or of South Africa is immaterial.

"1. If he be the former, I hope that the Primate, or his grace's advisers, will explain to the lay members of the Church over which he presides, by what law of that Church or of this country he is authorized to send into a diocese a second bishop without the consent and against the wish of the existing bishop.

"2. If he be the latter, then still more should the Primate explain to us how he, the chief bishop in the Church of England, can justify the founding of a second Church in a country and diocese in which the Church of England already has a branch.

"Which horn of this dilemma will his grace prefer?

"To me, a plain layman, the contemplated appointment of another Bishop of Natal seems as a matter of policy to be more likely to increase than to heal the distractions which the Bishop of Cape Town laments, and, as a matter of churchmanship, to be an act of schism.

"If this be a specimen of the practical results of the Pan-Anglican Synod, in a multitude of counsellors there will no longer be safety, even to themselves".

Another case in point is supplied by the Bishop of Dunedin in New Zealand, a prelate whose mitre and crosier were exhibited a few years ago at the York Exhibition. He was invited by the Bishop of Exeter to take his September ordination, the inviting bishop being ignorant of the fact that the invited was consecrated without letters patent from her majesty, "a defect", says the New Zealand bishop, "*it appears, fatal to the legal validity of any ordination by me in this country*".

The American bishops add nothing to the probabilities of harmony. The very title of Protestant, which is assumed by Dr. Hopkins in his signature, is significant of the line of thought chiefly in honour among them. Thus the resolutions which are headed as coming from the bishops of "Christ's Holy Catholic Church" are signed by the bishops of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" in the United States. Dr. Henry W. Lee, Bishop of Iowa, soon after the conclusion of the conference, wrote a long letter to the Bishop of London, in which he deplores the state of the Anglican Church, afflicted as it is with Ritualism, and expresses his fears for the future of a Church where such excesses are allowed. This censure notoriously strikes at some of the prelates beside whom Dr. Lee sat in the conference. On the other hand, the Episcopalian Church in America has rejected the Athanasian creed. It has also expunged from the ordinal the clause which in the form of ordination regards the power of remitting sin. It also rejects the form of absolution. What prospects of united action does all this afford?

Of the closing group of retired bishops we have little to say. The only name that sounds familiar to us is that of Dr. George Smith, late bishop of Victoria, China. Is this the Dr. Smith of whom *The Hong-Kong Daily Press*, a journal devoted to British and Protestant interests, thus wrote in 1861:

"The conduct of the bishop is most reprehensible. . . . For the last three years we feel sure he has not done three weeks' work in his diocese. He draws his stipend in consideration of the performance of specified duties—those duties he neglects for other vocations which are more lucrative or agreeable, and we will defy him to reconcile his conduct to common honesty, to say nothing about his duties as a bishop. . . . There is as much devotion in all the Protestant missionaries we know of in the South of China as there is in a bootjack" (Ap. Marshall's *Christian Missions*, vol., iii. p. 412).

A conference consisting of bishops so far asunder as these in their doctrinal views, could have but slender hopes of being able to agree in defining what is to be believed and what to be rejected by their flocks.

What results the conference has been able to achieve are presented to us in two documents, viz., the Encyclical Letter and the Resolutions. Both the one and the other deserve some attention. We omit to remark on the style and manner of the Encyclical, although both style and manner tempt criticism. The Encyclical itself is remarkable, principally for the skill with which it avoids all those really serious questions upon which Anglicans are divided, and for the dexterity with which it makes its affirmations broad enough to cover all shades of thought.

The most favourable interpretation of the document which has fallen in our way is that given by the *Literary Churchman*.¹ The first result therein pointed out is the fact that the conference witnesses to "a common connection; that while there are such things as local churches, there is also the wider entity of a *supra-local*, i.e., a Universal Church". What a surprising discovery! There is not a single Catholic child in the world to whose mind the idea of a Universal Church is not familiar. And is it for this that the *Literary Churchman* pronounces the Lambeth conference to be "one of those events which are destined to hold a place in history, and of which the importance will be seen as years roll on"? The next benefit conferred by the Encyclical, according to the *Churchman*, is that it defines the position of the Anglican Church in reference to Rome and to the Holy Scriptures. It protests against the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff; but who is there that did not know that this protest was the very basis of the Anglican schism? And touching this

¹ No. 20, p. 417.

matter of the supremacy, we would remark a singular inconsistency between the Encyclical and the Resolutions. The fourth resolution is to the effect "that, in the opinion of this conference, unity in faith and discipline will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican communion by due and canonical subordination of the synods of the several branches to the higher authority of a synod or synods above them". We ask, is not this plainly a claim for a universal sovereignty over God's heritage, put forth on behalf of the central synod? And if it be not repugnant to the Gospel that a few bishops should have higher authority over a supra-local and Universal Church, as set forth by the conference, how can it be repugnant to the same that one bishop, successor of the Prince of the Apostles, should have higher authority to keep unity of faith and doctrine in the entire Church? The statements made in the address touching the Catholic cultus of the Blessed Virgin are as false as those put forward by Nestorius and his bishops at the time of the Council of Ephesus. As to the assertion that the Bible is the word of God, even Dr. Colenso would have no hesitation to subscribe it, as, in fact, he has already done; reserving, however, the right of determining what books or parts of books compose the Bible.

So far the address: the bearing of the Resolutions themselves is thus set forth by the *Literary Churchman*:

"Passing by the first three resolutions, together with those two (Nos. 6 and 7) which bear upon the Colenso difficulty, let us come at once to those in which the Conference takes in hand the class of subjects we have specified. It is not too much to describe resolutions 4, 5, 8, 9, etc., as sketching out the programme of a general Church Constitution which shall embrace upon one common footing all Churches whatever in communion with our own, irrespective of their various relations to the Secular Power. The object for which the Conference was devised was to take measures for securing unity in faith and discipline throughout the scattered and very differently circumstanced branches of our Communion: and, however much this object seemed at one time likely to be frustrated through timid counsels, the firmness of the American bishops held the Conference to its purpose, and (practically) compelled our English bishops to look the real question in the face. The consequence is that the bulk of these 'Resolutions' are devoted, not to the minor points announced in the Archbishop's original circular, but to what we may call the draft of a general Church organization elastic enough to fit all cases, and comprehensive enough to embrace any and every branch of the Anglican Communion, Missionary, Established, quasi-Established, or entirely *dis-established*, or *un-established*. . . . Free mutual action and interaction by means of local and general representative bodies, acting under definite relations the one to the other, whether in the

United States, the Colonies, or within the borders of our own 'Establishment'—such is the foundation stone laid by this first Council of the Anglican Communion. Then from this first proposal for continuous concerted action they go on to the subject of the trial of cases of doctrine. In resolution 9, a committee is appointed 'to consider the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal, to which questions of doctrine may be carried by appeal from the' *local* and provincial Colonial tribunals: while resolution 8 allows a margin of discretion to the Colonial Churches in reference to their Church Services, subject to the revision of a general Synod of the Anglican Communion in which the province concerned shall be represented. It is in these resolutions that the pith of the matter lies. There are other resolutions of no small importance, as for instance No. 10, upon the discipline to be exercised by Metropolitans, and by the Court of Metropolitans, and upon the scheme of legislation for Colonial Churches;—but it is in those which we have specially particularized that we see the root of the matter thoroughly gone into. It shows that our assembled Bishops are ready to face the great need of the Church as a body independent of the special civil circumstances of particular countries, and independent of the special and accidental relations in which it stands to the civil governments for the time being. It shows that our bishops are alive to the fact that while civil governments vary, the Church must be one and the same; and if she is to be *kept* one and the same, it must be by some means which shall act altogether apart from the varying civil organizations of the various countries in which the Church has to carry on her uniform existance. . . . In all this we see the benefit of the presence and experience of the Transatlantic and the Colonial bishops. These men have had actual experience of needs and difficulties and how to meet them, to which our own bishops are as yet comparatively strangers. The quiet—the torpidity if you please—of our own Church during so many generations, and the complete surrender of all questions regarding her action and organization to the civil legislature, and to (essentially) civil courts, has had the inevitable result of cramping at once their energies and their ideas. The cramping of their energies has been bad enough: the cramping of their ideas has perhaps been even worse. The Church in England will owe a lasting debt to her daughter churches, in that they have now, in this year of 1867, brought sharply home to the minds of the English Episcopate the fact that they must begin to look at Church questions in a larger spirit than merely asking how they will appear to a Court of Arches or a Court of Appeal named by the Minister of the day".

This is no doubt what a section of Anglicans would wish to read in the Pan-Anglican resolutions. But the temper of mind now prevailing in the mass of Anglicans is most decidedly opposed to any such action on the part of the bishops. The entire press, which is, in this case, a fair exponent of the public feeling, has placed it beyond doubt that the laity will resist to the last

this high episcopal tone. But even if the scheme of government, the outline of which the resolutions present, could be realized, would it work? Unquestionably not. A voluntary tribunal which of itself can claim no authority, which has been erected by itself, which has no sanction for its decisions, will never control men in questions which are agitated with the warmth that always glows in ecclesiastical controversies. This elaborate system of synod over synod will be like the oriental system of the universe, in which the world is described as resting upon the back of a tortoise. The lower synods rest upon the higher, but there is no solid foundation upon which the final synod can rest. To rest securely it should rest upon the Rock on which Christ built His Church. There is no authority with which to clothe its decrees, so as to make them binding on men. Notwithstanding, however, the practical and theoretical difficulties which are arrayed against the resolutions, we are willing to admit that they contain much that is valuable. They contain an admission that the Anglican system is a failure; that a national church is a mistake; that the old Protestant axiom, *cujus est regio illius est religio*, is a blasphemy; that universality is a mark of the true Church. It is a justification of the principle on which the primacy of the Apostolic See is founded. "It shows", says the writer quoted above, "that our bishops are alive to the fact that, while civil governments vary, the church must be one and the same; and that if she is to be *kept* one and the same, it must be by some means which shall act altogether apart from the varying civil organizations of the various countries in which the church has to carry on her uniform existence". St. Cyprian and St. Jerome point out the means by which this unity is to be preserved: "there is one Church, founded by Christ our Lord upon Peter for an original and principle of unity—*super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata*". Ep. 70 ad Januar. "Out of the twelve", says St. Jerome (lib. i. adv. Jov.), "one is chosen, that by the appointment of a Head, all occasion of schism might be removed".

We conclude by summing up what we have hitherto said. The Pan-Anglican conference at Lambeth, considered in the circumstances that have occasioned it, in the objects set before it, in its own component parts, and in its results, is an unquestionable argument that the energy of Anglicanism has departed for ever.

MILITARY MASS AT THE CAMP OF CHALONS.

(Communicated.)

THE town from which this celebrated French camp takes its name, stands on the right bank of the river Marne, and is properly called Chalons-sur-Marne, to distinguish it from Chalons-sur-Saone, near Macon. It is the chief town of the department of Marne; and Rheims, Epernay, and itself, are the three great capitals of the Champagne country. It is 107 miles east of Paris by rail. For the benefit of future tourists with military proclivities, I may as well state at once, that the camp of Chalons is not at Chalons at all, but 16 miles from it, at a place called Mourmelon. There are, in fact, two places of that name at the camp, Mourmelon-le-grand, and Mourmelon-le-petit, both being very *petit*. The camp is called the camp of Chalons, I should think, because when it was formed, Chalons was not only the nearest important town, but also the nearest railway station, whence all visitors posted to the camp. Complete railway communication is not very long open between Chalons and Mourmelon.

The ground on which the camp stands seems admirably suited for the purpose. From an elevated table-land, somewhat, but not altogether, central, the vast plain gradually slopes away in all directions, forcibly impressing the beholder with its great extent. The monotony which so much bare land would produce, is broken up by small groves, chiefly Scotch fir, planted in various parts of it, by the streets of huts and tents, by the pretty gardens cultivated by the soldiers, and by the cattle and sheep that graze upon it. There is also a considerable portion devoted to tillage by the government, causing a marked improvement in the soil, which naturally is extremely poor. It is a chalky soil, scarcely covered by the scant dry grass which it produces; yet, strange to say, it seems to the eye, and is I believe substantially, the very same character of soil which grows the famous champagne wine of the department. The sod is very firm and dry, which circumstance must in no small degree promote the health of the men. I could get no trustworthy information as to the acreage of this great plain, but standing about the centre of a perfectly straight road by which it is traversed from north to south, it seemed to me that there were four or five miles of road at each side of me, all within the plain, although perhaps not all within the portion belonging to the government. What is certain is, that the 40,000 men there at the time of my visit occupied but a very small portion of it, and I have no doubt that the whole French army could be encamped there without inconvenience.

The imperial quarters, the residence of the Emperor when at the camp, the marshal, generals, etc., stand on the eastern brow

of the high table land described above, and are very neat and elegant without being showy or expensive. At a long distance from them the lines of white conical tents are seen; here fringing the plain, there peeping up beyond lines of trees, everywhere picturesque and beautiful.

There are two very long streets of two-storied huts to the right of Mourmelon-le-grand, which town is fair in front of the imperial quarters. The huts and tents do not run completely round these quarters, but are distributed somewhat crescent shape at the front and sides, the exercise ground lying between. The tents are of various sizes, but the ordinary conical tent, constructed to hold six men, is about nine or ten feet in diameter. A portion of what may be called the floor of the tent, immediately inside the door, is cut away to the depth of six or eight inches. The thin lairs of loosely platted straw on which the men sleep are arranged on the higher ground, and converging to the sunken part in front, which appears to be the common property of all the men in the tent: here they dress, here they clean up their arms when the weather will not permit them to do so outside, here they sit and smoke and chaff, the higher part of the floor serving them for a bench. A portion of the tent opposite the door can be raised so as to give thorough ventilation.

Some days before Sunday the 11th August, the neighbourhood of the camp was posted with the announcement that a grand military Mass would be celebrated at half-past eight o'clock on that day, at which the Emperor would assist; and that afterwards a "marching past", as we call it, of all the troops in the camp would take place. Sunday morning came, and the plain and surrounding country, lighted up by a warm brilliant sun, looked joyous and beautiful. Although the rural population seems very limited in the neighbourhood of Mourmelon, as early as six o'clock all the roads converging to the camp became animated with sightseers; some on foot, but the great majority carried in vehicles of the most various and unique builds. Many carriages and pairs of the gentry were to be seen, but the chief attraction was the peasants hurrying on their tidy little carts and cars, drawn by smart little horses and ponies. A whole household, father and mother, with some boys and girls, generally managed to find accommodation in each of these. The people were not only scrupulously clean, but their simple attire was neat and becoming. The proud spirit of Parisian fashion, who rules in so many and distant lands, was never able to extend his influence to the quiet villages (within four or five hours of his capital) whence journeyed forth the rural congregation of the *Grande Messe* on that bright pleasant morning.

At half-past seven the camp is all astir. The shrill, clear

sound of bugles and the roll of drums are heard on every side, and the men begin to form outside their quarters. In wandering through the place during some previous days, I had noticed the men busy in polishing, brushing up, and putting everything in order, and certainly, on this morning, the full effect of their industry appeared; for as they stood outside their tents ready to march, they looked superb in every part, speckless specimens of military neatness. Instead of that celebrated "thin red line tipped with steel", you could see across the wide and varied plain, solid masses of soldiers, their dark uniforms relieved and brought out by the bright serried squares of bayonets, which, high above their heads, reflected the morning sun like broken mirrors, and flung back his fiery beams with dazzling splendour.

All moved towards the imperial quarters, where stands the permanent altar for the use of the camp. This structure is simple enough, and yet imposing. It is a square wooden building. Ascending by eight or ten steps, you come to the altar proper, resting on a platform, leaving just room enough in front for the priest and his attendants. It is open on every side, but surmounted by a canopy, resting on four lofty pillars. On the morning of the *grande Messe* the open spaces were tastefully hung with scarlet curtains, looped to the pillars, while tri-coloured flags were neatly grouped at different points. This altar, with its canopy, being the highest object in the whole camp, impressed as I was, by its purpose and surroundings, struck me, as I approached on this morning, as grandly imposing.

Punctually, and without the slightest confusion, had the forty thousand men taken up their positions in front of the altar, some minutes before half-past eight o'clock. A wonderful sight they were. The infantry, in uniforms embracing almost every variety of colour, occupied the ground nearest the altar. The cavalry, all mounted, were in a fine bold line behind the infantry, and looked like a protective *cordon* to them. And as the Bishop of Chalons with his attendants ascended to the altar to prepare for the Holy Sacrifice, a *tableau* was before us which for grand scenic effect could not be surpassed. The bishop vestments. The discharge of a cannon announces that all is ready, and in a short time the Emperor, his distinguished visitors and a brilliant staff, emerge from the imperial quarters. They are preceded by some fifty of the *Cent Gardes*, in those uniforms of theirs which are unmatched for grace and splendour. I remarked that they were saluted by the sentries on duty the same as commissioned officers.

The Emperor and Marshal L'admirault, and none others, were attired as marshals of France. To an unmilitary spectator like myself, the chief distinction between the marshal and the gene-

ral's uniform was, that the cocked hat of the former was fully and elegantly trimmed with lace, while that of the latter was not. The Emperor, who is barely middle size, looked fuller in face and stouter in person than he appears in any photograph I have yet seen of him. He seemed in excellent health, but he walked with the measured caution of one who was afraid to throw out his limbs with even ordinary freedom. Many of this distinguished party had the breasts of their rich uniforms covered with decorations, and as they walked slowly, and in a sort of procession, four deep, from the imperial quarters to the front of the altar, the effect was very grand. Famous as the French are for their military costumes, there was amongst the imperial party an Austrian, or more probably a Hungarian officer, who outshone them all. He wore the most gorgeous hussar uniform, and excited so much attention that while he passed, the spectators cried out with admiration, *Voila! Voila l'étranger, voila l'Autrichien!*

But there was a still more remarkable stranger among them, to whom I may devote a sentence or two, I mean Abd-el-Kader. The ex-Emir is rather low of stature, and of stout build. His face is oval, dignified, and intellectual. His nose may be almost called aquiline. His thick, well-trimmed beard, once black, is now sprinkled with gray. His complexion is light olive, and by no means unpleasing. His loose over garment, or *bournouse*, which I have seen him wear walking, driving, and riding, is very peculiar, and very unwarlike too, being white woollen stuff, made like a very full Galway cloak.¹ The hood is always up, and fastened on the Emir's head by what seemed to be a strand of coarse brown woollen thread, running completely round from back to front, as ribbons were formerly worn to fasten women's caps. And, indeed, but for his beard and his breastful of decorations, to show which he threw back one side of his cloak, he might be taken for a quiet, middle-aged, rudely attired country woman. Abd-el-Kader looks vigorous, and scarcely beyond fifty-five, although he must be fully sixty, for it is nearly forty years since the young Emir became the rallying point of the *jad*, or holy war, which the native tribes of Algeria waged against the French. Considering that the father of Abd-el-Kader was regarded as a saint amongst his people, and that he brought up his son in the strictest principles of Islamism, having taken him on a pilgrimage to Mecca at eight years of age, and considering that the Emir claims descent from Fatima, the very daughter of the prophet himself, it rose almost to the

¹ There is a family connection between the Algerian *bournouse* and the Galway cloak, for the *bournouse* has been long used amongst the Spaniards, under the name of *albornoz*, which garment they, no doubt, derive from the Moors, as we derive our Galway cloak from the Spaniards.

romantic to see him among his French conquerors assisting at Mass on the plain of Chalons.

A cannon is fired, and the bishop begins Mass, during which a military band played some selections of sacred music, but they were few and short. Pioneers, with their heavy axes, long white leathern aprons, copious beards, and tall bearskins, half concealing their eyes, lined the steps ascending from the ground to the altar in single line at each side. At the foot of the altar there were eight attendants, four on each side, who bore standards surmounted by the imperial eagle. During the reading of the Gospel, these were elevated to a considerable height, so that persons at a distance could see them. At the instant of the elevation of the Host, two cannons are fired, all bend the knee simultaneously, lean forward, and present arms, while a murmur runs down the ranks, until it dies away in the far distance. This manifestation was wholly unexpected by me. It was peculiar, and seemed to be something between a murmur of applause, and that striking expression of adoration which is sometimes heard in an Irish congregation at the same solemn moment. The ceremonies observed at the elevation of the Host are repeated at the elevation of the chalice. The effect produced by the motion of the troops at the elevation is not easily conceived or described. Imagine a great many distinct flocks of birds, not flying, but merely keeping themselves balanced, and floating, as it were, a little above the earth; imagine that something underneath attracts their attention all at once, and that a simultaneous swoop downwards is made by them, their glossy backs and wings reflecting the rays of the sun; and you have the idea that occurred to me, when the 40,000 soldiers bent in adoration, and presented their burnished arms glowing in the sunlight. The members of the imperial party observed the same ceremonies during Mass as the soldiers.

After the communion the bishop gives the blessing to his vast congregation, a cannon is fired, the *Domine salvum fac* is sung, the bands of all the regiments strike up at once, and they move off to take up their places for the review. The imperial party walk back to their quarters, and for some time all is military music and preparation.

Superbly appointed chargers, graceful in form and lithe of limb, are led forth by grooms with gilded cockades, and dressed in that dark green livery so well known as the imperial. The Emperor and his party mount, and coming leisurely through the little pleasure garden in front of the quarters, take their places at the Gospel side of the altar and on a line with it. Beside the Emperor, on his right, stood the commandant of the camp, Marshal Ladmirault, and next to him Abd-el-Kader, whose

peculiar dress, as already described, seemed to unfit him for being on horseback at all. The back of his saddle was richly ornamented with gold, almost upright, and being of considerable size, it kept him in his place with but little effort on his part; in fact he seemed to be sitting in a small easy chair rather than a saddle.

The "marching past" began with the infantry. When each regiment came within a few perches of the Emperor, the band struck up and the men fell into quick marching time. Arriving in front of him they give a cheer, *Vive l'Empereur*, and forward they go in that spirited dashing manner so characteristic of French soldiers. On, on they come, regiment after regiment, and precisely the same ceremony is gone through. At length there is a striking change. The lancers with their white richly braided tunics, their handsome square caps and shining lances, dash forward rapidly to the music of their band, and pass the Emperor dipping their lances in splendid style, and making one of the prettiest military pictures that can be imagined. Other regiments of cavalry follow. Meantime far away in the rere a great cloud of dust is seen ascending from the plain, while a heavy rumbling noise like distant thunder is heard. It is the artillery. Fixed on each gun carriage is a spare wheel, just as steamers carry a spare shaft to provide against accidents. As this formidable looking arm of the service passed quickly in front of us ten or twelve deep, it made the ground on which we stood literally shake. The men gave their cheer and their *Vive*, and received the usual salute from their master.

It has been often said of Napoleon the Third that he is a very imperturbable man. I noticed a small but curious illustration of this at the review. He lifted his hat to each regiment as it cheered and passed. I watched him every time this occurred, and the uniform unimpassioned sameness with which he did it was really marvellous. Marvellous, because one can scarcely understand how, on such an occasion, he should remember to do so exactly in the same way. Yet he did. There could be no jealousy; regiment of the line, chasseurs, lancers, artillery, it was all the same; he took the corner of his cocked hat in the same fashion, raised it to the same height, and replaced it with the same cool deliberation.

An hour elapsed from the time Mass was over until the last of the artillery rolled by; the Emperor and his staff returned to the imperial quarters, the crowds took their various routes home-wards, and the brilliant morning's work was over.

REV. DR. BRADY ON THE IRISH CHURCH IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE able work by the Rev. Dr. Brady on the alleged conversion of the Irish Catholic bishops to the Reformed faith in the days of Elizabeth, is already well known to our readers. The assaults made on the bishops' constancy form but one part in the bloody drama then performed in Ireland by the English in their attempt to Protestantize this country. In a paper contributed to *Frazer's Magazine*,¹ Dr. Brady supplements his original labour by giving an account of the general action of the machinery put in motion by the statesmen of the day to effect this purpose. Such an account amounts to a history, short, and yet full, of the Irish Protestant Church in the time of Elizabeth. It includes a sketch of the foundation of that Church, of its early growth, of the working of the causes that led to the failure of the attempt, and of the results, such as they were, which it achieved. We are certain that we shall give pleasure to our readers by extracting from this remarkable paper the conclusions to which Dr. Brady has arrived concerning each of these heads. We premise that our author comes to no conclusion rashly; that his is not a sketch from fancy; but that for every detail he sets before us he has the sure warrant of documents of unquestionable genuineness and unimpeachable authority.

I. Our first extract regards the foundation of the Establishment:

"Queen Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, was a Roman Catholic. She had attended mass till her sister's death, and for some weeks after her accession her position was still ambiguous. At length she resolved to break with the Pope and establish Protestantism in her dominions. Her reforming measures were facilitated in England by the sympathies and active coöperation of many of her English subjects and by the power of her councillors. . . . But in Ireland it was different. The spiritual power of the Pope, which Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth had lessened but by a little, had been strengthened under Mary. The bishops and clergy, the laity—both peers and peasants—were Roman Catholic. The genius of the people was adverse to Protestantism. Nevertheless Elizabeth purposed—and no other course seems to have ever suggested itself to her mind—to make Ireland Protestant, *pari passu* with England. The acts of the English parliament, abolishing the Papal and enforcing the Reformed worship, were submitted to a so called Irish parliament in 1560. The Earl of Sussex, the deputy, who, under Mary and during the first months of Elizabeth's reign, was a public attendant at the Mass,

¹ *The Irish Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, by W. M. Brady, D.D., October, 1867.

managed to get the Act of Uniformity and other reforming statutes passed by the Irish parliament by means of trickery or force. But the ‘aversion’ of this parliament ‘to the Protestant religion and the ecclesiastical government’ was such that Sussex was obliged to dissolve it after a session of less than three weeks’ duration. Archbishop Curwin, who was also Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was as unfortunate with a convocation of bishops, held in the same year, 1560, as Sussex was with his parliament. The Bishop of Meath, ‘upon whom, as touching religion’, the Irish ‘wholly depended’—withstood him to his face, and this ‘convocation’ became abortive. These proceedings, delusive as they were, formed the basis of the State Church in Ireland. The Queen’s Lieutenant warranted the consent of the Irish Lords and Commons. Curwin, the pliant Chancellor-Archbishop of Dublin, went voucher for the conformity of the Irish bishops, clergy, and people. The Reformation, assumed by a government fiction, was taken for an accomplished fact, and punishment was denounced—wherever it was safe to do so—upon all who ventured to reject it. The bishops of Kildare and Meath, whose sees were within the Pale, were the first victimis to the new régime. They were cast into prison and deprived of their temporalities. The Bishop of Leighlin, who happened to have been in England, was brought before the Council at Greenwich, and made an abject submission, but when he returned to his diocese gave no further proof of conversion. Bishop Mant, whom Archdeacon William Lee quotes approvingly, asserts that the bishops of Meath and Kildare ‘are the only two prelates who appear to have been deprived in the reign of Elizabeth’, and that ‘there is neither record, nor rational ground for suspicion, of the deprivation of any others’. The State Papers contradict both the bishop and the archdeacon, for in 1561 the Bishop of Ossory, and in 1571 the Bishop of Limerick, and in 1585 the Bishop of Kilmore, were deprived of their sees. The bishops who were beyond the Queen’s power, and therefore escaped deprivation, continued to enjoy their temporalities and celebrate the Mass, despite parliamentary prohibitions. The clergy in general, so far as they could, followed the example of their prelates. When overawed by an English garrison, they refrained from public celebrations. When the soldiers retired, they offered their worship in the churches as before. The people, whose faith had been thus altered for them by the Queen and her parliament, seemed nevertheless in no haste to desert their ancient creed. Within the Pale some few went to the Reformed service to escape the fines. Without the Pale they attended the Roman Catholic worship in defiance of the law. The unanimous testimony of the bishops whom Elizabeth appointed, was to the effect that the Irish people, from one end of the island to the other, pertinaciously persisted in the Roman Catholic faith. The church which the nation continued to love, and which Elizabeth affected to have altered or destroyed, experienced outside the Pale no very considerable inconvenience from the withdrawal of royal favour. The Irish chieftains solicited the Pope instead of the Queen to appoint their favourites to

vacant sees. The temporalities were enjoyed by the appointees of the Pope, and her Majesty's nominees got little but empty titles. In Armagh the Catholic primate appeared in arms against her Majesty, the Protestant primate dared not adventure himself within his legal diocese, and the suffragan sees of Clogher, Derry, Kilmore, Ardagh, Down and Connor, and Raphoe remained, for twenty years and more, without a successful attempt on the Queen's part to introduce a Protestant prelate. In the provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, the Queen's bishops were mere political agents, trading on their position and plundering their sees. Loftus in Dublin, Sheyne in Cork, Magrath in Cashel, and O'Brien in Killaloe, were civil agents rather than bishops. The Queen chose her prelates—not for their ability to persuade the people to purer doctrine, not for capability to preach the Gospel to them—but for their fitness to increase the Queen's influence among powerful septs, and for their capabilities of conveying useful intelligence to the Castle. And thus the Reformed Episcopate became hateful to Irishmen as a mere machine of State, employed to aid in overturning the authority of the Irish chieftains, in destroying cherished customs, and in abolishing the national laws which the people had been from time immemorial accustomed to obey. It is not to be wondered at, under such circumstances, that the State Church should have remained for long a Church made up of English soldiers and settlers, and of English bishops, or of Irish bishops specially trained at Oxford or Cambridge in English habits. It is rather to be wondered at that Elizabeth and Burghley, Walsingham and Sidney, should have for a moment regarded such an institution as the Reformed Church in Ireland as likely—established and administered as it was—to tend to anything but the permanent alienation of the Irish people".

II. The early growth of the Establishment is thus described:

"Loftus himself contributed to this deformity, and has left written tokens of how it was all done. For instance, in Ossory, the chief bishopric in his province, the Queen placed one Christopher Gafney as successor to John Thonery, a bishop appointed by Queen Mary, but returned as a defaulter in the First Fruit accounts, and deprived in 1561. Bishop Gafney, perhaps from conscientious scruples as to his own orders, 'never gave orders himself', but gave his license to a candidate for orders to get ordination *more Romano* from a Papal bishop of Killaloe lately consecrated by the Pope. Gafney's conscience, which kept him from ordaining, did not keep him from simony. He actually sold his archdeaconry; and Archbishop Loftus, his metropolitan, allowed those Papal orders, and took no pains to punish his suffragan for getting a Papal bishop to perform his ordination duties".

In 1578 a dispute arose between the Irish Protestant bishops headed by Loftus, and the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commission for Ireland, which was not settled until Loftus was admitted to a

share in the profits. This dispute led to much recrimination between the parties. The accounts forwarded by either side to the council contain strange revelations concerning the state of the Irish Establishment at that period. Dr. Brady thus profits by their candour:

"The commissioners were two in number. One was George Ackworth, Doctor of Civil Law, a clergyman who had been deprived of his living in England for inordinate life; the other was Robert Garvey, who was not in holy orders, and was only a Bachelor in Civil Law. . . .

"Garvey gives a list of some incumbents whom the bishops tolerated, but whom he ejected. As specimens of these Reformed incumbents, 'George Cusack' may be noted, 'a lay servingman', who usurped the benefice of Kentstown in Meath; and in the same diocese, at Galtrim, 'Robert Nugent, a horseman of the Baron of Delvin's retinue'; at Kilmessan, 'John Barnewell, a young boy of Dublin'; and at Killavy, 'Lucas Plunkett, prentice to a vintner in Dublin'. On the other hand, Loftus charges the Commissioners with giving livings to laymen and persons who did not take the oath of supremacy and abjuration. 'There have been a great sort admitted by them to benefices without taking the oath of her Majesty's title, whose names I will be ready to declare', writes the archbishop, 'when I shall be thereto required'. Among the abuses which Ackworth and Garvey committed, Loftus reckons the grants for simony made to William Keogh, or Keho, the archdeacon of Ossory, on the 11th of April, 1577, and to Thomas Vale, the vicar of Kirke in Ossory, on the 13th of June, 1578. He mentioned also a dispensation, granted on the 16th of November, 1577, to Thomas, son of Edmond Power, to hold Mothel (a vicarage with cure) without residence, and with a dispensation for seven years of his minority, he being a boy of ten years old. To Robert Gafney, 'Chanter of Kilkenny', who was 'very ignorant, utterly void of knowledge of God and his religion', and whose 'orders were given by one that had no authority thereto', a dispensation was also given on the 7th of August, 1578, for 'confirming orders taken by him of a runagate from Rome, pretending himself to be Bishop of Killaloe by the Pope's authority'. This practice of granting letters dimissory by the Queen's bishops to their Papal rivals, was not confined to one diocese or bishop, for Loftus says: 'Already there hath been allowances by dispensation made by the Commissioners of such as have within these two or three years received their orders of traitors, runagates which came from Rome, pretending to be bishops by the Pope's authority'. Garvey himself confesses to a 'great number of priests ordered as aforesaid, and admitted by the bishops' in Ireland, 'to serve in their several dioceses'; and declares that 'the said Gafney took his orders [from the Papal bishop] by the license and with the commendation of his ordinary (the late bishop of Ossory [Christopher Gafney], who never gave orders himself), and was tolerated in his

said orders, and had execution of them a good while after he took them, both by his ordinary and metropolitan'. This conduct of the Bishop of Ossory removes all surprise at the presence of his name among the bishops who, in 1569, petitioned (through the Papal archbishop MacGibbon) the king of Spain and the Pope.

Another glimpse into the character of Loftus and the working of the Establishment is afforded by the articles sent to England in 1580 against Sir John Bell, who was nephew to Lord Chancellor Weston, and, although a layman, was Dean of St. Patrick's:

"Ball was not in holy orders, and yet he got from Loftus the archdeaconry of Glendalough and the parsonage of Newcastle. He was not a civilian, and yet was appointed by Loftus to be commissary to the Archbishop of Dublin. Ball was 'greatly suspected to be a Papist, or else a newter, which is worse'. He 'refused to wear a surplice in the time of cathedral service', and was 'not contented with his own stall next the chanter, but installed his wife in the seat next unto him'. It was further objected against Ball, that being complained of by many for his licentious life, and also being presented to the Lord Chancellor, the Dean of St. Patrick's, 'by the oath of the vicars of the said church, who were sworn to present the misdemeanours in the same', for impropriety with one Cicely Fletcher, a woman of evil conversation, 'notwithstanding he is married and hath his wife there—lechery being incident to popery—yet by the sufferance' of the dean his uncle 'he is winked at, to the maintenance of others as evil disposed as himself, and to the great grief of a number of true-hearted subjects to see such apparent vices unpunished in the commonwealth'. And being commissary, and having any rich men in the country in the censures of the church for similar offences, 'he absolves them for money in the fields, to cover their crimes with the Pope's absolution, "Absolvo te", etc., and hath been seen and heard by credible persons giving that absolution on horseback in the fields—the penitent kneeling before him—which is his common practice, to get money as he visits in the country'. Ball was also accused of affording special opportunities to 'fair and well favoured women' who needed absolution, never putting them to the annoyance of having their causes tried in open court, but politely hearing them in private. This John Ball, who was suspected of so many offences, was actually recommended by Loftus to Burghley, in the same year, 1580, for the office of registrar to the Commission, and collector of fines under the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes".

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

A Dublin priest proposes the question, whether *incense* should be used at a *Missa Cantata*?

The Congregation of Rites supplies us with the answer to this question; for, it expressly decides that in a *Missa Cantata* incense *should not be used*. Thus when consulted: "An quando Missa canitur sine ministris, thurificari possit tam Altare quam Chorus, ut alias sit, quando Ministri adsunt?" it replied on the 19th August, 1651, *negative*. Subsequently when interrogated: "An in Missa conventuali dierum solemnium quae absque cantu ac Ministris celebratur, fieri possit thurificatio?" it again answered *negative* on 22nd January, 1701: and in fine, another question being proposed: "An in Missa conventuali absque Diaconis cantata, adsistentibus tamen Thuriferario et Ceroferariis, et praesente Clero seu Communitate, adhiberi possit thus tam in principio Missae quam in Evangelio et offertorio?" it confirmed the preceding decisions, and again replied *negative* on 18th December, 1779.

Some authors, we are informed, hold that incense may be used at the *Missa Cantata*. But, as this opinion is clearly contradicted by the decisions quoted above, it is not allowable to follow it in practice.

Other liturgical questions with which we have been favoured are unavoidably held over for the present.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES ON THE FESTIVALS OF IRISH SAINTS.

The Irish bishops whilst assisting in Rome at the solemn celebration of the Centenary of the Princes of the Apostles, availed themselves of that opportunity to present a petition to the Holy See, requesting that the diocesan festivals of Irish saints, which have hitherto through apostolic Indult been celebrated in particular dioceses, might be extended to all Ireland. The Holy Father was pleased to grant their request, and thus the following saints will be henceforward commemorated throughout all the dioceses of our island:

Name of Saint.	Diocese in which hitherto commemorated.	Festival Day.
St. Munchin,	Limerick,	2nd January.
" Albert,	Cashel,	8th "
" Ita,	Limerick,	15th "
" Aidan,	Ferns,	31st "
" Mel,	Ardagh,	6th February.
" Kieran,	Ossory,	5th March.
" Senan,	Limerick,	8th "
" Macartin,	Clogher,	24th "
" Lazerian,	Leighlin,	17th April.
" Assach,	Elphin,	26th "
" Conlaeth,	Kildare,	3rd May.
" Carthage,	Lismore,	14th "
" Brendan,	Kerry,	16th "
" Coemghen,	Dublin,	3rd June.
" Iarlaith,	Tuam,	6th "
" Colman,	Dromore,	7th "
" Fedlimidh,	Kilmore,	9th August.
" Nathi,	Achonry,	9th "
" Lelia,	Limerick,	11th "
" Attracta,	Achonry,	11th "
" Muiredach,	Killalla,	12th "
" Fachnan,	Ross,	14th "
" Eugene,	Derry,	23rd "
" Macnisse,	Down and Connor,	3rd September.
" Kieran,	Clonmacnoise,	9th "
" Ailbhe,	Emly,	12th "
" Eunan.	Raphoe,	23rd "
" Finnbarri,	Cork,	25th "
" Otteran,	Waterford,	27th "
" Colman,	Cloyne,	24th November.
" Flannan,	Killaloe,	18th December.

DECRETUM S. C. R.

Regni Hiberniae.

Eminentissimus et Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Paulus Cullen Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, aliquique Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Hiberniae Romae praesentes ad solemnia canonizationis peractae in Vaticano Templo XVIII. Centenario recurrente quo gloriosi Apostolorum Principes Petrus et Paulus sanguinem suum pro Christo fuderunt, humillimis precibus a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa IX. postulaverunt ut Festa Sanctorum Hiberniae qui de Apostolicae Sedis venia modo in una vel altera Dioecesi recoluntur, amodo in singulis Kalendariis Dioecesium illius regionis inscribi valeant; verum sub ritu duplice minori tantum. Sanctitas vero Sua haec vota ab infrascripto Substituto Secretario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis relata, clementer excipiens benigne pro gratia annuere dignata est juxta preces; dummodo tamen in assignandis diebus pro illorum celebratione

in singulis Kalendarii Rubricae et decreta adamussim serventur.
Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 8^o Augusti, 1867,

C. Episcopus Portuensis et S. RUFINAE, CARD. PATRIZI,
S. R. C. Praef.

✠ Locus sigilli.

Pro R. P. D. DOMINICO BARTOLINI, Secretario.

JOSEPHUS CICCOLINI, Substitutus.

Concordat cum originali.

✠ PAULUS CARDINALIS CULLEN.

II.

LETTER OF THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TO
THE ENGLISH BISHOPS, ON THE DANGER OF FRE-
QUENTING PROTESTANT UNIVERSITIES.

Illme. et Rme. Domine.

Literis die 3 Februarii anni 1865 ad RR. PP. DD. sacrorum
Antistites Angliae datis Sacrum Consilium Chr. Nom. Propag. signi-
ficavit se libentissime confirmasse sententiam a laudatis Episcopis in
recenti Londinensi conventu unanimiter propositam de Collegiis penes
Universitates Anglicanas Oxfordensem ac Cantabrigensem non eri-
gendas, deque parentibus catholicis opportune persuadendis ne suos
filios ad eas Universitates mitterent, quod videlicet idem Sacrum
Concilium Episcoporum sententiam apprime consonam vidisset prin-
cipiis iuxta Summi Pontificis mentem a se traditis, quoties de
scholarum mixtarum periculis consulta fuerat. Porro cum per epis-
tolam encyclicam ad clerum datam sub die 24 Martii 1865 praesules
sententiam supradictam a sacra hac Congregatione confirmatam
Sacerdotibus per suas Dioeceses patefecissent, sperandum erat fore
ut eidem patresfamilias catholici se conformarent, quo filios suos a
perversionis periculis omnino arcerent. Verum nonnulla quae
recenter evenerunt facta satis ostenderunt declarationes in rem a
S. Sede emanatas ac laudatam Episcoporum ad minores Sacerdotes
encyclicam non fuisse sufficienter promulgatas, ideoque necessarium
apparet ut literae pastorales a singulis Angliae Praesulibus divul-
gentur, quibus Cleris pariter ac fidelibus suarum Dioecesum perspi-
cum ac certam tribuant agendi normam in re sane gravissima, quae
cum aeterna animarum salute apprime connectitur.

Quoniam vero non omnes idem tulere iudicium acatholicis Univer-
sitatis devitandis, ac quidam etiam non defuerunt, qui censerent
tolerari posse ut catholica iuventus praedicta instituta frequentaret
sive ob temporalia emolumenta quae in iis comparantur, sive quod in
ipsorum sententia certa lex non appareat qua ad illis accessus absolute
prohibeatur, operaे pretium arbitror, ut Amplitudo tua clare explicit
in epistola pastorali doctrinam de proximis peccandi graviter occasio-

nibus devitandis, quibus nemo sine lethali peccato exponere seipsum potest, nisi gravis urgeat ac proportionata necessitas, ac nisi tales adhibeantur cautiones, quibus periculum peccandi proximum removatur. Iam vero in re de qua agitur, cui, ex Summi Pontificis declaratione, intrinsecum gravissimumque inest periculum non pro morum tantum honestate sed praesertim pro fide, quae ad salutem omnino est necessaria, quis non videt vix aut ne vix quidem dari posse adjuncta illa in quibus absque peccato acatholicae Universitates frequententur? Levitas ingenii atque instabilitas adolescentium, errores qui quasi cum aura in dictis Institutis hauriuntur absque antidoto solidioris doctrinae, maxima vis quam in iuvenes exercent humani respectus ac sodalium irrisiones, tam praesens tamque proximum in adolescentes inducunt labendi periculum, ut nulla generatim sufficiens ratio concipi queat, propter quam adolescentes acatholicis Universitatibus committantur. Quae cum ita sint erit sapientiae tuae ita argumentis auctoritatis ac rationis uti in epistola divulganda, ut tandem aliquando omnibus sacerdotibus pariter ac fidelibus laicis quid in negotio isto gravissimo sentire atque agere oporteat perspicuum sit. Ceterum non praetermittam Amplitudini tuae inculcare, ut ita agas cum ceteris Angliae Episcopis, quo videlicet epistola, de qua supra, et uniformi ratione concipiatur et pari uniformitate executioni mandetur.

Precor Deum ut Te diu sospitem servet in columemque.

Romae ex Aed. S. C. de P. F. die 6 Augusti 1867.

A Tuae,

Ad officia paratissimus

AL CARD. BARNABÒ, Pr.
H. Capalti, Secrius.

R. P. D. Henrico Ed. Manning,
Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi.

III.

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS AT A GENERAL MEETING, HELD IN DUBLIN ON THE 1ST, 2ND, AND 3RD OCTOBER, 1867.

On the Disendowment of the Protestant Church Establishment, and the Application of its Revenues.—The Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, seeing that the Government and Parliament are preparing to deal by law with the Irish Protestant Church Establishment, deem it their duty to declare:

1. That the Irish Protestant Church Establishment is maintained chiefly, almost exclusively, by property and revenues unjustly alienated from the rightful owner, the Catholic Church of Ireland:—that Irish Catholics cannot cease to feel as a gross injustice and as an abiding insult the continued, even partial, maintenance of that Es-

tablishment out of that endowment, or in any other way, at their expense—an Establishment, to which, as to their fountain-head, are to be traced the waters of bitterness which poison the relations of life in Ireland, and estrange from one another Protestants and Catholics, who ought to be an united people.

2. That, notwithstanding the rightful claim of the Catholic Church in Ireland to have restored to it the property and revenues of which it was unjustly deprived, the Irish Catholic Bishops hereby reaffirm the subjoined resolutions of the Bishops assembled in the years 1837, 1841, and 1843; and, adhering to the letter and spirit of those resolutions, distinctly declare that they will not accept endowment from the state out of the property and revenues now held by the Protestant Establishment, nor any other State endowment whatever.

The following are the Resolutions referred to:—

RESOLVED—“That, alarmed at the report that an attempt is likely to be made, during the approaching session of Parliament, to make a State provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy, we deem it an imperative duty not to separate without recording the expression of our strongest reprobation of any such attempt, and of our unalterable determination to resist, by every means in our power, a measure so fraught with mischief to the independence and purity of the Catholic Church in Ireland”—*Resolution of the Irish Bishops in 1837.*

RESOLVED—“That His Grace the Most Reverend Dr. Murray be requested to call a Special General Meeting of the Prelates of all Ireland, in case that he shall have clear proof, or well-grounded apprehension, that the odious and alarming scheme of a State provision for the Catholic clergy of this portion of the empire be contemplated by the Government, before the next General Meeting”—*Resolution of the Irish Bishops in 1841.*

RESOLVED—“That the preceding Resolutions be now republished, in order to make known to our faithful clergy and people, and to all others concerned, that our firm determination on this subject remains unchanged; and that we unanimously pledge ourselves to resist by every influence we possess, every attempt that may be made to make any State provision for the Catholic clergy, in whatever shape or form it may be offered”—*Resolution moved by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, seconded by the Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, and unanimously adopted at a Meeting of the Prelates of Ireland, in Dublin, 15th Nov., 1843, the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale in the Chair.*

3. That in thus declaring their determination to keep the Church of Ireland free and independent of State control or interference, the Bishops of Ireland are happily in accord with instructions received from the Holy See in the years 1801 and 1805, as well as with the course pursued by the Irish Bishops of that day in conformity with those instructions.

When a project for the endowment of the Catholic clergy by the British Government was proposed at the end of last century, Pope Pius the Seventh gave the following instructions to the Irish Bishops through the Secretary of Propaganda:

“The Holy Father most earnestly desires, that the Irish clergy, continuing to pursue the praiseworthy line of conduct hitherto followed by them, shall scrupulously abstain from seeking for themselves any temporal advantages; and that, while by word and deed they express their unvarying attachment, gratitude, and submission to the British Government, and give still more sensible proof of their gratitude for these fresh favours offered to them, they shall, nevertheless, decline to accept them, and thereby give a bright example of that constant disinterested-

ness which so becomes the apostolic zeal of the ministers of the sanctuary, and which confers so much advantage and honour on the Catholic Religion, by winning for its ministers, in a remarkable degree, that esteem and respect which render them more worthy of the reverence and love of the faithful committed to their spiritual charge.

"These are precisely the sentiments which our Holy Father has commanded the Secretary of the Propaganda to communicate to you, Reverend Father, that through you they may be conveyed without delay to the excellent Metropolitans and Bishops of the Kingdom of Ireland".

The same sentiments are repeated, and at much greater length, in another letter from the Secretary of Propaganda, dated 29th September, 1805.

4. That the Bishops are confident that the Catholics of Ireland will receive with joy this repudiation of a State endowment for the Irish Church; and that they will never cease to give, without any legal compulsion, the support which they have hitherto freely and dutifully accorded to their Clergy and Religious Institutions.

5. That by the appropriating Ecclesiastical property of Ireland for the benefit of the poor, the Legislature would realize one of the purposes for which it was originally destined, and to which it was applied in Catholic times.

On National Education.—1. The assembled Bishops hereby reaffirm the resolutions in reference to Education adopted in a General Meeting, held by the Bishops of Ireland in Dublin, on the 4th and following days of August, 1863, which are as follows :

(a) "That the Bishops of Ireland, assembled in obedience to the instructions of the Sovereign Pontiff, and having their attention particularly directed, by his authority, to the National System of Education, reiterate their condemnation of the principle on which that system is based, namely, the principle of mixed education, as intrinsically unsound, and as unsafe in practice, as at variance with the interests of Catholic religion and dangerous to the faith of their flocks.

(b) "They object to the enforcement on the Catholic people of Ireland of a system in which religion is unnaturally separated from secular instruction; in which the State would substitute its own power for the authority of the Catholic Church in respect to the education of Catholic youth, and by ignoring the pastoral rights of the Catholic clergy, would deprive education of the only adequate security for its religious safety which the Catholic Church can acknowledge.

(c) "That no change in the constitution of the body charged with the administration of a mixed system of education can compensate for its inherent defects, or neutralize its injurious action.

(d) "That the constitution of the Model and Training Schools, as has been repeatedly declared by the Bishops of Ireland, evidently conflicts with the principles of the Catholic Church; that we again condemn them as specially dangerous; that we again hereby warn our flocks against them; and we enjoin on our priests to use their best exertions to withdraw children from them, and at the same time to endeavour, to the utmost of their ability, to provide equally good secular education for the youth of their respective parishes; and that we require a punctual observance of the resolution adopted at the last General Meeting of Irish Bishops—a copy of which we here subjoin, viz. :—

"That, convinced of the importance of Catholic teachers being trained only in Catholic model schools, we direct that no priest shall, after the first day of next term, send any person to be trained as a teacher, either in the central or model school, or in any other model school, or in any way coöperate with other patrons of National Schools in sending, after that date, teachers to be so trained, and that no teachers who shall be sent to be trained after that date in any model school, shall be employed as such by any priest, or with his consent".

(e) "That we have learned, with the greatest satisfaction, that in the dioceses in which the Model Schools were introduced or upheld against the authority of the

respective Bishops, the measures taken to prevent the attendance of Catholic children have been most successful; that we congratulate those zealous Bishops on that success, and on the fidelity of their clergy and people.

(f) "That the fiction of a mixed attendance of Catholics and Protestants at ordinary National Schools has been so thoroughly exposed in a Parliamentary report, as to render it quite easy for the Government to accede to the legitimate claims of Catholics for the reconstruction of those frequented by Catholic children. Those claims are: that the Teachers be Catholics, approved of by the Bishops and priests severally concerned; that school books, such as those compiled by the Christian Brothers, or like them in Catholic tone and spirit, be used in those schools; that the use of religious emblems in the schools and the arrangement for religious instruction be not interfered with; and that those schools be inspected only by Catholic Inspectors appointed as in England.

(g) "That as it is expedient to have teachers trained to teach, and as such training, being part of a well-regulated system of education, is acknowledged to be justly chargeable on the public educational funds, an adequate portion of that public money is due to the Catholic people of Ireland for the training of Catholic teachers for Catholic schools receiving aid from the State; and that, as Catholic teachers cannot have recourse with safety to the existing Training Schools, a separate establishment for Catholics, approved of by competent ecclesiastical authority, is necessary, and should be provided at the public expense; or Catholic teachers should be trained and supported at the public expense in existing Catholic Institutions approved of by the Bishops.

(h) "That, as it is forbidden by the Bishops to send Catholic teachers to the existing Training Schools, and as it is the duty of Catholic parents, in obedience to the instructions of their pastors, to withdraw their children from existing Model Schools, Catholic Commissioners fail in the respect and obedience due to ecclesiastical authority, if they require Catholic schoolmasters or induce Catholic pupils to go for training or education to those Schools.

(i) "That we declare it to be the duty of Catholic Commissioners of National Education to use their utmost endeavours to effect such a fundamental alteration in the system as will allow aid to be granted for Schools exclusively and avowedly Catholic, as to teachers, books, and other religious characteristics; and that, failing to effect such change, they ought to withdraw from a position in which they can neither do good nor prevent mischief.

(j) "That we caution our priests against accepting building grants under such conditions as are contained in leases which the National Board has lately prepared, and against concurring in the acceptance of grants on those conditions by others".

2. The Bishops call particular attention to the resolution (d) which declares that the constitution of the Model and Training Schools evidently conflicts with the principles of the Catholic Church, and which enjoins on priests to use their best exertions to withdraw children from them, as being specially dangerous. They direct that that resolution be promulgated anew in all parishes from which it may be apprehended that children would go to those schools, and that priests be again instructed that it is their duty to enforce it to the utmost of their power.

3. They also direct that the resolution of the Bishops assembled in May, 1862, regarding the training of teachers, and of which, in their meeting of August, 1863, the Bishops required a punctual observance, be again notified to all Catholic managers of National Schools.

4. The meeting decides that a petition be sent to Parliament praying for such a change in the existing National System of Education as may afford to the Catholics of Ireland all the advantages to which they are entitled.

On the Catholic University. That we call on the people and clergy of Ireland to contribute generously to the funds of the Catholic University, and to use every effort to make the approaching collection as ample as possible.

On Secret Societies, and on the Means of establishing Peace and Prosperity in Ireland. Whilst we warn our flocks against the criminal folly of engaging in secret societies or open insurrection against the Government of the country, we also declare to the Government our profound conviction, that peace and prosperity will never be permanently established in Ireland till the Protestant Church is totally disendowed, education in all its departments made free, and the fruits of their capital secured to the agricultural classes.

IV.

The Bishop of Birmingham has addressed a Pastoral to his flock, in which he communicates to them the letter of the Propaganda which we have given above at page 91. We give the following extract :

"This document was at once published to all and each of the clergy throughout England. But although formally addressed to the clergy, it was obviously an instruction for the laity. To them also it became widely known, and received a new circulation through our Catholic press. Yet some among the laity drew the unsound distinction, that what was only addressed to the clergy was not directed to them ; although its very terms indicated that the clergy received this instruction for the express purpose of its being conveyed to the laity. However, to remove all further objection on this head, we now give this document the same promulgation to the laity which has already been given to the clergy. And we declare to all the faithful within our pastoral charge, that parents ought to be in every way discouraged from sending their children to pursue their studies at Protestant universities. To send them to these universities is to place them within an atmosphere and beneath a combination of influences so completely and exclusively Protestant, that it cannot be otherwise than perilous to the faith and conscience of Catholic youth. From their constitution, the religious views of their teachers, and the spirit that pervades them, these great educational institutions are essentially anti-Catholic. Nor could any legal relaxation of their exclusiveness make them otherwise. On the contrary, it will but open them to a wider sectarianism, to a freer scepticism, and to a confirmed spirit of indifferentism ; to all, in short, that is adverse to the fundamental principle of Catholicism. And what is this principle ? That there is a fixed and certain truth made known to man, a creed imposed upon his conscience, which he can neither change nor question without apostatizing from the light and law of God".

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1867.

THE MARTYRS OF GORCUM.¹

I.

WE hear it sometimes asked, "Why does the Catholic Church have so many canonizations, jubilees, and religious displays?" We pity those who speak in this way, for they do not seem to understand the destiny of the Church. If the Church, connected as she is with the advance of the human race, has her interests to look after in the revolutions which agitate the world; if, in order to protect her rights, which are attacked or are not recognized, she is obliged occasionally to interfere in the struggles which arise between men, this is but one aspect of her history, though it seems to be the only one which impresses superficial and unthinking minds. At the same time that she shows this exterior action of Catholicity, there is wrought in her heart a mysterious work, which reveals the divine illuminations of the faith. It is an admirable exchange, a divine intercourse between heaven and earth—the world offering to heaven its supplications, its atonements, the heroic virtues of its saints, and the merits of its martyrs; heaven bestowing upon the world its aid for the combat, its abundant graces, the seeds of sanctity. At certain eventful periods, when greater perils call forth more generous sacrifices and more earnest appeals to heaven, the mystery of

¹ The feast of the Martyrs of Gorcum has long had its place among the feasts proper to the Irish clergy. The sketch here presented to our readers cannot fail to increase devotion in Ireland to those heroic men so lately enrolled among the saints. We are indebted for it, in the first instance, to the *Etudes Religieuses*, edited by the French Jesuits, and next, to the *Catholic World*, edited by F. Hecker, of New York, in which it appeared as we now reprint it.

this inward life of the Church shines forth in marvellous events, which overturn all preconceived human opinion, and confound the wisdom of the world. We see, then, a throne, which remains firm without any apparent support, and on this throne an old, helpless man, who holds all the powers of revolution in check; we see a society, against which are unchained all anarchical passions, face the storm which threatens to overwhelm it, proclaim its proscribed doctrines without fear, lead nations which had wandered into the paths of naturalism back to the fold of the Church, and maintain its independence against the coalition of tyrannies.

Has a pontificate ever shown this divine spectacle of the struggle of spiritual forces with the powers of materialism better than that of Pius the Ninth? To the increasing oppression of vice the Pope does not cease to oppose the miracles of virtue and the fruits of grace which distinguish the elect of God. To the insolent cries of error he replies by the calm affirmation of eternal truth. The assaults of impiety he resists only by the prayers of pure souls, by the intercession of those saints to whom he has granted the honours of veneration, and by the aid of the Blessed Virgin, whose conception he has proclaimed immaculate. So, when a voice, disturbing the harmony of our love and gratitude, was lately heard to ask the ill-timed question, "*Why so many saints?*" what was the reply of the pontiff, in whom his faithful children venerate the wise man of the gospel, drawing from his treasure in opportune time the old good and the new? "They reproach me", said he, with his accustomed sweetness, "for making too many saints, but I cannot promise to correct this fault. Have we not more need than ever of intercessors in heaven, and models of religious virtue in the world?"

In 1852, a distinguished prelate, who has since entered into the repose of the Lord, Mgr. de Salinis, pointed out to the faithful of the diocese of Amiens, in announcing a jubilee, the supernatural character which distinguishes the acts of Pius the Ninth. "You do not ask", he wrote, "the reason of the munificence which lavishes upon you favours which at other times go forth but rarely from the treasure of the Church. It suffices for us to know that the Vicar of Jesus Christ receives light from above which is given only to him. He who holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven can alone tell the time when it is good to spread over the earth the waves of divine mercy. He who directs the bark of the Church through the storms of this world can question the winds, and discover in the horizon the signs which warn him to urge on the journey of the ship. He who is the common father of all Christians alone knows the needs of his immense family. His glance, which watches over every place

that the sun shines upon—his solicitude, which embraces all evil and all virtue—his heart, which feels all the sorrows of the Spouse of Christ—his prayers, in which are summed up all the prayers of the Church, the particular inspiration which God reserves for him who holds His place on earth—all these reveal to him, so far as is necessary, the proportion which should exist between grace and misery".¹

This is the reply that should be made to these *petits génies* who presume to criticise the Holy See, and put the counsels of their mean diplomacy in the place of the inspirations of God. Do these men, whose minds are so enlightened, not see that they are in the presence of an administration of supernatural power? Do they not feel the strength of the church militant ranged about its chief, and praying with him for the assistance of the church triumphant? Do they not witness the pious eagerness of the people to venerate, to invoke, and to imitate the new patrons which are given them?

The eyes of all the obedient children of the Church are now turned toward Rome. The Catholic world, in a rapture of faith and piety, is united to the pilgrims of the holy city, to the bishops, and to the bishop of bishops, celebrating the triumph of Peter, always living and reigning in his successors, applauding the glory of the legion of the blessed that the churches of Poland, of Spain, of the Netherlands, of Italy, of France, and of Japan, have given to the Church of Rome, their common mother, and to the Church of Heaven, the lasting city of the elect.

We should have liked, if our space and time allowed, to say something of the many beautiful subjects that this happy time suggests; the coming, the episcopate, and the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, the lives and virtues of the saints proposed for our veneration. We should have taken pleasure in retracing the sweet picture of that humble child of the people who represents France in this illustrious group of the Blessed; of that little shepherdess of Pibrac, whose name will henceforth be popular in the fatherland of Genevieve and Joan of Arc.² But who among us has not heard of Germaine Cousin, her poor and suffering life, her angelic virtues, the marvellous favours due to her intercession? And who can add to the glory of this young saint, who in addition to the honour of being placed upon our altars, has had such a historian as M. Louis Veuillot, and such a panegyrist as the Bishop of Poitiers?

¹ *Charges, Pastoral Instructions, and Various Discourses of Mgr. de Salinis.* Paris, Vaton. 1856.

² *Vie, Vertus, et Miracles de la B. Germaine Cousin, bergère.* Par. M. Louis Veuillot. Paris, Palmié. *Œuvres de M. l'Évêque de Poitiers*, t. ii. p. 109.

We propose, then, to follow those saints who are at present less known among us, but who in the future must not be strangers. It is a page in the history of the Church which should be made prominent, and in devoting our time to it we are sure of obtaining the approbation of him whom God has given us to be at once our Father and our Master.

II.

We are aware that even the name of the martyrs of Gorcum was until recently quite unknown to the greater part of the learned. Modern historians are not accustomed to eulogize the merits of the victims of schism and heresy. But the Church never forgets her children who have perished in the cause of God; and God Himself takes care of His servants by multiplying miracles over their tombs. These nineteen martyrs of Gorcum, who suffered for the faith on the 9th of July, 1572, were placed in the ranks of the blessed by Clement the Tenth in 1675, and since that time they have always been held in the greatest veneration in Belgium and Holland. It is now almost three years since our Holy Father, yielding to those inspirations of which his life is full, felt the desire that the supreme honours of the Church should be paid to these noble champions of Jesus Christ; and January 6th, 1865, the day of the Epiphany, his Holiness caused a decree to be read in his presence, ordering the proceedings to be instituted for their solemn canonization. The preamble of the decree deserves notice, it says: "Born of the blood of Jesus Christ and nourished with the blood of martyrs, the Catholic Church will be exposed to bloody persecutions until the end of the world. And it is not without a marvellous design of divine Providence that the cause of these illustrious victims of the Calvinistic heresy of the sixteenth century is taken up and completed in these unhappy days, when heretics and false brothers are recommencing a war, an implacable war, against Jesus Christ, against His holy Church, and against this holy Apostolic See". The Holy Father expressed the same thought in a discourse which followed the promulgation of the decree. "The Most High", said he, "has reserved for this time the glorification of these Holland martyrs, to prove to our century, full of scorn or indifference for the revealed faith and plunged in the grossest materialism, that the memory of the martyr is never forgotten in the Church of Jesus Christ, that there always are men ready to shed their blood for that faith, and a supreme authority which is always ready to recognize their merits".

The object of the Sovereign Pontiff is not uncertain; it is to call the attention of the world to the fact of the continual recur-

rence of martyrs in the Church; to cite these heroes, who have sealed the faith with their blood, as an example and a witness; such has been the special aim in canonizing the martyrs of Gorcum. Far be it from the holy Church to stifle the voice of blood which has flowed from the veins of her children for nineteen centuries! This blood, shed in every land, from the most barbarous to the most cultivated, bears witness everywhere that the mother of martyrs is also the faithful spouse of Jesus Christ. The Catholic Church is peculiarly a *witness*, while the sects about us are founded on negation and doubt. Our blessed Lord was the first witness, and the truth of His testimony He has sealed on the cross and in His cruel passion; the apostles were witnesses to Him who had sent them and the doctrine they were bidden to teach; they have gone to give their testimony to the Good Master; and now their faith and prayers sustain their children even to the extremities of the earth, making them gladly choose to die sooner than deny that faith that cost the Son of God His life. This illustrious testimony of blood has never ceased from the day of Calvary up to the present nineteenth century; the succession of martyrs is like the Church herself, for it knows no limits of time or space; they are dying to-day in Cochin-China and Corea, as they have died in Japan in former years, as they have died in Europe, when Protestantism swept over that fair portion of the flock of Christ, and as millions died in the Roman Empire under the pagan Cæsars. Look at what Rome offers to-day to the world: a noble army of martyrs gathered about Saints Peter and Paul, the victims of Nero, the valiant soldiers of such fearless chiefs; the B. Josophat, Archbishop of Polotsk, slain by followers of the Moscovite schism; B. Peter Arbues, murdered by Jews in the church of Saragossa; our nineteen martyrs of Gorcum, the victims of the assassins of Calvinism; and two hundred and five who sweetly yielded up their lives for the faith in Japan.

Schism and heresy are always ready to conceal the blood which stains so many pages of their annals, and to hide the crimes which dishonour their ancestors. But, if the living are silent, the dead are now speaking to us from their tombs; the victims of Protestantism have risen from their graves to bear witness to the truth. We cannot thank Pius the Ninth too much for proposing for the veneration of the Church these champions of the faith, who have fallen so gloriously in the struggles of modern society, and on the same battle-field, as it were, where we continue to engage the foes of our holy mother, the Church. Nor can we praise the historians enough who have consecrated their talent to the sacred work of writing the account of these persecutions, and showing forth to Catholic and Protestant the

glorious record of these martyrs of the sixteenth century. The time has now come to count our slain, that the remembrance of their fortitude may awake Christian faith and zeal in our souls.

The three centuries that have passed since the impious Luther first dared to raise the standard of revolt against the holy Church bear a resemblance to the first centuries of the Christian era. To-day Protestantism is ready to fall to pieces; it is the "sick man" among the religions of the world, as Turkey is among the nations; it is the time to present the well-meaning souls that its myriad sects embrace with a clear view of its origin, and of what it now teaches in its closing years. The reëstablishment of the hierarchy in England and Holland, the restoration of the episcopal see of Geneva, the beatification of F. Canisius, the third centennial anniversary of the Council of Trent, and several other acts of the Holy See, show us the unity of the Catholic Church compared with the disorganization of the Protestant sects, which are now, we can truly say, without faith or law. We should take care that those who have been misguided should know the violent means the so-called reformers used to establish their opinions. Their origin was stained with the blood of the faithful, and they have completed their course by adopting atheism. Such has been the sad story of Protestantism; a destiny that must ever be the fate of those who oppose the teaching of the Church that our Lord has bidden to convert the nations.

Vainly do Protestants attempt to evade the shameful acts of the first "reformers" by showing its own scars and framing a list of martyrs. No wounds are glorious while the cause they sustain is an iniquity; and heresy can never be justified in its rebellion against the Church of Christ. If its apologists tell us that revolution is necessary in order to get liberty, we deny this theory of the end sanctifying the means, of a bad end sanctified by unjust means. Let heretics not speak of their martyrs. A martyr is one who witnesses, not one who protests; a man who dies, not to sustain a passionate and obstinate denial, nor in defence of speculative opinions and personal ideas, but as a witness to seal the traditional teaching, to confirm the faith which is sustained by unexceptionable evidence. A martyr is not a conspirator, an instigator, and upholder of civil war; he lives without reproach, defends the truth without fanaticism, suffers without vain exaltation, and dies without anger; his memory is irreproachable before God and man. Would that heresy could point to such heroes! We are only too proud and happy in presenting to our friends and foes the picture of such men, in whose holy hands the Church has put the palm of martyrdom.

III.

In the Low Countries, more than elsewhere, Protestantism has concealed from its posterity its sanguinary and tyrannical instincts. It has perfidiously taken advantage of the national sentiment, and appears clothed in the cloak of liberty. How many consider Philip the Second a monster, the Duke d'Alva an executioner, and that they are solely responsible for all the blood shed in the Low Countries! But the time has come when we should no longer allow ourselves to be duped by hypocritical declamations against Catholic reprisals. They who have first taken arms and begun the war are held responsible for the blood that is shed.

One of the most learned students of modern history, Baron de Gerlache, said, in opening the congress of Malines, on August 24th, 1864: "The history of the sixteenth century, written by Protestants and copied by Catholics, needs to be rewritten from beginning to end, from the real statement of the facts, which are contained in the archives of the Church. Then Protestants will appear as they really are, such as they are now in Ireland and elsewhere, aggressive, violent, intolerant, inaugurating persecution when they are powerful enough, and demanding liberty when they are weak". These words sum up the history of the pretended reform, acting its double part, the farce of liberty and the tragedy of blood, according to the number of its partisans.

The seventeen provinces had unfortunately prepared their country for the introduction of Protestantism; their nobility was immoral and their people poorly instructed in their religion, strongly attached to worldly goods, impatient of the control of the Church, while continual wars kept the people in a state of excitement, and even the very geographical position of the country and its commercial relations contributed to open the way to the new and, as yet, unknown religion. The Church could not oppose the rapid growth of heresy; there were but four episcopal sees in the whole territory; and, although the colleges and abbeys were rich and numerous, they were subservient to the civil power. The Church could neither guard them from the error, nor act with energy when it had obtained a foothold in the land. Charles the Fifth, who was aware of the seditious and anarchical character of the "reform", put forth in vain all the severities of the law against its preachers; he could not check the torrent. Error can scarcely be repressed by force when it meets no opposition in the conscience, and when it has already gained a part of a people.

The severity of Charles the Fifth, while it did not prevent the increase of the heresy, at least kept the dissenters from forming

a sect powerful enough to menace the Church or the state. Philip the Second added nothing to the edicts of his father. And this despot, this tyrant, even made concessions to them that are to be regretted. Three thousand Spanish troops were in the Netherlands at that time, and they were sufficient to hold the rebels in check; but, when they protested against the presence of these soldiers, Philip recalled them to Spain. Cardinal Granvelle aided the regent, Margaret of Parma, with his counsel: they protested against this able and worthy minister, and Philip gave him his dismissal. Everything served as a pretext for the disturbers; the hypocritical and ambitious Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, the chief of the leaders who had taken the name of Gueux,¹ spread discontent and insurrection on every side. He found fault with all the measures that the government took and all that he accused it of wishing to take. The creation of fourteen new bishoprics by the king with the consent of the Pope was looked upon as an outrageous act of tyranny. At last the government was unarmed, the victims had been sufficiently worked upon by their leaders, and the Catholics were completely intimidated: the rage of the sects was now let loose to pervert and destroy the fair fabric that God had in the land. We shall not attempt to describe the hideous saturnalias of the "reform;" we leave that to Protestant authors, to Schiller, to Schoel, to Prescott. We cite from the latter a few lines to give our readers an idea of what learned Protestants say of their ancestors: "The work of pillage and devastation was carried on throughout the country. Cathedrals and chapels, convents and monasteries, whatever was a religious house, even the hospitals, were given up to the merciless reformers. Neither monk nor religious dared to appear in their habit. From time to time, priests were seen fleeing with some relic or sacred object that they desired to preserve from pillage. To the violence they did, they added every outrage that could express their scorn for the faith. In Flanders, four hundred churches were sacked. The ruin of the cathedral of Anvers could not be repaired for less than four hundred thousand ducats. . . . One becomes sick in seeing that the first efforts of the reformers were always directed against these monuments of genius, erected and made perfect under the generous protection of Catholicism; but, if the steps of the reform have been made on the ruins of art, the good it has produced in

¹ *Gueux*, beggars. The origin of the word is as follows: Three hundred Calvinistic deputies were sent to Margaret of Parma to protest against the measures of the government. She became much alarmed at this demonstration, when Count Barleymont said, "*Ce ne sont que gueux*" (they are only beggars), alluding to the meanness of their appearance. This imprudent remark was overheard and at once adopted by the insurgents as their title. See Bouillet's *Dictionnaire Universel d'Historie et de Géographie*, article *Gueux*.

compensation cannot be denied, in breaking the chains that bound the human mind and opening to it the domains of science, to which until then all access had been refused". The readers know how much this *compensation* is worth.

And now may we ask, if it be true that Philip took too severe a vengeance for these outrages, if the Duke of Alva followed the rebels with an unreasonable severity, if all that is said of them be multiplied a hundred times, is there a single argument in favour of that liberty of conscience which makes its way at the sword's point? Catholicism has never hesitated to disavow and condemn all violence, and every *coup d'état* done in her name; she has always separated from politicians who pretend to defend her in any other way than she demands; no "compensation" can disarm her justice against criminal abuses which are excused for "state reasons". The "reform" which does not feel itself innocent ventures to proclaim an anathema which falls upon its own doctrines and disciples. It is more easy for their historians to turn the anger of posterity upon the "sallow tyrant before whom the people were filled with terror", or upon the executor of his vengeance, "the ogre thirsting for human flesh". Such authors as M. Quinet find material here for their eloquence,(?) and subjects for such articles as suit the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. But history will pay but little attention to these melodramatic effusions. What esteem can scholars demand when they deliberately calumniate governments and nations in order to conceal the heinous crimes perpetrated in the name of free thought; or pamphlet writers who industriously circulate the silly stories of the inquisition, and have not a word, a single word of blame for the sectarians who have covered Europe with blood and ruins?

To those who desire to know, without seeking far, the judgment of history upon these facts and persons, we counsel the reading of Feller, whose opinions always bear the stamp of truth. "The severity of the Duke of Alva—or, if you wish, his hardness, or even his inhumanity—was legal, and conformed most scrupulously to judicial proceeding, and forms a striking contrast with the chiefs of the rebellion and their tools, whose cruelties had no other rule than fanaticism and caprice. William of Marck, for example, the *des Adrets* of the Low Countries, murdered in a single year (1572) more peaceable citizens and Catholic priests than the Duke of Alva executed rebels in the whole course of his administration".¹ To support his statements, Feller quotes three or four works which recount the atrocities of the Protestants. We shall content ourselves with a statement of the death of our nineteen martyrs, which happened in this same sad

¹ *Dictionnaire Historique*, article Tolède, Ferdinand Alvarez du, duc d'Albe.

year, 1572, and by the orders of this same William of Marck, one of the most abominable of the wretches who figured in the revolution of the sixteenth century. In this single example we shall see the barbarous fanaticism of the "reform", and the sublime virtues which distinguished these martyrs of the Catholic faith: error will show its power as a persecutor; truth, the divine fortitude with which it vests its faithful champions.

IV.

The Duke of Alva had quelled the revolt: he had not rooted it out of the land, for its numerous and powerful ramifications were only waiting to begin a new life. The Prince of Orange, who had taken care to avoid the punishment due to his treason by a voluntary exile, was raising troops, conspiring and intriguing with the great Iconoclastic sect of Calvin and with the court of France, then under the influence of the Huguenots. The Admiral de Coligny advised him to build a fleet and attack the northern provinces, where the "reformers" were in greater numbers. There had been beggars on land, and now there were to be beggars at sea; they rivalled each other in massacre and sacrilege, to the great honour of the "reform" and the "reformers", who by these means had obtained a partial triumph. We are aware that political prejudices are complicated with this religious war; but facts prove beyond doubt that these people were urged on by a deep hatred of the Catholic faith.

A fleet of about forty sail had been fitted out in the ports of England, and from thence, under the direction of the ferocious William of Marck, the beggars made their course across the North Sea and along the cost of Flanders. The Duke of Alva complained to Elizabeth, Queen of England, and as she did not wish at this time to break with Spain, she gave the corsairs orders to leave the kingdom. This was in the spring of 1572. An adverse wind drove them on the isle of Voom, at the mouth of the Meuse; the neighbouring port of Briel was without defenders, and was captured by these Calvinists on April 1st, 1572. "They pillaged the convents and churches about the city, broke images, and destroyed all that bore marks of the Roman Church".¹ This town was fortified by the pirates, for whom it was a place of refuge, and afterwards the nucleus for insurrection. Three months after its occupation, Brandt, a captain, ascended the Meuse as far as Gorcum. As soon as the people saw his vessels, they sought shelter in the citadel; religious and priests hurriedly transported the sacred vessels and objects of veneration to this place of safety. However, the town council

¹ *The Delights of the Netherlands. A General History of the Seventeen Provinces.* New edition, 1743, t. iv. p. 121.

and the body of magistrates began a parley with Brandt, who assured them that he only desired religious liberty, and that no outrage would be committed by his followers. They opened the gates. The band was increased by several inhabitants of the town, who were partisans of this Calvinistic rebellion, and they then required all the citizens to take an oath of allegiance to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, *governor royal* of the Holland provinces. During this time that the revolutionary troops had possession of the city, the commander of the palace still held out, but was eventually compelled to capitulate because of the failure of hoped-for supplies. Brandt solemnly promised to spare their lives and give them their liberty; but, scarcely had they taken possession of the place, when, forgetting their oaths, they confined their victims as prisoners. The laymen were finally released in consideration of large sums of money, except a few who were put to death as firm Catholics and royalists; the priests and religious, nineteen in number, remained; they could hope for no deliverance but that of martyrdom.

Then the scenes that are ever recurring in the Church, the scenes of the passion of our Lord, were re-enacted. As our divine Saviour had to undergo the outrages of a brutal soldiery, so did these heroes of Gorcum; they, like him, were forced through crowds of infuriated people, who greeted them with scornful questions, with blows, and scourges, and mockery, and imprecations, and last of all, with the gibbet. In the midst of this display of rage and hate, our heroes were entirely tranquil, blessing God, praying for their executioners, encouraging each other to bear their sufferings with patience, gladly offering their lives as a testimony to their sincerity in professing the dogmas denied by the heretics; in one word, they bore themselves as true witnesses of our Lord should.

The facts of their martyrdom have been told by well-informed historians. God, who leaves nothing hidden in the lives of those whom He has determined to honour, raised witnesses to testify to the merits of those who were such faithful witnesses of His Son. History celebrated their triumph while waiting for the Church to crown them. One of the most intrepid of the martyrs, Nicholas Pieck, superior of the Franciscans, had a nephew living at Gorcum, who was a witness to these events, and who is now known as the celebrated William Estius, chancellor of the university of Douai. He collected all the facts that were known, and then wrote a complete history of their martyrdom, which reflects much credit upon his country and family. A young Franciscan novice, who begged for mercy when he was to be executed, lived to tell of the firmness of these confessors of the faith; a canon, Pontus Heuterus, who was also unfaithful

to the grace of martyrdom, wrote the story in Holland verse. It is useless, however, to detail a list of our authorities; for there are no pages in the annals of the Church more luminous than the acts of these nineteen martyrs. Surely God has wished to erect from their heroic virtue a monument to the sanctity of the Church and to the satanic character of this heresy.¹

As we have already said, there was but one way to please these Calvinistic executioners, and that was to renounce the faith; but their victims chose rather to endure all the sufferings that their malignant cruelty could suggest. The martyrs affirmed successively the right of the Church to impose laws in the name of God, the divine maternity of the Blessed Virgin, and the veneration which is due to the real presence of Jesus in the sacrament of the altar, and the primacy of the pope.

The first day of their captivity (June 27th) was a Friday. They had no food offered them but meat, from which they cheerfully abstained, rather than put in doubt their fidelity to the precepts of the Church. There was but one who thought it necessary for him to take some nourishment, and he was one of those who did not persevere to the end.

In the following night a band of Protestants rushed into their cell and pretended they had come to execute them immediately. "Behold me", said Léonard Vechel, the aged pastor of Gorcum, "I am ready". His assistant, Nicholas Van Poppel, was dared to repeat what he had so often preached in the pulpit. "Willingly", he answered, "and at the price of every drop of my blood, I confess the Catholic faith; above all, the dogma of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the holy eucharist". They then threw a rope about his neck and began to strangle him; the superior of the Franciscans was treated in the same way; they were both choked until they fainted, when the ruffians held their torches to the faces of their victims, recalling their lives in this gentle way! "After all", said one of the monsters, "they are only monks. Of what account are they? Who will trouble themselves about them?"

On July 2nd, the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, Father Leonard was released for a short time, as his friends had purchased permission for him to say Mass. The courageous pastor, in an address to his flock, extolled the virtues of our blessed Lady, and when concluding urged them to remain firm

¹ The work of Estius, *Historiae Martyrum Gorcomiensium Libri Quatuor*, was first printed in Douai in 1603. It was afterwards republished, with notes and a supplement, by M. Reussen, professor in the university of Louvain. A French translation of Estius appeared at Douai in 1606, under the title, *Histoire Véritable des Martyrs de Gorcum en Hollande*, etc. *Acta Sanctorum*, t. xxvii. ad 9 Julii, fol. 736-847. *Esquisses Historiques des Troubles des Pays-Bas au XVII. Siècle.* Par E. H. de Cavrines. Deuxième édit. Bruxelles, Vromant. 1865.

in the faith of their fathers. This purchased for him increased tortures on his return to the prison.

John Van Omal, the apostate canon of Liège, was the hero of another of these pretended executions. He was more than a Judas; for he was not only a traitor, but it was through his efforts that the execution finally took place. Enraged at having been foiled in his attack on Bommel (July 3), he determined to revenge himself on the priests and religious of Gorcum. At that time the liberation of the captives was spoken of, as some members of the town council had been sent to the Prince of Orange to beg him to release them. The apostate, after reflecting upon the possibility of their release, concluded that he had better take them to the Count of Marck, who was at his headquarters in Briel. In the middle of the night of the 5th, they were hurried, scarcely clothed and without food, on board of a vessel, which rapidly descended the Meuse. They reached Dordrecht at nine o'clock, and Van Omal had an opportunity to satisfy his malice by exposing the venerable band to the idle curiosity and unfeeling taunts of a Calvinistic mob. They arrived at Briel in the evening, but were detained on board the vessel all night, so that the news of their coming might be well known and their foes properly prepared to torture them. On the morning of the 7th, the count, who esteemed himself particularly fortunate in having these poor monks and religious to torment, ordered them to march in procession through the town; he chose for himself a most unenviable position, that of riding behind his unfortunate prisoners, with a huge whip, unfeelingly beating them as they made their way through the throngs of infuriated people. That nothing should be wanting to this humiliating scene, he commanded the martyrs to sing: a *Te Deum* was first intoned, and then a *Salve Regina*. He sought to turn them into ridicule; but their heroism made them sublime.

The afternoon of the 7th and the following morning were taken up by discussions with the ministers in the presence of the count. The generous soldiers of Christ sustained their belief firmly and with dignity; they bore witness particularly to the dogma of the eucharist, and to the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. "Renounce the pope", said they to Father Leonard, "or you will hang". "How", answered he, "how can you contradict yourselves in this way? You are always proclaiming that you wish for religious liberty, and that no one has the right to prevent the exercise of your worship. And now you desire to force me to deny my faith! It is better for me to die than to be untrue to my conscience".

However, a letter came from Gorcum, in which William of Nassau ordered the clauses of the convention of June 26th to

be strictly observed in regard to the prisoners. This, of course, only exasperated the Count of Marck, who saw that his prey might escape him. As he was going to bed, after one of the orgies which were habitual with him, he cast his eyes again over the note of the Prince of Orange. He then, for the first time, perceived that Brandt had sent him only a copy of the order, and had preserved the original. This served as a pretext for a display of temper, and he declared he was master of the place, and that it was high time for it to be known; an order was issued at once to take the prisoners and conduct them to Ten Rugge,¹ a convent which he had sacked when he first captured Briel. The torture began about two o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 9th of July; it was accompanied by shameful outrages which we prefer to pass over in silence. Their captivity had lasted twelve days, nine of which were passed at Gorcum.

Of the nineteen prisoners who were taken from the city, only sixteen suffered death. Three priests and religious filled the gaps in their noble band. "A mysterious judgment of Providence, of which there is more than one example in the history of martyrs. There were nineteen called to martyrdom, and the defection of some did not prevent the number being preserved to the end" (R. F. Cahier, S.J.). We have mentioned two of these unhappy deserters, whom God deigned to lead back to Himself; the third entered the service of the Count of Marck, and was hung three months after for stealing. But apostasy did not always preserve life; for we read that the curé of Maasdam was put to death eight days after the martyrs, although he had renounced the papacy.

William of Marck at last received his reward from a just Providence; he was bitten by one of his dogs, and died in the most horrible agony, amid shrieks of rage and despair. It is a general law; the Neros are plunged in the depths of shame and despair, while martyrs ascend to their eternal glory. Eighteen centuries after his crucifixion, Peter receives the honours of a triumph such as kings have never had; three centuries after their torment, the nineteen martyrs of Gorcum are venerated in every corner of the earth where Christianity is known.

We present to our readers the names of these martyrs: Fathers Nicholas Pieck, superior of the Franciscans; Jerome Werdt; Thierry Van Emden; N. Janssen; Willehad Danus, a venerable old man of ninety years, who did not cease repeating *Deo gratias* during the twelve days of his confinement; Antony Werdt; Godfrey Mervel; Antony Hoornaer; Francis de Royse,

¹ The Catholics of Holland have recently repurchased this stolen convent for 16,000 florins. It will soon be a place of pilgrimage for the pious people of Holland and Belgium.

who was scarcely twenty-four years of age, being the youngest of the martyrs; Cornelius Wyk; and Peter Assche. The foregoing were all friars minor. The Dominicans had a representative in the person of Father John, of the province of Cologne, who was captured while going to baptize an infant. Father Adrian Beek and his curate, F. James Lacops, were seized on the night of the seventh or morning of the eighth of July, and sent to Briel, where they joined those who came from Gorcum; they were both Premonstrants. There was a canon of St. Augustine, John Oosterwyk, who was directing a convent of the order at Gorcum. When he heard that his own convent (that of Ten Rugge, the place of martyrdom) was sacked, and the religious put to death, he exclaimed: "Oh! may our Lord deign to grant that I may die as they have!" How exactly was his prayer granted! The following were世俗的: Leonard Vechel; Nicholas Van Peppel; Godfrey Van Duynen, a doctor of theology and formerly rector of the university of Paris; he had merited by his pure life the crown of martyrdom that he received when more than seventy years of age; and, lastly, Andrew Wouters, who was taken near Dordrecht, and who was the third substitute for those who shrank from the trying ordeal.

v.

We are not astonished that God by miracles, and the holy Church by her veneration, has made this episode of the religious persecution of the Netherlands so prominent. If we will but reflect, it offers to us the most precious teaching; it presents one of those striking proofs which are sure to convince the good sense of the people. A cause which succeeds by such crimes as this is already judged; we are not called upon to condemn it. And if this is the cause of a "*reformed religion*", what need has any honest man of any further arguments to convince him of its error? Was Christianity established in the Roman empire by overturning the government and giving up its inoffensive citizens to pillage, to outrage, and to murder? Does the "liberty of conscience" preached by the "reform" resemble the liberty that the Church asked of the Cæsars, and which she is asking of Protestant governments to-day? The champions of this modern "liberty" imposed their doctrines upon unwilling people at the point of the sword, while its opponents gave their blood in defence of their religious rights. In countries where Protestantism did not maintain itself by an unrelenting despotism, the people eagerly returned to the faith of their fathers, the violence of the sects causing a healthful reaction.¹ And this

¹ "France", says a Protestant historian, "having been almost reformed, found herself, in the result, Roman Catholic. The sword of her princes, cast into the

was also the case with the greater part of the provinces of the Netherlands, which gladly threw off the yoke of William of Orange and returned to their former allegiance—an example of a wavering faith being revived by the lawlessness of its opponents. The sectaries retained only seven of the seventeen provinces, now known as Holland, and which were inundated with the blood of faithful Catholic priests. The martyrs of Gorcum were only a little band of this vast army of Jesus Christ. In the year 1572, there were more martyrs in the Low Countries than in all the preceding centuries together: the cradle of the republic of Holland floated in a sea of Catholic blood.

We wonder what learned and sincere Protestants, such as M. Guizot, think in their hearts of these bloody pages of their ancestors? Do they believe in the "compensation" that Mr. Prescott talks about, and that such dreadful crimes were necessary to purchase freedom of conscience, which, after all, is only permission to believe nothing? "Notwithstanding the disorders it caused", says M. Guizot, "and the faults it committed, the reform of the sixteenth century has rendered to modern times two great services". M. Guizot tells the truth; it has. It has given to the Catholic Church a noble army of martyrs, and confirmed the promise of our Lord to Peter, when He declared "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church". "It (the reform) reanimated, even among its adversaries, the Christian faith".¹ "It has imprinted upon European society a decisive movement toward liberty".² Liberty for whom and liberty for what? For Calvinistic Holland, it was the liberty of civil war, the liberty to rob unprotected convents, the liberty to circulate immoral books, the liberty to follow licentious desires, to desecrate the churches, and, above all, the liberty to persecute the adherents of Catholicism.

Error must necessarily persecute, for this is the only way in which it can predominate; it never feels sufficiently protected

scale, caused it to incline in favour of Rome. Alas! another sword, that of the reformers themselves, insured the failure of the Reformation". (*D'Aubigné, History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 86).

¹ We are at a loss to discover M. Guizot's authority for this assertion. Erasmus, one of the most learned men of the sixteenth century, says: "Those whom I had known to be pure, full of candour and simplicity, these same persons have I seen afterward, when they had gone over to the gospellers, become the most vindictive, impatient, and frivolous; changed, in fact, from men to vipers. . . . Luxury, avarice, and lewdness prevail more among them than among those whom they detest. . . . I have seen none who have not been made worse by their gospel" (*Epist. Tractibus Germaniae Inferioris*). "Our evangelists", says Luther, "are now sevenfold more wicked than they were before the Reformation. In proportion as we hear the gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, gorge, swill, and commit every crime. . . . The people have learned to despise the word of God" (*Luther, Werke*, ed. alt. tom. iii. p. 519).

² *L'Eglise et la Société Chrétienne en 1861.* Deuxième édit. p. 8.

against the truth over which it has obtained a temporary triumph. It is first the tyranny of the sword, and then the tyranny of the law. Public opinion has long been imposed upon by followers of the “reform”; for they have cried so lustily for religious freedom and liberty of conscience, that few have taken the trouble to ascertain the fact that their acts have invariably belied their words. But history, which has been made an accomplice to this delusion, is now effectually unmasking it. If we attribute the introduction of religious toleration to Protestantism, it is not because it has practised it, but because it has made it necessary. Truth has tolerated error, while error has continually sought to exterminate the truth. The principle of religious toleration was introduced by Catholic governments: where heresy triumphed, as in England, Sweden, and Holland, the most severe laws were enacted against the former faith, laws so cruel that we can say they were written in blood, and that the Church has been for the past three centuries in a state of martyrdom in those countries. We shall notice briefly some of the enactments of Holland; but, before we do so, we will briefly refute a sophism by which the Protestants attempt to palliate their atrocities. The history of Protestantism is so constituted that, before any question can be discussed, it is necessary to remove a number of objections due either to ignorance or prejudice.

Religious intolerance, say they, was a characteristic feature of the people of the middle ages. The Church held its authority to be a fundamental principle, and, seeing this put in danger, it forgot the rights of liberty, and used force and the arm of civil power to enforce its dogmas. On the other hand, after liberty conquered its rights, it unfortunately went beyond its doctrines, and even embraced the opposite principle. Thus Christians persecuted each other, until the progress of society led them to mutual respect. But the illogical position of Protestantism is apparent; it begins a war in the name of religious liberty, and finishes by putting the Church in a state of siege! The Church was, at least, consistent, for she never said that men were free to deny their Maker and adopt a religion of their own brain; or that they possessed an imprescriptible right to preach false doctrine. An illustrious bishop who lives now among the children of the reformation, lately showed them on the forehead of their mother this sign of contradiction, and defended the honourable consistency which exists between the doctrines and the acts of the Church. “The Church distinctly holds that society, as well as the family, has its duties to Jesus Christ, and that God is equally the Master and Lord of man, regarded as an isolated individual, as of man in social relations with his

fellows. She looks back with joy upon the times when, seeing her liberty protected, she became the inspirer of the Christian republic. But, if she has thankfully received the protection of the sword which vindicated her justice, and shielded her weakness when she was forced upon the defensive, she has never wished it to be used to impose doctrine; faith is not a forced belief, but a free adhesion of both mind and heart to revealed truth. Liberty of conscience, in its proper sense, far from being scouted and condemned by the Church, is the essential condition of her spiritual sovereignty".

It was not enough to attempt to overturn the secular throne of the spouse of Christ, the queen of European civilization; it must be put in chains and confined in dungeons. Let us cite some of the proscriptions of the Protestants in Holland:

"1596.—The Jesuits are forbidden to enter the country. Whoever attends their seminaries or universities shall be banished from the country".

"1602.—1st. The police are ordered to arrest any Jesuit, monk, or priest of the Papist religion.

"2nd. The people are forbidden to take any oath or make any promise to maintain the power of the Pope of Rome. Public or private meetings, sermons, or collections in favour of the Papal superstition are prohibited".

Another placard decrees "that every person in holy orders shall leave the country in less than six days, under pain of arrest and being punished as an enemy to the country". It was also forbidden Catholic teachers to instruct their pupils, if either of the parents had been of the reformed religion; and to will any money to any priest, religious, or for any hospital or religious edifice.

This will be sufficient to give our Protestant readers an idea of the liberty of conscience which flourished in Holland. Many endeavour in these times to hide the accusing witness of these acts, and to conceal entirely the manner in which the religion of our forefathers has been overcome; but the day is breaking, the shadows of heresy are fast fading away, and they will not be able to bring them back again. Pius the Ninth, in an allocution in consistory on March 7th, 1853, alluded to the lamentable calamities the Church had suffered in the Netherlands. The court of Holland, as it did not desire to acknowledge the odious acts of its former government, sent a letter to the Roman court protesting against these historical allusions. The able minister of the Holy See replied to this effrontery in the following language: "The pontifical document only pointed out, in passing, something that is fully told not only by Catholic,

but also by Protestant historians, who are interested in giving impartially the true history of the facts".¹

There is but one resource for Protestant powers who blush at the intolerance of those who have preceded them, and this is to strike from their laws the unjust proscriptions they have levelled against Catholicism. We owe it to justice to say that, while several Protestant countries, Sweden, for example, retain these unjust enactments, Holland is steadily giving up its former fanaticism, and has fairly entered into the way of religious liberty.

VI.

The persecution of the sword and the law have demonstrated the cruel and hypocritical character of this heresy, at the same time it has proved the vigour and stability of the Church.

More than once in these nineteen centuries, it has been attempted to extirpate Catholicism from the heart of a nation, as Russia is trying to do now: we do not know that they have ever succeeded. Even under Mohammedan rule, the Church has maintained its existence for more than twelve centuries in Turkey and in Northern Africa; and though it has suffered one continual persecution, and lost innumerable multitudes through martyrdom, it counts to day in these very countries more than three millions of faithful children.² In Japan, where missionaries had scarcely time to sow the seeds of Catholic truth before a savage war was waged upon it, its roots are still living, and show after two centuries an unwavering fidelity to the faith".³

Heresy, inspired with the same fury as Paganism and Islamism, has exhausted every resource to destroy the ancient faith: the young and flourishing churches of England and Holland proclaim its failure. The Catholics have vanquished by faith those who overcame them by force: the blood of martyrs is always the seed of its liberty and life. Three centuries have passed, and God, through His vicar, pronounces the word of resurrection: *Puella, tibi dico, surge.* And she has risen, weak, but

¹ Note of his Eminence Cardinal Antonelli. *Ami de la Religion*, t. clxi. No. 5552, July 2nd, 1853.

² See Marcy's *Christianity and its Conflicts*, p. 405, and Marshall's *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 24, for a more complete statement of the Church in those countries.—ED C. W. The *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* for May to June, 1866, contains an interesting analysis of some curious documents on the relations of Popes Gregory the Seventh, Gregory the Ninth, Innocent the Fourth, and Nicholas the Fourth, with the Christians of Africa.

³ "When some Japanese martyrs were added to the catalogue of saints a few years ago, there were found to be in Japan some thousands of Christians who had preserved their faith without any human ministry solely by the aid of their good guardian angels".—*Discourse pronounced by the Holy Father on the Promulgation of the Decree relative to the Beatification of the 205 Martyrs of Japan, April 30, 1867.*

glorious and full of hope; her fair countenance again shines over the land of St. Boniface and St. Willibrord, making even heretics tremble at her marvellous life. Poor fanatics! You said formerly, "Renounce the Pope, or you will be hung"; but how has God and the children of those martyrs revenged your cruelty! The Pope yet rules at Rome; he appoints bishops in your cities to govern your sees; he places your victims on the altar; your fellow-citizens venerate these victims. The hour of the complete return of Holland to Christianity cannot be much longer delayed. The canonization of the martyrs of Gorcum is an additional element of strength for Catholics, while it must cause the most bigoted of its opponents to reflect upon the failure of Protestantism to overthrow "the abominations of Popery". "When Rome", says the great bishop of Poitiers—"when Rome glorifies the saints of Heaven, she never fails to multiply the saints of earth".

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Extracts from a letter to the Editors of the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record".

You ask me to give you the result of my observations on the religious teaching of our system of public education. The subject is a vast one, and cannot, of course, be treated fully within the limits of a letter. Yet the following may not be considered useless.

There is an essential difference even with regard to their religious tendency between the institutions which profess to give a higher grade of instruction, and those aiming at ordinary common-school education. There is hardly a system amongst the former. The state nowhere that I am aware can be said to have itself established any of that class. It merely recognizes those that are established by private enterprise. It gives charters to any who have a fair prospect of support, leaving it to themselves to adopt any system of instruction and any religious views they please. Donations in land and money have been made by the states from time to time to several such institutions and sometimes to ours also, without making any requirements as to systems of education or religious views; but these grants being based on grounds which influence alone can make to be appreciated, we are, of course, much less favoured.

But as to recognition and getting charters with power of giving degrees, we have little to complain of, there being but one instance that I know where a charter was refused to a Catholic institution

because it was exclusively Catholic. This was in the case of the Jesuit College at Worcester, Massachusetts. A charter, however, has of late been granted here also. All our other institutions are freely chartered. Several of our colleges have even university charters, though there being as yet no demand worth speaking of amongst our people for the higher education of a university, they have not yet risen above the grade of ordinary colleges.

The chief advantage of these charters consists in the convenience of holding property without being subject to the necessity of passing it from hand to hand. A certain amount of such property, generally the whole of the buildings and grounds used for the institution itself, is free from taxation, and now and then, as stated, donations are made.

From this you will easily conclude that the religious character of these institutions is different in every case. It is whatever those who have charge of each wish it to be. We have Catholic institutions and Protestant ones connected with almost every denomination, and several which profess to be unsectarian. Those latter, however, though they accommodate themselves to the different sects of Protestants, are universally considered by Catholics unfit for their children. Their directors may adopt a course which *they* think Catholics ought to be satisfied with; but as we have no right to interfere, they are guided by their own views on this subject. Knowing that with all that could be done, these institutions would be unfit for our people, we never interfere with them, or complain, or ask any thing from them, and our people are so fully convinced of their unfitness for Catholic youth, that none who have any regard for their religion think of patronising them. Hardly any, even nominal Catholics, attend them.

Our Catholic colleges generally receive non-Catholic pupils also, pledging themselves not to interfere with their religious views. Many such pupils are attracted to them by the success which the devotedness of the teachers secures both in their literary and moral training. The pledge of not interfering with the religious views of those who are not Catholics, is, of course, kept faithfully. But though the religious instruction of the Catholic pupils is provided for apart, there is no doubt that the Catholic tone of these colleges is lowered by the intercourse of those who are not Catholics, and by the restraint which the pledge alluded to necessarily imposes.

It is true that this is entirely a different thing from what is called in Ireland the mixed system. The teachers are all Catholics of sound principles. The common teaching is sound as far as it goes. What is deficient in this is supplied, or is tried to be supplied, by separate instruction, yet there is no doubt of its

being attended with serious inconvenience. This has been felt to such a degree that some of our colleges have adopted the plan of receiving none but students who are, or who wish to become, Catholics. The plan of receiving pupils of all religions has been adopted, I feel assured, merely for its pecuniary advantage. In a religious point of view, every one admits its disadvantages. It is true that a certain number of persons grow up with less prejudices against us, but this is a slight compensation for the loss of a more vigorous Catholic training that might be imparted in institutions exclusively Catholic. But every district wants its college and its boarding school. There is frequently not enough of Catholic patronage to support it. Hence every effort to obtain as many pupils as possible, and the consequent arrangements to accommodate those who are not Catholics. Without this, several such institutions could not have been commenced, some would have to be closed to-day. This, I have no doubt, is the only reason why this course is adopted.

I have said that few of our Catholics attend any of the institutions alluded to, except such as are Catholic. We all know by experience that those who are not Catholics would not sincerely, and scarcely could practically, abstain from interfering with the faith of Catholics, even though having a wish to do so. Experience teaches us to look upon this as so much a matter of course that we have ceased to ask ourselves the reason. The cases of the very few who depart from the general practice confirm this conviction, though it is hardly fair to rely on them, as the few who go to such places seldom have any faith to lose. The medical schools are the only exception to this rule. With regard to these, however, as the students frequent them only to hear the lectures, and these occupy but a few months for two or three seasons, there is little temptation to wander out of their proper sphere. The medical profession, moreover, is less liable here than in continental Europe to the charge of unsoundness on the general principles of revealed religion, and they are above the art of low proselytizing. In addition to this, the interests of the numerous rival institutions make each desirous to avoid everything that would give just ground of offence to any large portion of the community, on which all depend for support. The moral inconveniences that attend such institutions are almost exclusively such as naturally attend large agglomerations of young men removed from parental or any other control.

Common school education, that is, education for the masses, is conducted on a plan entirely different from that of the colleges. The former is provided or regulated by law, or rather a system is adopted for supplying education of that kind to all willing to receive it.

The system, however, as far as affected by law, is almost entirely confined to the external government, the obtaining means for the schools, etc. The selection of teachers and books, as well as the subjects and methods of instruction, are left almost exclusively to the directors, who are selected by the people in each locality. More or less general control and supervision are provided in different states, the tendency being to extend these more and more every year. But the quality of the education given is substantially left to the local directors.

The idea is, that as all are taxed for its support, this instruction shall be in things in which all agree, and of a character to which none can justly object. It is supposed that, details being left to those selected by a general vote, this end is sure to be accomplished. The law adopts very few other means to secure the rights of the different classes of religionists. With our numerous and ever-increasing and varying sects, it is supposed to be out of the question to meet the views of each. This idea, which looks so plausible at first sight, fails woefully in its application to Catholics, and is the source of serious evil even outside the communion of the Catholic Church.

Any effort to establish a really common system on a just basis, necessarily meets insuperable practical difficulties. But when this is attempted by the process of elimination of what is special amongst those for whom it is provided, though the plan appears in theory the most plausible, it is in practice the most difficult to be realised.

The part of my religion which is excluded because my neighbour does not believe in it, is in my eyes as important as that which remains, to which he has no objection. The one and the other come from the same God; both may be, and in fact many parts are, equally applicable in the work of education. To require me to be satisfied with the former, is practically to try to make me live with one half the elements of life.

Then this separation of one part of religion from another draws a line of distinction which is calculated to weaken esteem for the proscribed portion, and eventually for all.

The part so omitted receives as it were a black mark in the school. The school professes to prepare the pupil for the duties of life. What is deemed superfluous for this cannot be of much consequence in his eyes. Even where it is not openly decried as such, the course pursued naturally produces this impression. This works with special injustice as between Catholics and Protestants. For Protestantism is little more than a denial of a great portion of Catholic dogma. What is common, therefore, is almost the whole of what is positive in the former, while it is only a portion of the latter.

To have children brought up under such a system, which they naturally look upon as a perfect whole, necessarily weakens their esteem and attachment to whatever lies outside of it, that is, to all that is special in Catholicism.

This systematic separation of one portion of religion from another, and the consequent insinuation of a difference in the importance of the two, or rather of little importance in the part omitted, appears to me to be the inherent vice of a common system.

As education is not intended to impart mere dry information, but much more to form the heart and character, religion of some kind is an indispensable ingredient. To attempt to divest it of all religious character, would be practically to try to make men what they ought to be without the aid of religion. The attempt would be successful only in rooting religion out of their souls. If a man believe that he can walk without a prop, he will fling it away altogether. He will hardly resume it on one day of the week if he thinks he has been able to do without it the other six. If some principles of religion are considered necessary, and sufficient to constitute a sound basis of education, the proscribed portion at least will soon go by the board for analogous reasons.

Now this is precisely what we find to be the result of our common system of education.

There the eliminating process has not stopped at what is exclusively Catholic, in which case we would have been almost exclusively the sufferers. It has extended in a great degree to the whole Christian system, and the consequence is that Christianity is in a great degree losing its hold on the masses.

To understand how this occurs, it is necessary to keep in mind that our plan of common education does not aim so much at accommodating the different forms of religion, as at ignoring them. Thus shaped, it is launched on the country as a self-sufficient system. One of its defenders lately boasted, as one of the great achievements of the age, that education was now "emancipated from the Church", the word the "Church" in the language of such persons meaning all kinds of organized religion.

This system, "emancipated from the Church", has a natural affinity for those who care nothing for definite religion. They are its most zealous champions, and become its administrators. This school finds in it a realization of its theories, and giving it support receives support in return.

As all things necessarily tend to realize more and more fully their constituted principles, this idea of separation and independence of positive religion is carried out more fully every day. What are called the common principles of Christianity, if any

such can be said to exist here (for what is the dogma that some do not call in question?), are doomed to be suppressed with the distinctive features of each sect. Those who believe in them are almost as willing to see this done as those who disregard them. For, who cares to have any of the sacred mysteries of religion expounded or insisted on by persons who could scarcely touch them without profaning them? The consequence is, that nothing remains but what are called the general principles of morality, and a sickly allusion to abstract maxims devoid of life.

Even these are made to rest on a mere human basis, which divests them of all power.

The youths that are brought up under this system, while having their wits sharpened for business and political pursuits, receive only a moral training that might have been imparted by pagans. The school of those who look upon "emancipation from the Church", not as an incidental misfortune, but as a thing to be valued for its own sake, have matters their own way. "Emancipation from the Church", that is, disregard of all positive religion, is becoming more and more the order of the day, and is showing itself in the wide-spread immorality and disregard of sound principles, which all serious-minded men of every religion admit and deplore.

Old-fashioned Protestants who have a sincere attachment to the great fundamental principles of Christianity are affected by this almost as much as we are. But those men who are so bold in assailing Catholicity, and resisting any demands that would prevent its being undermined, crouch like spaniels before the cry of the advanced school. Whenever we complain, they either stand aloof or join in one chorus to denounce what they call sectarianism, and enlarge on the Christian charity imparted *ex opere operato* by this new sacrament of juxta-position on the same school benches. They prefer to inconvenience themselves, hoping that we may be hurt still more, or they hope, and sometimes succeed, in gaining control of the system, or they expect at least to be able to neutralize its results.

Yet many of the more candid frequently acknowledge the evils that are growing out of this system.

The convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Illinois lately complained that the Christian idea of marriage was losing its hold on the public mind, and this they did not hesitate to attribute to our system of public education. Their bishop in his address gave expression to the same sentiment. Similar complaints are frequently heard. Several Protestant sects are making great efforts to establish schools of their own; yet these gentlemen would oppose, or stand by if any effort were made to produce a change, unless it were a change that would give themselves control of the whole.

Our Catholics very generally feel the inherent evils of this system, and Catholic schools are established very extensively for the education of Catholic youth.

But innumerable practical difficulties arise in their general establishment. Aid from the public funds is out of the question, so that their whole support devolves on our own people. In some places the population that forms a congregation is spread over so great a surface, that the attendance of the children at one school is out of the question, while schools multiplied and so placed as to accommodate them would in many cases have few pupils and would involve an expense which it is impossible to meet. Then where the population is dense, and still more where a majority is Catholic, by their influence in the election of directors they are able to check to a great degree the most serious evils of the system. They can in such cases hardly be brought to believe that schools almost entirely under the control of persons whom they themselves select can do harm. While something is gained by their partial success, their coöperation cannot be obtained in the general establishment of a better system, or rather they are averse to such an undertaking, judging of what exists by its operation amongst themselves. There is then the unwillingness to contribute twice for the same object, which is felt the more sensibly in consequence of the school tax being levied separately, and paid as such by each individual. Having paid the tax for the school to the public officer on one day, a man is loth to pay for a Catholic school on the next, unless it be made perfectly clear that the former is unsuit, and even then he feels it a great burden. There are, then, the superior material advantages naturally possessed by schools to which all are forced to contribute, in favour of which public opinion is disposed to be lavish. All these things render the establishment of Catholic schools most difficult.

Yet our every day experience shows the baneful results of the public schools, notwithstanding all our efforts to neutralize them. This has led to a very extensive establishment of Catholic schools, notwithstanding the sacrifices necessary for the purpose.

No day or hour is set apart for religious instruction, as with you in Ireland. The priest or parent must provide for this as best he can; many cannot, many others will not, attend the Sunday school; and considering the large number present, the short time that can be given to it, and the other occupations of the priest, those who do attend derive but little profit.

Thus the influence of the public schools is not faulty merely by omission: under the most favourable circumstances it has many positive defects.

Without speaking of the cases in which impartiality is inten-

tionally departed from, or of the presence and the contagious character of the vices naturally found in such gatherings, the basis on which morality itself is taught is necessarily vicious.

To deserve the esteem of men is the great cardinal virtue that is inculcated. The external means of obtaining it are the practical points that are dwelt on above all else. Pride and self-sufficiency, instead of being checked, are stimulated to the highest point. It would be entirely out of the sphere of teachers "emancipated from the Church" to speak of God and our duty of serving Him; still more would it be beyond their sphere to speak of the examples of Christ and His saints. These are themes fit only for the pulpit or the Sunday school. They speak only of what will fit their pupils for the counting-house or the political position they may one day aspire to. Preference in these things is the goal to which above all else they are led to aspire, and morality is inculcated only as a means for this purpose. The youngest stripling, if successful, is perhaps thinking of the presidency, or at any rate is looking forward to be a personage of no small importance, and he is led to believe that a decent deportment is a very valuable acquirement necessary for success, and as such to desire it.

I need not tell you what kind of morality is acquired by such training, nor that the aspirations raised being frequently doomed to disappointment in honourable pursuits, success is often sought in the short-cuts of vice.

The self-sufficient stamp impressed on the character of the pupils is so marked and universal that several teachers in our Catholic schools have assured me that they can recognize a child amongst a hundred when it comes there after having been for some time in the public schools. It takes a long time if they are at all successful in imparting to it that modesty and meekness which are the usual attendants of Catholic education.

In its negative and positive influence, the system of public education is thus productive of the most sad results. It takes from us the means of giving a religious education to many. Admitting none itself, it makes it almost impossible to supply the deficiency elsewhere in an adequate manner. By its worldly character it exalts the mere features of morality, building on and stimulating pride and self-sufficiency and humanitarian views, and all this apart from the false maxims and doctrines that necessarily must be inculcated by teachers and a system thoroughly "emancipated from the Church".

In contrasting ours with your national system of education, you will see that, if yours has objections in its centralized character, to which ours is not subject, you have many advantages practically, which we would hope for in vain. We are free from

your centralized despotism, but are handed over to the tyranny of irresponsible village majorities. As a Catholic nation you have a perfect right to demand that all injustice be abolished, and that your system be made such that no well-founded objection shall remain; but even as things are, you have advantages which we do not possess. I hope you will not consider it out of place if I ask whether you turn the advantages which you actually enjoy to as much account as is possible and would be desirable. This question is not intrusive, as you are educating for us as well as for yourselves. An hour, I believe, may be set apart each day for religious instruction in your schools, and a whole day in each week. It is, I admit, galling to a Catholic people to be *compelled* to treat their religion as a proscribed topic the remainder of the time, even if this were sufficient for instruction. But after all, while properly seeking *all* that is your due, could not what you possess be turned to greater account? Our times, and the future of the Irish people, that is being scattered over the whole surface of the globe, demand a very different amount of religious instruction and training from what was sufficient for a simple race destined to live and die in the homes of their fathers and with exclusively Catholic associations. That hour in the day, and that day in the week, would enable you to do a great deal in this direction, even though you justly demand a freer scope. Permit me to say, candidly, judging from what comes under our eyes daily, that it would enable you to do much more than is done, though that more is sadly wanted. In that time, if a proper system were adopted, a very extensive, if not a perfect, instruction might be given, that would not be confined to the mere catechism, but would, to a great degree, fit the pupils for their several positions in future life. Besides the advantages which we would derive from the better instruction of future accessions from Ireland, we would find in them persons who would feel the importance of thorough religious instruction in the schools, which is a point on which our Irish Catholics here are sadly deficient. More efficient exertion in this direction would diminish that "falling off" of our people which we all deplore. The day may not be distant when you yourselves, as well as we, shall have reason to regret bitterly the effects of neglect.

PEREGRINUS.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TEXT OF THE
THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES—I. JOHN, v. vii.

THE authenticity of the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of *I. John*, known as the text of the three witnesses, has been frequently discussed between Protestants and Catholics. Since the edition of the New Testament, published by Augustine Scholz, even Catholic critics have been divided on the subject, some rejecting the verse as spurious, others believing it to be, at least, of doubtful authenticity.

It is well known that the learned Father J. B. Franzelin, S.J., professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman College, has carefully treated this point in his treatise *De Deo Trino secundum Personas*. That treatise is as yet unpublished, but we are guilty of no impropriety in placing before our readers the substance of F. Franzelin's remarks on this important point, since, by his permission, they have already appeared in the pages of an Italian periodical.¹

What renders this dissertation peculiarly useful is, that the writer approaches his subject from a Catholic point of view, and decides the question, as for Catholics, upon Catholic principles. His thesis runs thus: Catholics hold that it is the office of the Church to guard, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Scripture as the public records of revelation, and to distinguish them from writings that are merely human. According to these principles the passage *I. John*, v. 7, is to be received as genuine. As to the manner in which that text has been preserved, there exist documents which prove it to have been read from time immemorial, and which supply sufficient historical help to the lawful authorities to enable them to affirm the apostolic origin of the reading itself. The arguments which are alleged to the contrary do not amount to a proof of interpolation, but merely show that a more or less widespread omission of the text took place in ancient times in the transcribing of manuscripts.²

That the Church is assisted by the Holy Spirit in her office of

¹ *Archivio dell' Ecclesiastico*, fascicol. 84. vol. sesto, p. 362.

² The dissertation thus divides itself into these parts:

"*Secundum principia Catholica de munere Ecclesiae sub assistentia Spiritus Sancti Scripturas Sacras velut publica revelationis instrumenta custodiendi et discernendi a textibus humanae, locus I. Jo., v. 7, genuinus censeri debet. Ad modum conservationis quod spectat, suppetunt monumenta quae lectionis immemorabilem antiquitatem demonstrant et sufficiens sunt praesidium historicum, ut a legitimi iudicibus de textus Apostolica origine decerni poturrit. Documenta vero contraria quae objiciuntur non interpolationem demonstrant sed illud tantummodo quod ultra damus, onmissionem textus in transcriptione Codicum jam antiquitus plus minusve late propagata fuisse.*"

preserving the genuine inspired writings, no Catholic will call in question. In discharge of this her office, the Church in the Council of Trent has issued two decrees which bear upon our subject. One *De Canonicis Scripturis*; the other, *De editione et uru sacrorum librorum*. The motive which induced the Fathers to publish these decrees was dogmatic, and is thus described by the Legate: "That in the first place the canonical books of the Scripture should be made out and enumerated in order to determine with what arms the heretics should be combated, and on what foundation Catholics should establish their faith".¹ With this intention the Council, session iv., "Sacerorum librorum indicem huic decreto adscriendum censuit; ne cui dubitatio suboriri potuit quin non sunt qui ab ipsa synodo suscipiuntur". Then follows the list of canonical books, after which comes the definition: "Si quis antem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non suscepere anathema sit. Omnes itaque intelligent, quo ordine, et via ipsa Synodus, post jactum fidei confessionis fundamentum, sit progressura, et quibus potissimum testimoniis ac presidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus, et instaurandis in Ecclesia moribus sit usura". But as there were many translations of the Holy Book, "since it was right", says Pallavicino (lib. vi. cap. 17, n. 5), "in deciding on so many articles against heretics who were both obstinate and sophistical, to remove all doubt concerning the foundations of the decisions that were to be issued, the council resolved in virtue of the assistance promised to it by the Holy Spirit, to pronounce as authentic and sure some Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures". With this intent was published the other decree declaring the authenticity of the Vulgate: "Statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus, et vulgata editio, quae longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, predicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur". That is to say, the sacred books of the Vulgate form and version agree with the primitive text written under divine inspiration in other languages and other accidental forms. Wherefore we are bound to recognize the Vulgate text as inspired, not indeed as to each word, but certainly as to matter and the sentences. What manifests (and what led the council to decree) this authenticity is the reason already assigned in the definition of the canonical books, namely, the ancient use of the Catholic Church. The same dogmatic scope is indicated in this decree as in the first, namely, the great

¹ Pallavicino, lib. vi. cap. xi. n. 4: "Il medesimo Legato espose; parergli ottimo consiglio, che in primo luogo s'accettassero e si annoverassero i libri canonici della Scrittura, per istabilire con quali armi si dovesse pugnare contra gli eretici, ed in qual base dovessero fondare la lor credenza i Cattolici".

advantage on the part of the Church, and to the end that there might be no doubt of the genuineness of the Scripture in this version *in publico lectionibus, disputationibus, predicationibus, et expositionibus.* Besides, the council was about to derive its texts and Scripture quotations from none other than this very Latin edition; and, therefore, this second decree, like the first, had reference to the declaration of the divine authority of the text which the holy synod would use to prove points of doctrine and to promote the reform of abuses.

As to the *meaning and extent* of this definition, we must allow (as is shown by the scope of both these decrees, and by other reasons) that it does not assert a perfect and universal agreement of all passages without distinction, in matter and in form; nor, for a like reason, are we to understand by the words *cum omnibus suis partibus prout in Ecclesia Cath. legi consueverant*, each single word or phrase. On the other hand, from the scope which the council declared it had in issuing the two decrees it seems clear, in the first place, that all those parts *prout in vetere Vulgata Latina*, which, of themselves and directly express a dogma or a moral law, are declared to be canonical; and hence that the Vulgate is declared authentic in the same manner. If it were otherwise, the decree would not answer the purpose for which it was intended. For if, as our adversaries think, by the expression *partibus* were meant only the deutero-canonical parts of Daniel, Esther, etc., and if the Vulgate were declared authentic merely in general terms, without being declared such as to special dogmatic texts, it would follow that, *in virtue of the decree*, the fathers and the faithful would have no security for the inspiration of the texts quoted by the synod as proofs of doctrine from all the books and their parts as they existed in the old Latin Vulgate. Now, by the acknowledgment of the council itself, the decree is especially directed to insure this certainty, that the source whence the texts were to be taken was divine; therefore, the canonical authority of the books was declared for all their *dogmatic* parts as they exist in the ancient Latin Vulgate.

Secondly, those who measure the extent of the decree by the polemical scope of the council as against the reformers, which we too admit,¹ will surely acknowledge that the words, *si quis libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus prout in Ecclesia Catholici legi consueverunt*, must needs include a dogmatic text which for many ages had been in most frequent use in the Church, which was familiar to all, and which, about the very date of the council, was assailed and rejected by some, and especially by heretics.

¹ Pallavicin., l. vi. c. 11, n. 4-8.

In the third place, it would be absurd to say that the meaning of the two decrees is this: the books of the Scripture are canonical, and the Vulgate is authentic, in those passages which can be proved genuine by a critical and historical examination of the text; for this meaning would sanction the very abuse which the decree was intended to extirpate, namely, that individuals should presume to submit to their private examination the Holy Scriptures, at least in controverted passages, and form for themselves an opinion as to the authority of these passages. Far from this, the canonical authority of the parts, and the authenticity of the Vulgate are established in the edition as then in use, as it was read in the Catholic Church and employed by the council itself as a divine authority in matters of faith and morals. The reason which made manifest to the council this authenticity was the dogmatic principle, that the Holy Ghost, who assists the Church, would never have permitted that in the entire Church in a matter of faith, a merely human text should have been employed for many ages by common consent and public use.

From these remarks it follows, that the right method of conducting the inquiry, whether a given dogmatic text existed in the original primitive edition, or at least in the primitive Latin edition, is not that which proceeds by a critical examination to establish its authenticity or spuriousness; but, where there is question of a text which by its character comes under the Church's definition, which at the period of the council used to be read by the Church herself, and which was to be found in the ancient Latin Vulgate edition, and was thereby long held to be divine; we are bound to look upon such a text as agreeing, at least in sense, with the original sentence written under divine inspiration. And this would hold good, even if it were proved clearly that such a text had been admitted at a late date into the Latin Vulgate; for in that case all that would follow is that the genuine reading was preserved for us not by the author of that version, but by other means. These conclusions flow at once from the Catholic principle, that the Holy Ghost guides the Church, and that she is infallible in guarding the written and unwritten Word of God.

Nor do we therefore refuse their due merit to those Catholics who devote themselves to the examination of different readings either in the original text or in the Vulgate version; for, since truth cannot contradict truth, such studies serve wonderfully to confirm, or at least to throw light upon, the genuine reading. And although, in dogmatic matters, the true reading is to be determined by a dogmatic principle, to which criticism itself must be subservient, still there are many other matters which

cannot be determined but by the helps supplied by critical and historical investigations. Such investigations serve also to show the way in which dogmatic texts have been preserved.

This being once established, no one can hold that the verse of St. John (*I. John*, V. 7) does not come under both these decrees of Trent, and that it has not been declared part of the canonical Scriptures. For, firstly, putting out of sight critical and historical investigations into the primitive condition of the Latin version, it is certain that, for many centuries prior to the council, by common consent of the pastors, doctors, and faithful of the Church, in public and private use, this text was held to be portion of the Sacred Scripture in the Vulgate edition which was employed by the whole Western Church. All admit that, at least from the ninth century, this verse is found in an immense number of manuscripts of the Vulgate, and with such uniformity as to render the text which omits it an exception.¹

From time immemorial it was recited in the Roman Liturgy;² it was employed by the Fourth Lateran Council as a text of the Sacred Scripture, without any doubt or hesitation; it is put forward in the Canon Law Decretals as a dogmatic proof;³ at the period of the compilation of the spurious decretals (ninth century), it is quoted as a well-known text of Holy Writ in the letters falsely attributed to Hyginus and John the Second; in the prologue to the Catholic Epistles attributed to St. Jerome, which, from the earliest ages, was prefixed to the copies of the Bible, and is commonly found in the most ancient editions;⁴ its

¹ Cf. Apparat. Crit. Bengel, in l. c. 19-21.

² Ex epistola B. Ioannis hodie nobis est lectio recitata, in qua discimus testimonium dari triplex in celo, triplex in terra (S. BERNARD., Serm. II in Octava Paschae). Rupertus, at the beginning of the twelfth century, declared: *Debet semper epistola Evangelio suae praeexcursionis officium (in liturgia), et idcirco illa quoque quae huic Dominicae est (Dominicae in Albis), lectio epistolae non omititur. Nam in hac lectione victoriosa fides nostra praedicatur et ipsa Victoria mundi nuncupatur, quae tribus adiuta testibus, nam Pater et Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus in celo attestantur totidemque in terra testes. ternis, inquam, in celo et in terra testibus defensa (fides) regnum coelorum adiudicat* (RUPERTUS, *De divin. offic.*, lib. VIII. cap. XVII.). Durandus, likewise (thirteenth century): *Secundum Romanum Ordinem, leguntur novem lectiones in Dominicis a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten. In epistola in fide instruimur, quae incipit: Omne quod natum est ex Deo, vincit mundum (I. Io. v. 4). Ostendit fidem per testimonium in celo et in terra et in conscientia. In terra cum dicit: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra. Tres perhibent testimonium in celo, Pater in voce, Verbum in carne, Spiritus in columba, et hi tres unum sunt* (DURAND., *Rational.*, div. offic. lib. VI. cap. XXXVII.).

³ De summa Trin. Cap. Dumnamus (lib. I. tit. I. cap. I.); De celebr. Missae, Cap. In quodam (lib. III. tit. XL. cap. VIII).

⁴ The author of the Prologus says: *Ilo praecipuo loco, ubi de Trinitatis unitate in prima Ioannis epistola positum legimus, in qua etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei veritate comperimus. . . . Patris Verbi ac Spiritus testimonium omittentes, in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur et Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti una divinitatis substantia comprobatur.*

omission is regarded as a dangerous error; it was commented on by the interpreters without a shadow of doubt as to its genuineness, beginning with the *glossa ordinaria* of Walfrid of Fulda, and the interlinear gloss of Anselm of Laon, both of which works enjoyed the highest authority among all; it was employed with like confidence, as the written word of God, and to demonstrate the faith, by all the theologians of all the schools, by pastors in instructing the Christian people, etc. It is idle to mention Rupert, St. Bernard, Hugh of St. Victor, the Master of the Sentences, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and others. It is beyond all gainsay, therefore, that the text of St. John, at least for the period of seven centuries prior to the Council of Trent, did form a part of the canonical letter as it was usually read in the Catholic Church and as it stood in the ancient Latin Vulgate.

In the second place, there is no need of proving that the text itself has reference to matters of faith, *rebus fidei*, and that it is eminently doctrinal. Nor does it avail to reply that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is expressed in other parts of Scripture, and that, therefore, even if this passage were rejected from St. John's context, it could not be said that the doctrine was not to be found in Scripture. For, it should be remembered, that, according to Catholic principles the preservation and sufficient proposition of a revealed truth does not depend either solely or even principally on any text of Scripture, nor even on the entire Scripture. It is true, no doubt, that the doctrine of the Trinity is contained in, and may be proved from other passages of Holy Writ. But the verse in St. John forms part of a special context; nor does there exist in any other part of Scripture a passage which expresses in that form and in those terms the profession of the Church, and what Tertullian calls (Cont. Praxeum, cap. xxxi.) *substantiam Novi Testamenti, quod exinde Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus tres crediti unum sistunt*. Our opponents ought to observe the method which Protestants follow in this particular. They impugn the genuineness of this text of St. John, and then maintain that elsewhere in the whole Scripture, this truth is not so explicitly set forth. The Socinians and the Rationalists would not insist so earnestly upon the spuriousness of this passage were it not for their aversion to the dogma it announces; whilst others,¹ who profess to believe in the Trinity, hold it not to be one of the fundamental articles, because they

¹ Neander of Berlin, for example, says: *Doctrina de Deo uno et trino non pertinet ad articulos fundamentales fidei christiana, ut iam ex eo patet, quod in nullo loco N. T. expresse proposita reperitur; nam locus unicus, in quo expresse continetur, de tribus testibus I. Io. v. definite spurius est, et in sua form a spuria demonstrat, quam sit talis connumeratio (hi tres unum) aliena a Scripturis Novi Testamenti* (NEANDER, *Histor. Eccles.*, tom. II. pag. 805, ed IV. 1864).

reject this passage, which alone, according to them, explicitly asserts it.

Finally, in the third place, as the Reformers and some over-daring Catholics (among whom Cajetanus, in the Council of Trent) impugned the authority of the Deutero-canonical books, and of certain other parts of Scripture, so also did they reject about the same period, and not without the scandal of the faithful, this verse. In 1522, Luther in a public dispute impugned the genuineness of this verse, and expunged it from his German version of the Bible (*Michaelis Introd.* in N. T. l. c. sect. vii.) Bengel writes: *Bugenagen collega Luther magna obtestatione omnes deterruit ne Dictum posthaec insererent!*¹ It was not until 1574, after Luther's death, that it was admitted for the first time into the Lutheran Bible. Erasmus omitted it from his two first editions of the New Testament, but finally, on account of the indignation expressed by the Catholics, inserted it from the *Codex Britannicus* in 1522. "*Repertus est*", he writes in his latest notes on this passage, "*apud Anglos codex unus, in quo habetur ὅτι τρεις, etc. Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse ne cui sit ansa calumniandi* (*Michaelis l. c. sect. 6*). Even Cajetanus, in his commentaries, had insinuated some doubts about the genuineness of the verse.

To resume what we have said thus far, there can be no doubt that the double decree of the Council of Trent on the canonical Scriptures and on the authenticity of the Vulgate must include a text which, beyond gainsay, forms part of a canonical book, *prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverat et in veteri Vulgata Latina editione habebatur*; which belongs in an eminent degree to the dogmatic texts which the decree was specially framed to include; and which, as being called in question ever since, almost as much as the Deutero-canonical books by the Reformers (not without scandal to Catholics), ought have been considered by the council on the same footing as those books. For in fact like the Deutero-canonical books, they were in use from most ancient date in the Catholic Church, and it was this use in the Church which guided the fathers in defining the canon of the sacred books with all their parts. We now pass on to the second point.

In her custody of the Word of God and in her authentic judgments thereupon, the Church is not assisted by progressive revelations, but is saved from error by the assistance of the Spirit of Truth. Hence there should be humanly intelligible signs to make manifest the truth which she has to define, which truth in our present case is the divine origin of the book or text concerning which the Church utters her judgment. The council gives

¹ *Apparat. crit. in h. l. n. 9.*

us to understand that the external manifestation and statement upon which it rested its definition, resulted from the public, long, and constant usage of the Church, which without any ulterior examination proclaimed that these books with all their parts had been for at least several centuries received as the written Word of God. This proceeding is based on the following principle, that the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church and leads her into all truth, could not suffer that the whole Church in her public acts, in her decrees concerning faith, in her liturgy, in her instructions to the people of Christ, in her explanations and defence of doctrine, should for many centuries receive and venerate as the Word of God a composition which was in reality not such. In this way, the assistance of the Holy Spirit, considered as present in the Council, is not only the active principle which renders the definition infallible, but the same assistance, considered as perpetual in the Church, became for the Council the objective reason of the definition itself. However, although the infallibility of the definition depends upon the assistance of the Holy Spirit, under whose influence it is uttered, and although it is this promised assistance upon which rests our certainty of the truth of the definition itself, it is nevertheless the office of the theologian to inquire and set forth the form in which, in course of years, the truth was held and preserved. Hence, in the present case, we can examine both how our text was employed by the early Church, and how it has been handed down to us.

We have already shown that the verse of St. John was received in the Western Church as part of Holy Writ, at least since the ninth century. Now, in virtue of the argument of prescription, especially when taken in connection with the constitution and principles of the Church, this universal use of the text can be explained only by admitting that the text itself came down from the beginning. But, besides this, we can show from records still existing that the text of the three heavenly witnesses was recognized as genuine in the early ages of the Church, as far back as we can trace the Latin version. That is to say, the text existed and was employed by the fathers in Africa, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, from the eighth century, as far back as the second and third.

In the assembly held by order of king Hunnericus at Carthage, in February, 484, the Catholic bishops *non solum universae Africæ sed etiam insularum multarum*,¹ published a profession of faith, which afterwards, on the 20th April, they forwarded to Hunnericus by means of four bishops of the Numidian and Byzacene provinces. The names of these bishops,

¹ Victor Vitenis Epis., *De Persecut. Vandali*, lib. ii. n. 18.

four hundred and sixty-one in number, may be found in *Harduin's Collection of Councils*, tom. ii., p. 869. First of all, as against Arians, they prove by texts of Scripture the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son (n. 1-8), and then, the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son, (n. 9-23), thereby proving the unity of nature in three distinct persons. In this second part of the profession of faith, written in the name of all the Catholic bishops against the Arian bishops, their powerful and implacable adversaries, the text of the three witnesses is set forth as a testimony as certain and well-known as it is clear and irrefragable: "*Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistae testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt!*"¹ Upon this we may remark: 1. Whosoever was appointed to draw up this document, whether Eugene of Carthage or other bishop, or several other bishops, no one would have dared to insert in the profession of faith (which was to be approved of by all the other bishops, and by them be set before the Arians), as a text from St. John, a passage which was not commonly read in the churches of Africa and the islands; nor would the four hundred and sixty bishops have allowed it, were such an attempt made. 2. If the bishops had not been fully persuaded that the text was received also by the Arians, and read in their manuscripts, or if it were to be found but in few copies, and, even among Catholics, was not altogether beyond doubt, they would never have exposed it to the carping censures of their bitter adversaries, by pronouncing it to be a confutation *clearer than the light of the Arian heresy*. And that the bishops were correct in thinking that the Arians did really accept the text as genuine, is shown by Virgilius of Tapsus, who was present at the meeting, and who is put down in the last place among the bishops of the Byzacene province. Virgilius openly appeals to this text as read by the Arians themselves: *Cur tres unum sunt Joannem Evangelistam dirisse legitis, si diversas naturas in personis esse accipitis?*² It is absurd, therefore, with Michaëlis³ and others, to wish to limit all the authority of the profession of faith to Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage. 3. It is remarkable that in the first part of the profession, to prove the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, the fathers collect numerous texts from all the books, especially of the N. T., and even from the first epistle of St. John, but are silent concerning the famous

¹ *Libellus fidei* n. 11, apud. Vict. Vit. I. 8.

² *Virgilius Tap. De Trinitate*, lib. vii. in *Bibliot. Max. PP.* tom. vii., p. 789.

³ *Introduct. in N. T.* cap. xxxi., sec. iii., tom. iv.

verse. In the same way, the author of the book against the Arian Pintas, in the first part of his treatise, and St. Fulgentius in the whole of the second book to Thrasamundus, although they quote numberless passages of Scripture to prove the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, nevertheless omit this text, although it was well known to them, and was quoted by them in other places when speaking of the Trinity. From this we may learn how fallacious is the general conclusion of our adversaries: "the fathers in disputing with the Arians omit to quote this text, which would have been of such advantage to their cause; therefore it was wanting in their manuscripts". Such reasoning as this made it very easy for Scholz, after the Protestant critics, to present us with a series of Fathers, as testifying to the interpolation of the passage. As long as the attack of the heretics was directed against the Son (either by denying that He is distinct from the Father, as the Monarchians did, or by denying His Godhead as did other heretics, and afterwards the Arians), even though it assailed, by implication, the person of the Holy Ghost likewise, nevertheless, we find that the line of defence followed by the fathers was mostly limited to the dogma which was directly assailed. Now, in this dispute about the person of the Son, it was not necessary to quote the passage from St. John, since the Gospel supplies convincing passages concerning the distinction and consubstantiality of Father and Son. We do not, however, mean to say that it cannot be proved from certain contexts of the fathers, that this verse either was wanting in their manuscripts, or that they looked upon it as not quite certain. We mean only to question the value of negative argument, which, from the silence of the fathers would deduce that they were unacquainted with this verse.

(To be continued.)

REV. DR. BRADY ON THE IRISH CHURCH IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(Concluded from our last.)

III. Dr. Brady thus notices the statement made by the friends of the Establishment, "that the moral and religious reformation of the people was earnestly and carefully thought and laboured for, from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign:

"Few will believe that the 'moral and religious reformation' of the Irish was much thought of by the Queen's first deputy, Lord Sussex, who sold a deanery to an adulterer, and tried to assassinate O'Neil—nor by Sir Henry Sidney, who recommended lay-

men for bishoprics, and tolerated the presence of such corrupt prelates as Magrath, or Sheyne, or O'Brennan—nor by that ‘good man Weston’, who, being a layman, was dean of St. Patrick’s, and screened from punishment his profligate nephew—nor by the said nephew of Weston, Sir John Ball, who though a layman usurped an archdeaconry, and as commissary to Loftus turned his court into “a brothel”—nor by Loftus, who tortured Papal bishops, and enriched his family by the spoils of the church—nor by Gerrard, the bloodthirsty chancellor, who advised, as a means of ‘thorough reformation’, to ‘subject the whole Irishry to the sword’.

“On examination it will be found that the ecclesiastics provided by Elizabeth during her entire reign, were, with scarcely an exception, men who sought chiefly their own temporal advantage, and did nothing whatever to advance ‘the religious reformation’ of Ireland. The Queen did not permit religion to be pressed upon the people, except at Dublin and in some few other places within the Pale, if Sir Henry Sidney, her ‘deputy-general’ in 1565, is to be credited. Arthur, Lord Grey, her lord-lieutenant, complained in 1580, in a private letter addressed to the Queen herself, that *her Majesty had charged him not to meddle too much with religion*:—‘Your Highness, at my leave-taking, gave me a warning for being strict in dealing with religion. I have observed it, how obediently soever, yet most unwillingly I confess, and I doubt not as harmfully to your and God’s service. A canker never receiving cure without corrosive medicines’.

. . . . There is no trace of any letter directed to any bishops, except Curwin, calling on them to consecrate the Queen’s bishops, or to introduce the new worship into their cathedrals. There is, on the other hand, ample evidence that the bishops set at nought with impunity those provisions of the act which prescribed the use of the English service, for in the cathedrals of Cork and Limerick, and in the chief towns, where the bishops and corporations were bound to see to the performance of the Reformed worship, there was Mass celebrated in the presence and with the aid of the very bishops who, it is pretended, had voted in parliament for its abolition. The Queen’s deputies, for years after her Majesty’s accession, were met on their journeys through the provinces by bishops in pontificals, and priests arrayed in vestments and copes, walking in procession and singing in Latin, a cross the while being carried before them. These things were winked at by the governors, who in no case even rebuked the offending prelates. In 1574, fourteen years from the passing of the Reformation Acts, Sir Edward Fitton furnished to Burghley a description of Thomond and Connaught, and gave the names of the bishops and the leading gentry in the five counties of Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon. He mentions under the see of Killaloe, that O’Brien was ‘custos’, and says that Kilfenora was vacant. There was then no Papal bishop of Kilfenora, otherwise Fitton would have recorded his name as that of the bishop in possession, just as in the cases of Killala and Achonry, he gave the names of the Pope’s nominees as occupants of those sees. The bishops of Kilmacluagh, Clonfert and Elphin, and Tuam, are duly and correctly noted. At

Killala is entered ‘Owen O’Gallagher, by the Pope’s bull, incumbent’, and at Achonry, ‘Owen O’Harte, incumbent’. O’Gallagher’s Christian name was incorrectly given by Fitton, for his name was Donatus. O’Harte was a Papal bishop like O’Gallagher. The one had his brief in 1562, the other in 1570. O’Harte was at the Council of Trent, and O’Gallagher was a special agent of the papacy, and yet both these papal bishops are recognized as bishops in possession by her Majesty’s ‘Vice-treasurer and Treasurer at Wars’, and left undisturbed in their sees. O’Gallagher was subsequently translated by the Pope to Down, and O’Harte in 1585, was imprisoned by Sir John Perrott”.

IV. He thus sums up the general results:

“The Reformation under Elizabeth’s early rule, if historical documents are to be accepted as evidence, was chiefly confined to the conversion of Hugh Curwin, and to the passing, by the pretended assent of a refractory parliament, of the Act of Uniformity and some other acts touching religion. Within Dublin and the precincts of the Pale, where the Queen had power, force was applied to eject the recusant bishops and replace them by more subservient prelates. Unless an armed force was sent to protect them, the bishops whom the Queen, some years after her accession, sent to Waterford, Ossory, Cashel, and Cork, ‘dared not tarry’ in their sees. Elizabeth’s bishops were bitterly lampooned for their military feats, for their feasting in Lent, for their fondness for wives, and for their mammon worship. Magrath of Cashel, and Sheyne of Cork, O’Brennan of Ross, and the Bishop of Killaloe, were held up to odium and ridicule in contemporary Irish ballads. For want of military protection, Bishop Walsh was murdered in Ossory, Archbishop MacCaghwell was captured in Cashel, and Archbishop Magrath was ‘wounded in seven places in his body’ on his journey from his house to Dublin. As time advanced, the policy, spoken of in 1577, of bringing the Irish counties under law by degrees, and stretching the Pale gradually further, was carried out. But the process was slow. It took many years to introduce law and order, and to establish courts of justice in the corporate towns, and it took many more years before the assize circuits were aught but travelling courts-martial. The reign of Elizabeth had ceased before her sovereignty had been practically exercised in some of the remoter parts of Ireland. During that reign of five-and-forty years, religion had little chance of improvement. The slaughters and massacres, the treacheries and plots, the confiscations and attainders, which gained for the English a gradual and sure mastery over the Irish, implanted within Irish hearts an ineradicable aversion to the Establishment, which like a network spread its meshes over every parish as a sign and token of defeat and capture. The people, perhaps, saw little to admire in an establishment, wherein the ‘bishops, cathedral churches, and clergy’ had already in Burghley’s time begun to make unconscionable long leases for two hundred and for ninety-nine years’, and which continued for long a mere machine for collecting

the remnants of church property which the greed of laymen and churchmen had spared. The few English ministers who resided on their benefices were farmers and settlers rather than evangelists, and were incapable, from ignorance of the language, of teaching the reformed doctrines, even if their ill lives had not destroyed all desire to fulfil the functions of their calling. Archbishops and bishops, who tortured their papal rivals, and hunted down the Queen's rebels, could hardly be looked on as 'good shepherds' by the harried flock, and ministrations intruded upon poor wretches cast into prison to compel them to hearken to their persuaders, must have been highly offensive. Fining a young nobleman one hundred marks for 'hearing a Mass' may have seemed to Loftus and Sidney only a proper mode of advancing the Gospel within the Pale, but the victims to this species of proselytism clung all the more closely to the worship which cost them so dear, and were the less likely to embrace the worship which the State offered for nothing.

"In fact the establishment, which Elizabeth founded, was an establishment and no more. It could not in her day be called a church, except by a kind of fiction. If it possessed a staff of dignitaries as well as bishops, it was entirely wanting in the essential and principal part of a church—namely, people to be ministered to. It has been correctly likened unto a body of shepherds without a flock. It is impossible, upon any recognized principles of Christian ethics, to associate the idea of true religion with such an establishment, even though its ritual may be regarded as excellent and its doctrines as pure. The Church of Christ, be it ever so pure in creed, ceases to be a Christian church, when it begins to teach the Gospel by fines and imprisonment and deprivations. The Establishment in Ireland commenced its career by violating the simplest rules of Christianity when it prescribed penalties for its support. Morality was outraged when the Establishment became the recipient of the confiscated church property of the Irish nation. Common sense is outraged when it is attempted to justify the continuance of that confiscation by the plea that Curwin's consecrations were canonical, and by the assertion that two bishops of the Irish church joined him in his alleged conversion. History is falsified when it is said that the Irish church thus reformed itself. Against such falsehoods and sophistries the very stones of the temples and churches which Sidney saw ruined in his day cry out in the present generation. A voice from the ancient graveyards, with their broken chancels, mutilated crosses, and shattered towers, is lifted up in protestation against such an untruth. The wrongs of the elder sister church, and bitter wrongs she has undeniably and unjustifiably suffered, however she may have erred, have not been silenced. Her cry, not indeed of agony as in past time, but of remonstrance, carried from wave to wave of the wild Atlantic, and echoed back from the new world to the old, appeals now with greater force than ever, to the sympathies of the just and the interests of the powerful.

DOCUMENTS.

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LETTER TO HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX. FROM THE IRISH BISHOPS ASSEMBLED IN DUBLIN, OCTOBER 3, 1867.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Cum in unum convenerimus ut mandatis tuis obsequentes de rebus gravissimis ad ecclesiam Hibernensem pertinentibus consilium iniremus, muneris nostri esse existimavimus eos sensus obsequii et venerationis patefacere quos erga Sanctitatem Tuam et Sedem Apostolicam ad quam propter potiorem principalitatem omnis convenire debet ecclesia, in corde gerimus. Quippe ex nobis singuli cum S. Hieronymo dicere possumus: "Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudinis Tuae, id est cathedrae Petri, communione consocior. Super illam Petram aedificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est. . . . Quicumque Tecum non colligit spargit".

Cum itaque arctissimo necessitudinis vinculo Sanctitati Tuae conjungamur ut membra capiti Tecum in rebus afflictis et tristibus compatiamur necesse est, nec minus gaudendum nobis est cum felix rerum cursus laetitiam cordi tuo affert. Quare maximam nobis tristitiam ac dolorem ea attulerunt quae proximis annis a scelestissimis hominibus gesta sunt praesertim in Italia, cum per summum nefas, ut quae contra episcopos, sacerdotes, et instituta religiosa sunt patrata silentio praetereamus, ditionem ecclesiasticam, patrimonium S. Petri invaserunt, ecclesiae universalis et sedis apostolicae jura conculcarunt, et Christi vicarium ad summas angustias redegerunt. Quanquam tristissima haec acta et tot flagitiorum aspectus intimo nos dolore affligunt, non possumus tamen quin laetemur eo quod inter tot ingruentia mala insignem universae ecclesiae triumphum nuper parasti, et gaudii et consolationis argumentum omnibus fidelibus praebuisti; cum solemnni ritu memoriam curasti celebrandam diei auspiciatissimi quo sancti apostoli Petrus et Paulus ante annos mille et octingentos illustri martyrio Romae perfuncti immobilem catholicae unitatis arcem suo sanguine consecrarunt. Quam laetus universo orbi fuit nuntius rerum quae ad diem illum memorandum Romae gesta sunt: quam pulchra exhibita sunt unitatis catholicae spectacula! quae invicta argumenta omnium oculis fere subjecta sunt, cur unitatem, sanctitatem et inconcussam firmitatem ecclesiae admirerent. Equidem id omnino novum et admirandum fuit, quod vix significata Sanctitatis Tuae voluntate, quingenti sacrorum antistites, et innumeri sacerdotes et laici ex omni etiam dissitissima orbis regione divino quasi agente spiritu, spretis periculis et incommodis itinerum, sponte unanimi quasi consensu Romam convolarunt ut devotionem et obedientiam erga sedem apostolicam ostenderent, atque sacra solemnia quae in honorem Principum Apostolorum celebranda decrevisti, adventu suo et studio quantum fieri poterat, decorarent.

Utinam ut isti qui te exercent, magnalia Dei quae facta sunt in Jerusalem conspicienes aliquando convertantur, atque ut verbis episcoporum qui in solemni ista sanctorum apostolorum commemoratione Tibi adstiterunt, in quorum numero plures ex nobis recensentur, caeteri vero domi necessario detenti spiritu adfuerunt; ut eorum verbis utamur; "Faxit Deus omnipotens qui amoris Tui et officii sui immemores voci tuae adhuc resistunt, meliora secuti consilia ad Te tandem redeentes, luctum tuum in gaudium convertantur".

Ad hunc optatissimum finem consequendum nihil magis conducere posse existimamus quam saluberrimum et providentissimum istud consilium tuum, quo statuisti, quam primum id fieri poterit, synodum oecumenicam convocare. Etenim ex celebratione hujusmodi conuentus spem habemus futurum ut Catholicae veritatis lux errorum tenebris, quibus mortalium mentes obvolvuntur amotis, salutare suum lumen diffundat, quo illi veram salutis et justitiae semitam, adspirante Dei gratia, agnoscant et instent. Ex hoc tuo consilio etiam spes effulget eventurum ut ecclesia veluti invicta castrorum acies ordinata hostiles inimicorum conatus retundat, impetus frangat, ac de ipsis triumphans Jesu Christi regnum in terris longe lateque propaget ac proferat. Ut haec tam praeclera beneficia consequatur ecclesia, pollicemur nos omnia esse praestituros quae in nostra sunt potestate et sine intermissione humiliter Deum obsecraturos, ut consilium quod inspirando praevenit, misericorditer adjuvet, et ad finem optatum perducat. Fausta omnia et felicia Tibi adprecati Deumque rogantes ut diu Te servet incolumem quo praelia Domini spraeliari invicta animi virtute, constantia et charitate prosequaris, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provoluti benedictionem tuam apostolicam pro nobis et gregibus nobis commissis enixe rogamus.

Datum Dublini die 3^{to} Octobris, 1867.

Sanctitatis Tuae,

Devotissimi et obsequentissimi famuli et filii.

- | | |
|--|--|
| ✠ Paulus Card. Cullen, Arch. Dublinen. | ✠ Michael, Archiep. Armacanus. |
| ✠ Patricius, Archiep. Casseliensis. | ✠ Joannes, Archiep. Tuamensis. |
| ✠ Edwardus Walshe, Ep. Ossoriensis. | ✠ Gulielmus Delany, Ep. Corcagen. |
| ✠ Joannes Ep. Clonfertensis. | ✠ Franciscus Kelly, Epis. Derriensis. |
| ✠ Gulielmus Keane, Ep. Cloynensis. | ✠ Patritius Durcan, Ep. Achadensis. |
| ✠ David Moriarty, Epis. Kerriensis. | ✠ F. J. P. Leahy, O.P., Ep. Dromoren. |
| ✠ Dominicus O'Brien, Epis. Waterfordensis. | ✠ Jacobus Walshe, Epis. Kild. et Legh. |
| ✠ Larentius Gillooly, Ep. Elphinensis. | ✠ Daniel M'Gettigan, Epis. Rapotensis. |
| ✠ Thomas Furlong, Epis. Fernensis. | ✠ Joannes MacEvilly, Ep. Galvien. etc. |
| ✠ Michael O'Hea, Epis. Rossensis. | ✠ P. Dorrian, Epis. Dunen. et Con. |
| ✠ Georgius Butler, Epis. Limericensis. | ✠ Nicolaus Conaty, Ep. Kilmorensis. |
| ✠ Thomas Nulty, Epis. Midensis. | ✠ N. Power, Coad. Epis. Laonensis. |
| ✠ Jacobus Donnelly, Ep. Clogherensis. | Petrus Dawson, Vic. Cap. Ardacadene. |

II.

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS TO THE LETTER OF THE IRISH BISHOPS.

Dilecto Filio Noster Paulo Presbytero Cardinale Cullen, Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ac Venerabilibus Fratribus Michaeli, Archiepiscopo Armacano, Patritio, Archiepiscopo Casseliensi, Joanni, Archiepiscopo Tuamensi, et Episcopis eorum Suffraganeis in Hibernia.

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilecte Fili Noster, ac Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Maximis angustiis et acerbitatibus affliti, ac prope obruti summa percepimus consolationem ex Litteris, quas die tertio hujus mensis ad Nos dedistis, dum in unum convenistis ad gravissimas istius Hibernensis Ecclesiae res concordissimis animis sedulo tractandas. In eisdem enim Litteris undique spirat, Dilecte Fili Noster, ac Venerabiles Fratres, eximia vestra erga Nos, et hanc Petri Cathedram omnium Ecclesiarum Matrem et Magistrum fides, pietas, amor et observantia, atque omni parte se prodit summus vester dolor propter Nostras amaritudines a tetricis Dei, hominumque hostibus excitatas, qui Nos, Catholicam Ecclesiam, hanc Sanctam Sedem, Episcopos, Sacrosque ministros in infelicissima praesertim Italia nefariis quibusque modis divexare, insectari, ac jura omnia divina, et humana proculcare non desinunt cum ingenti ipsius civilis societatis damno. Qui vestri sensus omni certe laude digni quam grati Nobis fuerint etiamsi nec novi, nec inexpectati extiterint, per Vos ipsi, Dilecte Fili Noster, ac Venerabiles Fratres, vel facile intelligere poteritis. Vehementer autem gratulamini, quod die 29 superioris mensis Junii saecularia sollemnia immortalibus Beatissimi Petri Apostolorum Principis, et co-apostoli ejus Pauli Doctoris Gentium triumphis sacra a Nobis fuerint concelebrata, pluresque divinae nostrae religionis heroes Sanctorum ordini adscripti, adstantibus Venerabilibus Fratribus Catholici orbis Sacrorum Antistitibus cum maxima omnium gentium sacerdotum, ac fidelium laicorum frequentia. Evidenter commemorata sacra sollemnitas vehementer lenierunt magnas Nostras molestias. Libentissime autem novimus, Vos singulare laetitia affectos fuisse, ubi accepistis, Nos velle Oecumenicum Concilium cogere. Ea profecto spe nitimur fore, ut, Deo auxiliante, concilium idem habere possimus, et futurum confidimus, ut divina adspirante gratia, ex hujus modi Concilio magnae in Ecclesiam, et in civilem societatem redundant utilitates. Interim, Dilecte Fili Noster, ac Venerabiles Fratres, caelesti ope freti pergitte pro episcopali vestro zelo luctuosissimis hisce temporibus opponere murum pro Domo Israel, et majore usque alacritate, vigilantia, studioque Ecclesiae causam, doctrinam, jura, libertatemque impavide propugnare, vestrorum fidelium saluti consulere, ac tot nefarias impiorum hominum insidias detegere, eorumque pestiferos, et perniciosissimos errores repellere, ac scelestissimos conatas reprimere. Ne desinatis vero una cum vestro clero, Populoque fideli Deum sine intermissione orare et

obsecrare, ut exurgat et judicet causam suam, omnesque Ecclesiae Sanctae suae hostes humiliet, disperdat, illosque de iniquitatis barathro ad rectum justitiae salutisque tramitem reducat. Vobis autem persuasissimum sit, precipuam esse, qua Vos in Domino complectimur, benevolentiam. Cujus quoque certissimum pignus accipite Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam effuso cordis affectu Vobis ipsis, Dilecte Fili Noster, ac Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque Clericis Laiisque fidelibus cujusque vestrum vigilantiae concreditis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 21 Octobris anno 1867.

Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimo secundo.

PIUS PP. IX.

III.

ALLOCUTION DELIVERED BY HIS HOLINESS, 17TH OCTOBER, 1867.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis, Primitibus, Archiepiscopis,
et Episcopis Universi Catholici orbis Gratiam et Communionem
cum Apostolica sede Habentibus.*

PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Levate, Venerabiles Fratres, in circuitu oculos vestros, et videbitis, ac una Nobiscum vehementer dolebitis abominationes pessimas, quibus nunc misera Italia praesertim funestatur. Nos quidem inscrutabilia humillime adoramus iudicia Dei, cui placuit, Nos vitam agere hisce luctuosissimis temporibus, quibus nonnullorum hominum opera, et eorum potissimum, qui in infelicissima Italia rem publicam regunt ac moderantur, veneranda Dei mandata, sanctaeque Ecclesiae leges plane despiciuntur, et impietas impune caput altius extollit, ac triumphat. Ex quo omnes iniquitates, mala, et damna, quae cum summo animi Nostri moerore conspicimus. Hinc multiplices illae hominum phalanges, qui ambulantes in impietatibus, militant sub satanae vexillo, in cuius fronte est scriptum *Mendacium*, quique rebellionis nomine appellati, ac ponentes os suum in caelum, Deum blasphemant, sacra omnia polluant, contemnunt, et quibusque iuribus divinis humanisque proculcatis, veluti rapaces lupi praedam anhelant, sanguinem effundunt, et animas perdunt suis gravissimis scandalis, et propriae malitiae lucrum iaiustissime quaerunt, et aliena violenter rapiunt, ac pusillum et pauperem contristant, miserarum viduarum et pupillorum numerum augent, ac donis acceptis, veniam impisi tribuunt, dum iusto iustitiam denegant, eumque spoliant, et corrupti corde pravas quasque cupiditates turpiter explere contendunt cum maximo ipsius civilis societatis damno.

Hoc perditorum hominum genere in presentia circumdati sumus, Venerabiles Fratres. Qui quidem homines diabolico prorsus spiritu animati mendacii vexillum collocare volunt in hac ipsa alma urbe

Nostra, ad Petri Cathedram, Catholicae veritatis et unitatis centrum. Ac Subalpini Gubernii Moderatores, qui huiusmodi homines coercere deberent, illos omni studio fovere, eisque arma, resque omnes suppeditare, et ad hanc urbem aditum munire non erubescunt. Sed omnes hi homines, licet in supremo civilis potestatis gradu et loco collocati, paveant; quandoquidem hac improba sane agendi ratione se novis obstringunt laqueis ecclesiasticarum poenarum et censurarum. Etsi vero in humilitate cordis Nostrai divitem in misericordia Deum enixe orare et obsecrare non desistimus, ut hos omnes miserrimos homines ad salutarem poenitentiam, atque ad rectum iustitiae, religionis, pietatis tramitem reducere dignetur; tamen tacere non possumus gravissima pericula, quibus in hac hora tenebrarum expositi sumus. Animo plane tranquillo quoscumque rerum eventus, licet nefariis fraudibus, calumniis, insidiis, mendaciis excitatos, expectamus, cum omnem Nostram spem et fiduciam collocemus in Deo salutari nostro, qui adiutor est Noster, et fortitudi in omnibus tribulationibus Nostris, quique in se sperantes confundi non patitur, et impiorum insidias subvertit, et peccatorum cervices confringit. Interim haud possumus, quin Vobis in primis, Venerabiles Fratres, et omnibus fidelibus curae vestrae commissis denuntiemus tristissimam conditionem et maxima, in quibus per Subalpini potissimum Gubernii operam nunc versamur, pericula. Quamvis enim fidissimi Nostrai exercitus strenuitate ac devotione defensi simus, qui, rebus praecclare gestis, prope heroicam prae se tulit virtutem; patet nihilominus, ipsum diu resistere nequire numero longe maiori iniustissimorum aggressorum. Et licet non mediocri utamur consolatione ob filiale pietatem, qua Nos reliqui subditi Nostrai a scelestis usurpatoribus ad paucos redacti, prosequuntur, vehementer tamen dolere cogimur, ipsos non posse non sentire gravissima pericula sibi ingruentia ab efferatis nefariorum hominum turmis, qui eos iugiter minis omnibus terrent, spoliant, et quo modo divexant.

At vero alia nunquam satis lugenda mala deplorare cogimur, Venerabiles Fratres. Ex Nostra praesertim Consistoriali Allocutione die 29 mensis Octobris superiori anno habita, ac deinde ex narratione documentis munita, et in lucem typis edita, optime cognovistis quantis calamitatibus Catholica Ecclesia eiusque filii in Russico Imperio ac Poloniae Regno miserandum in modum vexentur ac lacerentur. Namque Catholic Sacrorum Antistites et ecclesiastici viri laicique fideles in exilium electi, in carcерem detrusi, ac modis omnibus divexati, propriisque bonis spoliati, ac severissimis poenis afficti et oppressi, et Ecclesiae canones ac leges omnino proculatae. Atque his minime contentum Russicum Gubernium pergit ex avito proposito Ecclesiae disciplinam violare, et unionis et communicationis illorum fidelium cum Nobis, et hac Sancta Sede vincula frangere, ac omnia moliri et conari, ut in illis dominiis Catholicam religionem funditus evertere, et illos fideles a Catholic Ecclesiae sinu avellere, et ad funestissimum schisma pertrahere possit. Cum incredibili animi Nostrai moerore Vobis significamus, duo nuper decreta ab illo Guberne post ultimam commemoratam Nostram Allocutionem edita fuisse. Ac decreto die 22 proximi mensis Maii vulgato, per horrendum ausum

Podlachiensis Dioecesis in Poloniae Regno una cum illo Canonicorum Collegio, Consistorio Generali, ac Dioecesano Seminario penitus fuit extincta, et eiusdem Dioecesis Episcopus, a suo grege divulsus, coactus a Diocesis finibus continuo discedere. Quod decretum simile est illi die 3 Iunii superiore item anno in lucem edito, de quo mentionem facere haud potuimus, cum illud ignoraremus. Hoc igitur Decreto idem Gubernium non dubitavit proprio arbitrio et auctoritate Cameneciensem Dioecesim de medio tollere, et illud Canonicorum Collegium, Consistorium, ac Seminarium disperdere, et proprium Antistitem ab illa Dioecesi violenter abripere.

Cum autem omnis via, atque ratio Nobis intercludatur, qua cum illis fidelibus communicare possimus, tum ne quisquam carceri, exilio, aliisque poenis exponeretur, coacti fuimus, in Nostras Ephemerides inserere Actum, quo legitimae illarum amplarum Dioecesum iurisdictionis exercitio, ac spiritualibus fidelium necessitatibus consulendum censuimus, ut illuc per artis typographiae opem notitia perveniret suscepti a Nobis consilii. Quisque vel facile intelligit quia mente, et quo fine eiusmodi decreta a Russico Gubernio edantur, cum multorum Episcoporum absentiae Dioecesum quoque accedat suppressio.

Quod autem Nostram cumulat amaritudinem, Venerabiles Fratres, est aliud decretum ab eodem Gubernio die 22 superioris mensis Maii promulgatum, quo Petropoli fuit constitutum Collegium, vocatum ecclesiasticum catholicum romanum, cui praesidit Mohiloviensis Archiepiscopus. Scilicet: omnes petitiones, ad fidei etiam et ad conscientiae negotia pertinentes, quae a Russici Imperii et Poloniae Regni, Episcopis, Clero, Populoque fidi ad Nos, et ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem mittuntur ad hoc Collegium, primum transmittendae sunt, easque Collegium idem examinare debet, ac decernere, utrum petitiones Episcoporum potestatem praetergrediantur, et hoc in casu illas ad Nos perferendas curare. Postquam autem illuc Nostra pervenerit decisio, praedicti Collegii Praeses ad internarum relationem Ministrum decisionem ipsam mittere tenetur, qui expendat, num aliquid in illa reperiatur legibus Status et supremi Principis iuribus contrarium; et quoties hoc non existat, illam pro suo arbitrio et voluntate exsequatur.

Videtis profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, quam vehementer reprobandum ac damnandum sit huiusmodi Decretum a laica et schismatica potestate latum, quo et divina catholicae Ecclesiae constitutio destruitur, et ecclesiastica disciplina subvertitur, et maxima supremae Nostrae Pontificiae, atque huis Sanctae Sedis et Episcoporum potestati auctoritatique iniuria infertur, et summi omnium fidelium Pastoris libertas impeditur, et fideles ad funestissimum impelluntur schisma; ac vel ipsum naturale ius violatur et conculcatur quoad negotia, quae fidem et conscientiam respiciunt.

Ad haec, catholica Varsaviensis Academia deleta est; ac tristis Chelmensi, et Bettiensi Dioecesi Ruthenorum ~~impedita~~ ruina. Atque illud maxime dolendum, quod repertus sit quidam Presbyter Woiuchi, qui suspectae fidei, omnibus ecclesiasticis poenis censurisque

despectis, terribilique Dei iudicio posthabito, minime exhorruit, eiusdem Dioecesis regimen et prourationem a civili illa potestate accipere et varias, iam edere ordinationes, quae dum ecclesiasticae disciplinae adversantur, funestissimo schismati favent.

In tantis igitur Nostris et Ecclesiae calamitatibus et angustiis, cum non sit aliis, qui pugnet pro Nobis, nisi Dominus Deus noster, Vos etiam atque etiam vehementer obtestamur, Venerabiles Fratres, ut pro singulari vestro rei catholicae amore et studio, et egregia in Nos pietate velitis ferventissimas vestras cum Nostris coniungere preces, et una cum universo vestro Clero, Populoque fideli Deum sine intermissione orare, et obsecrare, ut reminiscens miserationum suarum, quae a saeculo sunt, indignationem suam a Nobis avertat, et Ecclesiam suam sanctam, ac Nos a tantis malis eripiat, eiusdemque Ecclesiae filios, Nobis carissimos, in omnibus fere regionibus ac in Italia praesertim, et in Russico Imperio, ac Poloniae Regno tot insidiis obnoxios, tot aerumnis afflictos omnipotenti sua virtute adiuvet, defendat, eosque catholicae fidei eiusque salutaris doctrinae professione magis in dies stabiles servet, confirmet, roboret, et omnia impia inimicorum hominum consilia disperdat, illosque de iniquitatis barathro ad salutis viam revocet, et in semitam mandatorum suorum deducat.

Itaque volumus, ut in vestris Dioecesis publicae pro vestro arbitrio preces per triduum intra sex menses, pro ultramarinis vero intra annum indicantur. Ut autem fideles ardentiore studio hisce publicis precibus adsint ac Deum exorent, omnibus et singulis utriusque sextus Christi-fidelibus, qui praedictis tribus diebus devote eisdem precibus adstiterint, ac pro praesentibus Ecclesiae necessitatibus ex Nostra mente Deum oraverint, et Sacramentali Confessione expiati ac sacra Communione refecti fuerint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgientiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Iis autem fidelibus, qui corde saltem contriti in quolibet ex commemoratis diebus reliqua praemissa opera peregerint, septem annos totidemque quadragenas de iniunctis eis, seu alias quomodolibet debitibus poenitentia in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones, ac poenitentiarum relaxations etiam animabus Christifideli, quae Deo in caritate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari posse etiam in Domino indulgemus. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Denique nihil certe Nobis gratius, quam ut hac etiam occasione libentissime utamur, ut iterum testemur et confirmemus praecipuam, qua Vos in Domino complectimur, benevolentiam. Cuius quoque certissimum pignus accipite Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam effuso cordis affectu Vobis ipsis, Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque Clericis, Laicisque fidelibus cuiusque Vestrum vigilantiae concreditis permanenter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 17 Octobris Anno 1867.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimosecundo.

PIUS PP. IX.

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE.

REPORT

OF THE

MEETING HELD IN DUBLIN, 15TH NOVEMBER, 1867.

THE requisition presented to his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop by a number of the inhabitants of the city and county of Dublin, and of the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, showed in a very remarkable way the eagerness of their desire to exhibit a deep, firm, and loving devotion to the Holy Father amidst the last bitter trial to which his Holiness has been subjected. In a few days, about ten thousand signatures were affixed to the document which requested his Eminence "to convene a public meeting to express sympathy with his Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth, abhorrence of the wicked invasion of the remaining portion of his dominions, and determination to use every influence to support him in his present difficulties". The thousands that answered the call of his Eminence, and assembled in the Metropolitan Church on Friday, the 15th of November, gave, in their numbers, proof of the wide-spread sense of the gravity of the occasion. The utterances of the speakers were of sentiments deeply considered and fully formed; the opinions of men sensible of the eventful character of the movements of which the Papal dominions were again the scene, and of their importance to all men, whether as Catholics convinced of the value of the Pope's temporal power, or as citizens interested in the maintenance of public law and the universal reign of civil justice. Thus, through the requisition, or at the meeting, rank, property, intelligence, spoke out their sense of the criminality of the outrage upon the Pontiff King, their sympathy with the sufferings of his violated sovereignty, their desire to do all that exertion, sacrifice, or influence could do in his sacred cause, their pride at the vindication of his beneficent rule. The Lord French; the Viscount St. Laurence (himself a Protestant); the Lord Mayor of Dublin (a Protestant likewise); three, at least, of the privy council of this kingdom; seven members of the imperial parliament (of whom two were Protestants); two baronets; four high sheriffs of counties; twelve gentlemen holding commissions as deputy-lieutenants; between thirty and forty holding the commission of the peace; the legal profession represented by one of the serjeants-at-law, seven of her Majesty's counsel, and a large number of barristers and solicitors; numerous members of the medical profession; many of the aldermen and other representatives of the municipalities of Dublin and the adjoining towns; the adhesion of such men would, of itself, mark the character of the demonstration, and tell how thoroughly station and political influence added their weight to the enthusiasm of the people, and the affectionate loyalty of the clergy to the throne, spiritual and temporal, of the Sovereign Pontiff. Of the clergy, it may be said, that the enumeration of those who partici-

pated in the movement would be to name all that the united dioceses contain. Proudly they saw the gathering of the thousands who sympathised with their spiritual father; proudly they listened to the vindication of the Papacy from all the poor and flimsy statements which ignorance and prejudice, shallowness and narrow-mindedness, had spoken and penned by way of arguments against it; and gladly, we doubt not, they would possess some memorial of that great assembly where speaker after speaker, using the light of history with the power of truth, treated of the temporal power, and demonstrated its utility in the past and its necessity in the future.

Leaving for perusal in its integrity the lengthened and lucid exposition of the bearings of the question which the Lord Cardinal put before the meeting, and which must be already familiar to our readers, we select from the arguments of the other speakers, clerical and lay, those particular points, which, though not more striking or apposite than the other subjects discussed, must have a peculiar and an abiding interest in connection with recent movements against the temporal power of the Papacy.

Origin and vicissitudes of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes.—Tracing its foundation and its glory, the history was told how, during the fifth and following centuries, two classes of barbarians invaded Italy. Some, like Attila, Alaric, and Genseric, swept down upon the land, and after inflicting every calamity, retired to their native forests. Others settled in the fair southern country, and established there cities and kingdoms. Thus, after the death of Augustulus, the last of the Roman emperors, Odoacer, king of the Heruli, fixed his capital at Ravenna, and established himself in Italy. This king was attacked and destroyed by Theodoric, the great Gothic king, and the kingdom of the Goths was established in the year 493, and lasted until 52, when they were destroyed by Narses. This great man, goaded by the ingratitude of the court at Constantinople, invited into Italy the Germanic tribes of the Longobardi or Lombards, who, under their king Alboin, in 558, took possession of nearly the whole of Italy, except Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, and a few other cities. Italy was then divided into three parts. The greatest was held by the Lombards, whose king took the title of King of Italy. The exarch or governor of Ravenna held that city and province in the name of the emperor, whose seat was at Constantinople, and a little portion, viz.—Rome—remained in a kind of uncertainty, neither free nor subject—at one time ruled by the king of the Lombards, at another by the exarch of Ravenna. Thus did Italy remain until the year 712 the theatre of continual warfare and bloodshed. The people were pressed and persecuted by the barbarous Longobardi, who not only robbed them of their liberties, but, with the rage which everywhere marked the Arian heretics, endeavoured to deprive them of their religion; whilst, on the other side, the court of Constantinople, unable to help or protect them, plundered their churches, broke and destroyed the sacred images, and imprisoned and put to death the clergy; for at that time the corrupt and effeminate Greek

emperors were attached to the heresy of the Iconoclasts. In the midst of all this misery and confusion, this constant jarring of physical and material force, there was one great moral power founded upon the principles of justice and charity, representing all the enlightenment and virtue of the age, unwavering in its assertion of law, great in its peaceful influence, and constant and self-sacrificing in its protection of the people: that power was the Roman Pontiff, the acknowledged head and ruler of the Church, and the first representative and exponent of the principles of Christianity. To him the people turned naturally, not only for guidance, but for protection. They found in him not only a father and a guide, but a powerful shield against their enemies, one whose very presence stayed the barbarians at their gates, whose words were heard with fear and obeyed as the commands of God, whose prayer was their protection both with the Almighty and with those who called themselves His scourges, whose boundless charity maintained and saved them in times of pestilence, famine, and desolation. They saw in the Roman Pontiff the only representative of order and the only embodiment of lawful and strongly constituted authority; and what was more natural than that they should have called upon him to govern them, and that they should have made him their temporal as well as their spiritual ruler?

Accordingly we find that in the year 712 the people of Rome and of Ravenna, pressed on the one side by the fury of Luitprand, the Lombard king, who sought to reduce them to slavery, and receiving no assistance, nor even government, from Constantinople, except the furious edicts of Leo the Isaurian, commanding the images to be broken in the churches, and the holy Pope Gregory the Second to be dragged in chains before him, called upon the Roman Pontiff to put himself at their head, and to take into his wise hands the temporal government of those who were like sheep without a shepherd. In vain did the Pope appeal to the forbearance of the Lombard king, and beseech him to spare the people. In vain did he turn for assistance to the degenerate emperors of Constantinople. In 749 Astolphus, the Lombard king, took forcible possession of Ravenna, and laid siege to Rome, and the then Pontiff was obliged to look elsewhere for help, and to call to his aid the great Pepin, the founder of the Carlovingian race of French kings. This great man saved Rome from the fury of the Lombards, and confirmed the Roman Pontiff in the possession of the temporal power with which the voice of the people had long before invested him. The son of Pepin, the immortal Charlemagne, consolidated this power, but neither conferred nor enlarged it, for as early as the year 754, twenty years before the first coming of Charlemagne into Italy, the Roman Pontiff was the acknowledged lord and temporal ruler of Rome, of the exarchate of Ravenna, of the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Emilia, of the Duchy of Urbino, and of the territory lying along the shore of the Adriatic, known as the Marches of Ancona; and all this he governed by the consent and at the desire of the people. Did the Roman

Pontiff gain this power at the expense of one drop of blood? History answers—No. If the people be the true source of power, then no ruler in the world has a more legitimate claim to his dominion than the Pope of Rome, for he assumed the temporal sovereignty at the cry of an oppressed people. Did they use the power thus legitimately acquired in unjust aggressions upon their weaker neighbours, driven on by the lust of dominion so strong in the hearts of kings? Count Joseph de Maistre, that profound thinker and learned historian, answers this question in his great work on the Pope. “It is”, he says, “a very remarkable circumstance, and not sufficiently attended to, that the Popes have never taken advantage of the great power in their possession for the aggrandisement of their states. What could have been more natural, for instance, or more tempting to human nature, than to reserve a portion of the provinces conquered from the Saracens, and which they gave up to the first occupant? But this, however, they never did, not even with regard to the adjacent countries, as in the instance of the Two Sicilies, to which they had incontestable rights, at least according to the ideas then prevailing, and over which they were, nevertheless, contented with an empty sovereignty, which ended in a slight and merely nominal tribute. . . . It is certain that they never sought to extend their dominions at the expense of justice, whilst all other governments fell under that anathema, and at the present time there is not, perhaps, one of the European powers in a condition to justify all its possessions before God and reason”. History attests that they used their power to diminish and repair the ravages of barbarism—to save the remnants of ancient civilization, of science, and of the arts—to enforce the observance of the laws—to restrain the passions of kings—to curb their destructive ambition, and to save the people from their lawless aggressions.

Beneficent action of the Papacy.—The power of the Popes was exercised during the eighth and ninth centuries in converting and humanizing the hordes of the north, and so saving Europe from their incursions. During the anarchy and lawlessness of the tenth and succeeding centuries their power was exercised for the protection of the weak and oppressed. Thus, in 1068, we find Alexander the Second enforcing under pain of excommunication “the truce of God”. Urban the Second continues, enforces, and extends it in the Councils of Troja, in 1093, and Clermont in 1095; and as time went on, and the Church was able to speak in a louder voice, this civilizing law was extended by Calixtus the Second in two councils, and by Innocent the Third at the Council of Avignon in 1209. The power of the Roman Pontiff, beneficially exerted, has preserved for us the foundation of modern civilization—the palladium of society—namely the sanctity of the marriage tie. “History tells us”, observes Balméz, “to whom it is owing that the law of marriage was not falsified, perverted, destroyed, amid the barbarous ages, amid the most fearful corruption, violence, and ferocity, which prevailed everywhere, as well as at the time when invading

nations passed pell-mell over Europe, as in that of feudalism, and when the power of kings had already been predominant. History will tell what tutelary force prevented the torrent of sensuality from overflowing with all its violence, with all its caprices, from bringing about the most profound disorganization, from corrupting the character of European civilization, and precipitating it into that abyss in which the nations of Asia have been for so many centuries".

No consideration, no fear, has ever been able to silence the Sovereign Pontiffs when they had occasion to remind all, and especially kings and potentates, of this great law of the sanctity of marriage. They risked all dangers and braved all consequences in enforcing it. Those barbarous kings, in whom the splendour of the purple hardly concealed the sons of the forest—those proud barons, clothed in mail, fortified in their feudal castles, and surrounded by their timid and devoted vassals, had no check but the authority of the Supreme Pontiff. He was in the midst of them a king, enthroned in the interests of order, religion, and morality, wielding a power far greater than that of any one of themselves, ready to appeal to and exercise his rights as a temporal sovereign in restraining their lawlessness, and protecting the weak by the enforcement of an immutable law. They could load a bishop with vexations—they could control or imprison him—they might control the votes of a particular council—they could purchase the adherence of a university ; but the power of the Pope, the shadow of the Vatican was like an alarming vision ; they were brought face to face with an authority which intrigue, nor force, nor entreaty could move from the enforcement of this highest law, and the protection of the family in the mother. Thus, when Philip Augustus, king of France, unjustly put away from him his lawful wife Ingelburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, and took to him adulterously another, Pope Innocent the Third did not hesitate, when all other means were exhausted, to place the king and his kingdom under interdict, and so earn for himself the anger of that powerful sovereign. Thus, when later on, a faithless adulterer wore England's crown, Pope Clement the Seventh, rather than permit the violation of the great law and sanction the degradation of Queen Catherine, the monarch's lawful wife, braved all the resentment of Henry, and suffered the separation of England from the Church.

The popes exercised their power for the suppression of slavery. This degrading institution found a prominent place in the ancient pagan civilization of Greece and Rome. It was a part of the mission of Christianity to emancipate all men, and the history of the popes is the record of a patient, persevering, and wise application of their great power to the glorious work of emancipation. "Since the Creator of all things", says Pope St. Gregory the Great, "has vouchsafed to assume the flesh of man in order to restore us to our pristine liberty by breaking the bonds of servitude through means of His divine grace, it is a salutary deed to restore to men, by enfranchisement, their native liberty ; for in the beginning nature made them

all free, and they have only been subjected to the yoke of servitude by the law of nations". The great principle here proclaimed was upheld and faithfully acted upon by each succeeding pontiff, and those fathers of the intellectual and moral world in which we live, laid the foundation of our modern civilization in the high and holy idea of personal and individual freedom. And when, a few years later on, and three centuries ago, that freedom was threatened with utter destruction—when the Turk, the enemy of all civilization, was advancing upon Europe with fire and sword, what power withstood him in the cause of faith, of knowledge, of morality, and of freedom? It was the Pope of Rome, the Pontiff King—Pius the Fifth—who saved the ungrateful nations of Europe from a slavery the most hideous that ever cursed the earth.

Civilization saved from destruction by the temporal independence of the Popes.—What are the lessons taught to the world by this retrospect? If Rome, in the sixth century, had not had in Gregory the Great a pontiff of the true type, and a king in everything but in the name, where would be the civilization of the western world? Let us get the answer from the bitterest enemy of the Holy See. "Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle which again restored her to honour and dominion". This "vital principle", to which Gibbon refers, was the pontifical authority wielded by Gregory; and if that authority were not here, a sea of barbarism would have bound, perhaps for ever, the arts and sciences of the empire of the west. Again, when the Pontiff King, the sainted Pius the Fifth, threw himself between the haughty Moslems and their all but certain prey, he gave his commission and his blessing to the Colonnas; the battle of Lepanto hunted back the Crescent in the ruins it had already made, and the power of Mahomed in Europe began from that hour its death agony. If it had been a Pontiff who, through those death struggles between barbarism and civilization—the Cross and the Crescent—had been the subject of a miserable Italian kingdom, the bishop of a "free church in a free state", as diplomatic hypocrisy terms it, the petted friend, or it may be the detested foe, of a Cavour or a Ratazzi—where would be now the boasted enlightenment of Europe in the nineteenth century? The Turk possibly would be enthroned in Rome, or Vienna, or Paris. The darkness which has settled down on Constantinople for five centuries would probably have enveloped the rest of Europe in its gloom. Italy, from the Alps to the sea, instead of being a smiling garden, might be to-day a howling wilderness, and Victor Emmanuel, in place of being a bad king, might be an honest ploughman.

But even in the present century has not the value of the temporal power been acknowledged, and the force that lies within it been manifested? In 1798, the French deposed the Holy Father, and proclaimed a republic in Rome. In the next year, 1799, it was restored by foreign intervention to the Holy See. In 1800 it was again retaken by the French, and in 1801, the Holy Father was again

replaced on his throne through foreign intervention, and the eventful life of Pius the Seventh, though he suffered banishment and imprisonment, terminated happily in peace, restored to his dominions through the assistance of foreign powers, but not of Catholic nations or Catholic governments, but, on the contrary, he was aided and supported by governments and statesmen hostile to the Catholic religion, who found by practical experience, and believed, that the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope and of his independence was necessary for the preservation of peace and social order in Europe.

Such a meeting then, as ours, to tender to the Holy Father our sympathy and cordial support, found full justification by reference to these historical events; and the interest evinced by foreign powers in the preservation of the temporal rights of the Holy See is the tribute rendered to the great and lasting benefits conferred on the world at large, by preserving its civilization and by the encouragement given to the cultivation of literature, of the fine arts, and of science, by successive occupants of the Holy See.

All nations are interested in the maintenance of the temporal power.—But how is the spirit which lives and works in the Papacy involved in the maintenance of the temporal power? It may with truth be said, that there is not a people or a nation that professes the Catholic faith, not an individual—be he king or subject, ruler or private citizen, not even the infant as yet unable to lisp the name of its Creator—that is not deeply, vitally, and personally interested in the object which engaged the meeting. That object is not merely that the Head of the Church may be protected in his august person, and maintained in his temporal sovereignty, but that all the children of the Church, to the uttermost bounds of the earth, may eat of the bread of life unadulterated, and may have the means of securing eternal happiness. It is that the Church of God may be governed without the impediments which the passions of the rulers of this world are ever prepared to raise, and the control which she would be sure to exercise, were the successor of St. Peter subject to their power. That object is that the Church may be governed in a wise, a salutary, and effective manner. And what is the Church? It is a spiritual empire extending to the bounds of the earth, and containing within its limits near two hundred millions of the human race, an empire divided into nearly one thousand provinces or dioceses, each of which is sub-divided into innumerable subordinate districts or parishes. Each of these provinces and each of these districts has its own legitimate head, the venerated prelates and clergy of the Church, all appointed either directly or indirectly by the Sovereign Pontiff, and all subject to his rule and control; and should the succession of such subordinate rulers and pastors be interrupted, or any disorder amongst them occur, the people of God in such locality would be deprived to a greater or less extent of the means of salvation. What is required for the due administration of the government of an empire so vast, an empire over the souls of

men, the interests of which regard eternal beatitude or eternal misery? Should not the universal ruler, in the first place, be free? Should he not be independent? Did the question regard a temporal sovereignty, a doubt expressed on the subject would excite laughter and ridicule; but as the interests of the empire here spoken of regard an invisible world, the truth is somewhat clouded or shrouded in mystery, and hence to bring the truth home to the mind, some imagery may be allowed, such as was familiar to the Great Founder of the Christian religion. One of the images under which the great empire of the Church is most usually represented is that of a ship, the bark of Peter; and it is exceedingly appropriate in order to exemplify the necessity of perfect freedom and independence in the Church's ruler. Every person who has the least idea of nautical affairs must know that, when the ocean is convulsed by the storm, and the vessel is tossed by the raging elements, her safety depends on the skill and vigilance of the intrepid pilot. Should his wakeful eye observe duly the coming wave, and his steady hand direct the prow to meet it, the vessel securely cleaves the liquid mountain that threatened to overwhelm her, and proudly rides above the surging tide of the ocean, bearing triumphantly her crew and precious cargo. But what would be the case were some individual more powerful than himself to seize and confine the arms of the steersman? The unsparing surge would strike the vessel on her side, she would reel and be upset, and with crew and costly merchandise be buried in the deep. The steersman of the barque of Peter is his successor, Christ's Vicar on earth!

It must be remembered too, that periods from time to time are marked in the history of the world, in which, through the machinations of the powers of darkness and the perversion of the human mind, so dense a cloud of error settles on the moral and religious horizon that truth becomes for a time obscured or eclipsed. This is never more certain to occur than when the power of human reason is most arrogantly proclaimed and boastfully exaggerated, for human reason has been debilitated and obscured by sin, and unless guided by a ray from heaven can lead but to moral falsehood and error. When, then, the time comes for the heavenly-constituted teacher to raise his voice, a decree or encyclical emanates from the successor of Peter; it comes as the flash of the forked lightning; it is as the bolt of heaven; the clouds of error are ruptured or dispersed; the moral and religious atmosphere is cleared; and truth from that fountain established by God, like the pure light of heaven from the fountain of the sun, sheds its effulgence on the intellectual world. But such a teacher, must he not be free? Such emanations from the fountain of truth are often inconvenient and offensive to the rulers of the world, and they would prevent them if it were in their power. The universal teacher of truth must then be untrammelled, and can have no earthly superior. Yes, he must be free, but that is not sufficient. He must be surrounded by a staff suited to the govern-

ment of an empire of a thousand provinces. The light of truth, as the material light of the sun, can be but one, and can emanate from one fountain alone. It must be commensurate too with the material light, and beam from pole to pole, from the rising to the setting sun. From the inhospitable shores of Iceland on the north, to the farthest point of Tasmania at the south; from the utmost limits of Japan or China on the east, to the golden mountains of California on the west, there is not a Christian child to whom the universal pastor must not break the bread of life, unadulterated and free from the poison of error. Thus must the Catholic view the question, which is no new one; it will be found in Professor Ranke's *History of the Popes*, that it was so treated at the Council of Basle four centuries ago. If the modern aspects of the question be considered for a moment, the result would be such a spectacle as the Pope circumscribed in the Vatican, and king Victor Emmanuel sitting enthroned upon the Quirinal within cannon shot and rifle range of him. There would be but a choice between two alternatives—he would be a prisoner or a slave.

But another view may be presented wherein the religious aspects may be treated almost as closed, and regard be paid to temporal relations merely. Thus considered, it will be seen that the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See is not only an admirable arrangement of Divine Providence, necessary for the free exercise of the sacred mission entrusted by God to the successors of St. Peter, but it may be further said that it is an institution valuable not only to Catholics, but to all governments over the world, whether Catholics or Protestants. No man can seriously believe that, if the temporal power of the Pope was destroyed to-morrow, that it would in the least weaken or destroy the Catholic religion. On the contrary, the abolition of the temporal power would, doubtless, intensify Catholicity, and then, instead of seeing the Sovereign Pontiff surrounded by the ambassadors of European powers, he himself exercising temporal sovereignty, and knowing well its difficulties and dangers, the difficulties in the exercise of all power, and always ready to aid by his influence the promotion of order and loyalty to every sovereign, whether Catholic or Protestant; instead of that, if the Pope were to-morrow deprived of his throne at Rome, no man can believe that there would be any other Pope than one existing perhaps in some remote, retired convent, not elected for his experience in political affairs, not elected perhaps for his learning, but selected simply and purely for his religious enthusiasm, and that man, though no longer surrounded by an enlightened prelacy, would nevertheless from his seclusion and retirement continue to exercise an immense and increasing power in every Catholic country in Europe. In all probability, if the temporal power of the Pope was destroyed, Protestants would suffer more in their temporal relations than Catholics would suffer in respect of their religion.

It may then be regretted deeply that some Protestants, from their prejudices against Catholics, should justify and encourage that demon of revolution against the Pope, which, when once raised, is

not easily subdued. Far wiser would it be to recognize the wisdom of the opinion expressed by the late Marquis of Lansdowne, when in his place as leader of the House of Lords, under Lord Russell's Government, he said that "there was no country with Catholic subjects and Catholic possessions which had not a deep interest in the Pope being so placed as to be able to exercise his authority unfettered and unshackled by civil authority".

There is, therefore, no rank or creed in society which has not the deepest interest in this most important question. If royalty be not sacred in the person of the Pontiff, where will it be entitled to veneration or obedience? If revolution assails the oldest and most beneficent Catholic dynasty, will it stop with reverence at the foot of a Protestant throne? If the throne which rests on a foundation more than a thousand years old be struck down, who will answer for thrones which, in comparison, are but of yesterday? If the rights of the Pontiff may be trifled with because he is weak, who can rest secure that his own hard earned independence will go down to his children? The mad fanatic who applauds the assailants of the Pope, and rejoices at their partial triumph, may delude himself with the notion that he is advancing human freedom; but he will find, if God in His wrath permits the freebooter to succeed, that with the Papal Throne there disappeared from Europe the only effectual barrier which could drive back the swelling floods of impiety, tyranny, plunder, and carnage.

Impolicy of aiding revolutionary societies abroad.—The wonder, then, is that men should witness the open support given by many of the leaders of public opinion to the revolutionary societies of Italy. Here opens a view which makes the question of the deepest and widest importance and of the most universal interest, and makes the subject one which touches both the conscience and the interest of every loyal citizen, whatever be his creed, in the United Kingdom. There is no loyal citizen, no Christian of any persuasion, whose dearest interests are not menaced by the countenance given in the United Kingdom to those secret societies whose banner of anarchy has lately been raised in the Papal States. The facts are undisputed and indisputable. What is the end for which these secret societies are banded together? Here are the words of one of their founders, written more than half a century ago: "Our object is the same as that of Voltaire and the French Revolution, to subvert Catholicism and even Christianity. We must un-Catholicise the world. A revolution in the Church will be a permanent revolution. It will be the enforced overthrow of thrones and dynasties". The object for which they are banded together is to overthrow the Christian religion and civil society. From the hour those words were written to the present moment, the efforts to give effect to them under various names have been persistent. The head of the secret societies is Mazzini, and their arm General Garibaldi. All have read their proclamations, and recollect Garibaldi's too celebrated words, "Take the paving stones to crush the priests; we

must exterminate the Papal cancer, the sacerdotal vampire". There is no disguise. God forbid that we should be cold or indifferent to the force of liberty. God forbid that we should judge too harshly those who, even with mistaken zeal, sacrifice themselves; but the end of these men is license, not liberty. They wage war not on any particular form of Christianity, but against the Cross of Christ. Like Islamism, their weapons are not arguments, not philosophy, but the sword. One of those upheavings of society, of so many of which Macaulay has recorded the rise and the fall, is going on—we are face to face with the enemies of Christian society—they strike directly, not against any limb, but at the heart. They know well that if they can cut through the trunk, the branches will soon wither away; for, as Edmund Burke said, it is foolish to think that if Catholicity were extinguished, Christianity would survive.

Let it then be plainly understood, it is not poor king Victor Emmanuel, feeble puppet that he is, that stands face to face with Pius the Ninth; it is the deadly enemy of Pope and King alike—of all kings—all purity—all religion. It is that dark and awful power which is called the revolution—the luring *alibea* of priest and king, of law and gospel—whose members are leagued together in a fanatical hatred of Christianity, and a determination to destroy every vestige of it upon earth. That sect which dates from the great French Revolution, and since then has nurtured its designs in a thousand secret conclaves—which bear their fruit in bloodshed and convulsion, and the rocking to and fro of kingdoms. It is this power—formless, immeasurable, and deadly—which recalls Milton's description of sin and death:—

If shape it could be called, that shape had none,
Distinguishable in feature, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called, that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either; black it stood as night,
Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell.

It is this power, which, desiring to abolish all religion, has always aimed its first and deadliest blow against the Sovereign Pontiff as the foremost representative of that religion.

Some special features of the present Pontiff's reign.—It is now more than one-and-twenty years since his Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth ascended the Pontifical throne. He was then in the vigour of middle age; now he is sunk deep in the vale of years. And from that time to the present, though calumny and hatred have done their worst upon him, who can point to one spot or blemish in that saintly and stainless career? He assumed the triple crown amid the jubilation of mankind. He flung open the prison doors, and clasped his enemies to his heart, believing that their rancour would be melted and subdued by the fire of his love. It was his one weakness to trust too much to the goodness of human nature, to think that other men were cast in the same mould and aspired to the same virtues as himself. He was fatally betrayed, and this glorious weakness he has atoned for by a life which has been almost one long

agony. Yielding everything to his people, granting them that constitution which they demanded, he called to his councils one who had earned a foremost name among liberal statesmen, the Count de Rossi. To him he entrusted the working of his administration, but there was seen the spirit of those who, at his accession, had made the air ring with their hypocritical *vivas*. The diabolical faction who in their secret conventions had vowed the destruction of the Pope and, through him, of the Christian religion, were resolved not to suffer the experiment of the free and peaceful government of Rome under its lawful sovereign, and they had recourse to their avowed weapon, the dagger. They murdered De Rossi, stabbed him to death upon the very steps of the assembly which he was about to open, and assailed the Pope in his own palace, slew one of his most trusted prelates, and held the Pontiff himself a virtual prisoner until he was forced to fly in the disguise of a menial, and eat for years the bread of an exile. They then set up that fantastic republic which arrogated the great name of the senate and people of Rome. Restored at length, restored by the arms of France, vindicating her name of eldest daughter of the Church, he had a few years of respite. But the day of the triumph of his enemies came once more. The Austrians, from the peace of 1815 up to 1859, had possessed the fairest portions of Northern Italy, and it can scarcely be denied that the feeling of the Italians against the possession of the Italian soil by a foreign power was just and natural. But when Austria was beaten by the combined armies of France and Sardinia at Solferino, and was forced to retire beyond the Adige, there arose the problem of the settlement of the whole Italian peninsula. The Emperor of the French proposed a confederation of all the Italian states, headed by the Pope, who should still remain sovereign of his dominions, but this was rejected by Piedmont, which cherished far more daring and ambitious designs. Early in 1860 they let loose their Captain of Filibusters, the fanatical infidel and republican Garibaldi, upon the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which he conquered, thanks mainly to the unexampled treachery of the Neapolitan officers, and, flushed with his victory, he advanced against the Roman states. The Pope had then a little army hastily called together, and among them volunteers from Ireland,—a little army with but scanty time for training or discipline, but headed by a gallant and famous French soldier. If that army had been left to deal with Garibaldi and his troops, who can doubt but that 1860 would have anticipated the glorious tale of 1867, and that the little army of the cross would have scattered and flung back the invaders. But this is what the Piedmontese government saw and feared. With that government the Pope was then at profound peace. He had not given the slightest colour for a quarrel; but where was predetermined rapine ever stayed for want of a pretext? King Victor Emmanuel marched down his troops in masses upon the Papal territory, and the Pope was despoiled of the largest, the fairest, and richest portions of his territory. Only a remnant was left to him, yet that remnant the

continued to govern justly and mildly, keeping faith with the public creditor, though he had been robbed of the revenues on the faith of which the debt was contracted.

Recent attacks on the Papal territory.—Just three years ago another page in this eventful history was opened. The Emperor of the French, who had continued to garrison the city of Rome, entered into a convention with the King of Italy, by which on the one hand it was agreed that the French garrison should be gradually withdrawn, and on the other, the Italian government solemnly stipulated to guard and guarantee the Papal frontier from every invasion, regular or irregular. Hardly had the views of this convention transpired, when it was received with a paean of exultation by all the enemies of the Pope over the earth. They hardly even pretended to believe that the Italian government would act with good faith, and the loophole for evasion which they discovered was this. While guaranteeing the Pope's territory from invasion, regular or irregular, from without, no mention was made in the treaty of insurrection from within. And their expectation and outlook was that the members of the revolutionary societies with which all Italy fermenters should secretly and stealthily glide into the towns in the Pope's dominions, and, above all into Rome—that they should then, when in sufficient numbers, raise the red flag of insurrection in the name of the Roman people, and that while they are fighting to overthrow the Pope, the Italian government would congregate its troops upon the frontier, under the pretence of carrying out the September Convention, but in reality and substance to afford every aid and encouragement to the enemies of the Pope, and permit their skilled officers and soldiers to desert in crowds to swell the ranks of the insurgents.

This was the game that was to have been played out in the very days that have passed over our heads; and if it has failed, no doubt one of the causes of its failure was the impulsive and intemperate character of the great revolutionary leader. Having attended what was farcically called a peace conference at Geneva, and there delivered an address whose principles would plunge Europe from end to end in deadly wars—an address, the irreligious and blasphemous character of which ought to have opened the eyes of all admirers of him who still term themselves Christians—he fled from this congress of peace to don the red shirt of war, and carry fire and sword into the dominions of the Pope. He openly avowed his object—the extinction of the Papacy. Then followed scenes, the narration of which must bring a blush into the cheek of every Italian alive to the honour of his country. The Italian minister, the secret accomplice throughout of Garibaldi, went through the farce of a sham capture, to be followed by a connived escape, while, in the meantime, Garibaldi's son, Menotti, was sent on to head the filibusters, and to seek by every means to rouse the Roman population into insurrection. Under the very eyes of the Italian government, by the ordinary railway trains, these bands of irregular invaders poured into the Pope's territory,

while the Italian government made some feint pretences, indeed, to check them, but in reality stood by with folded arms and unequivocal sympathy, in the very teeth of the convention of September. The attempt to excite an insurrection proved a total and ignominious failure. The Roman people refused to rise against their sovereign, and thus it was left the naked case of a band of pirates invading a peaceful state. But the Pope had now an army, small indeed in numbers, but strong in gallantry and skill as any, and in devotion to their cause—an army in which many a Catholic youth of high family and position was proud to serve as a private. These troops of the Pope overthrew the invaders wherever they encountered them, so that Garibaldi himself making his counter escape, had to come down to lead them ; and now most assuredly there would have been enacted over again the same iniquitous drama as in 1860, but on a more sweeping scale.

Under the pretence of danger accruing to the Italian kingdom from disturbances in the Pope's dominions, the Italian army would have occupied the Papal territories in the hopes that they would have overpowered by numbers the army of the Pope, as they did some years before, and would have taken formal possession of the city of Rome and of the Roman states, and make him prisoner or drive him out into exile. That would have been an accomplished fact at this hour, but for the prompt intervention of the Emperor of the French. The Catholic feeling of France is deep. She feels herself in the proud position of the protectress of religion in the east and west ; but it was far from a question of religious policy alone. It was common to Catholic and anti-Catholic. It was a question of the honour of France, and it would have been an eternal stain upon her escutchen if she had permitted a treaty which bore her signature—a treaty not three years old—to be torn in pieces by an iniquitous force, and the fragments flung in her face. Napoleon obeyed his own true impulse, perhaps, but I am also convinced he obeyed the impulse of his people, and if he had not done so his throne and dynasty would have been in deadly peril. He sent down his fleet and troops at once, he sent a peremptory message to the Italian government, who had already commenced their invasion, not to dare to advance further, but to withdraw behind the frontier ; and thus the Pope and Garibaldi were left face to face. The Pontifical forces, with a small detachment of imperial troops, met the revolutionists at Mentana, and won that signal victory which cleared the states of the invaders—a victory which will be ever memorable in European annals—a day of wailing and gnashing of teeth to every enemy of religion and order. What, in the meantime, was the conduct of the Pope himself ? His army had taken many prisoners. No man was put to death. No man was sent to the shambles or to servitude, and a correspondent of one of the London journals narrates how the Pope himself went down amongst the wounded Garibaldians—went with that benign countenance which no one could ever look upon but to revere, with that voice whose every tone carries benediction, went as priest,

as father, and as Pontiff, to bear comfort and consolation to those who had aimed the deadliest blow against his security and life. For so far the curtain has fallen upon this momentous drama, and of it may be said, human annals do not show a more complete narrative of perfidy, rapacity, and unprovoked violence on the one hand, of justice and outraged innocence on the other.

The Papal throne guaranteed by every principle of justice and by the devoted loyalty of its subjects.—Reviewing the salient features which this narrative presents for consideration, the first point in importance is the entire absence of any semblance of justification for such acts as have been detailed. It was one of the valuable results of the meeting that it elicited the opinion on this point of a lawyer of the greatest eminence, occupying in Ireland, through the favour of the crown, and sanctioned by the voice of his professional brethren, one of the highest positions short of the judicial bench.

"It is not", declared Mr. Serjeant Barry, M.P., "it is not, I am sure, necessary for me to state before this assembly that, apart from the sacred functions of the Pope, and regarding his sovereignty merely in a worldly point of view, the acts of aggression upon that sovereignty have no justification or excuse in any principle of international morality or law—in fact, they are without precedent in the history of mankind since first a community of civilized nations, recognizing mutual rights and reciprocal obligations, has had existence in the world. If antiquity of origin and length of possession can confer a title, the title of the Pontiff to his dominions surpasses that of any dynasty upon earth. As has been said by a Protestant writer, the proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiff. If there be faith in treaties—if there be efficacy in the solemn acts and deliberate sanctions of rulers and peoples—if regard is to be paid to the laws, the international traditions, and diplomacy of all the kingdoms of Europe—the title of the Pope to his dominions is the most perfect in the world. And how has that title been respected? In 1859, without a pretext for war, without even a formal declaration of war, Victor Emmanuel crossed the Pontifical frontier, seized the Papal territory, and slaughtered the few troops whom the aged Pontiff, in his emergency, could oppose to the countless hordes of Sardinia. The history of the civilized world furnishes no parallel for that violation of international law and justice. But flagrant as was that act of spoliation, it is surpassed by the unequalled iniquity of the recent transactions".

What was the conduct of the subjects of the Papal throne in this emergency? Did they show a desire to throw off their allegiance to their sovereign, or to aid the designs of his enemies? It has been asserted that the Papal government is so abominable, that the Roman people wanted to throw off its sway. The opportunity arose, armed bands invaded the country. Did the subjects of the Pope join these bands? Did the inhabitants of Viterbo, or of Tivoli, or of Rome, flock to their standard? The Romans have attested their

love for their ruler. They have unmistakably proved to the world that the revolution in the Papal States must be the work of miscreants from over the border, and not of the Roman people; and if the late troubles did no other good, they have at least effected this—that no man, be he journalist or other, can again impute disaffection to the Pope's subjects without knowing and feeling that he is a conscious and deliberate liar. The events of the past week had proved that his own people were true to the Pontiff—that none of his own subjects, who were falsely represented to be in open revolt, joined in this revolutionary attempt to subvert his throne, and that the small band of heroic men which went forth in his name to meet the invaders, had with them the sympathy of the Roman people, and that, after having driven the invaders back, though they numbered three to one of their force, they retired to Rome to receive the thanks of their sovereign and a triumphal reception from the people of the Eternal City. The authentic records tell that fifteen thousand of those invaders assembled with the secret support of the Italian king and the Italian government—not openly given them, it is true, but given by sending an Italian army to stand behind them as a sustaining line, thus giving a moral support which became practically a military support. Three thousand five hundred Pontifical troops, with less than half that number of French soldiers, met those fifteen thousand Garibaldian filibusterers, and because they fought on behalf of a sovereign who loved his people and was ready to lay down his life if necessary for his people, they were animated with the courage of lions, and drove their opponents back to disaster and death.

Between the conduct and the characters of the assailants of the Sovereign Pontiff and of his defenders, what a striking contrast presents itself, and how surrounded it is with considerations of peculiar significance! The enrolment of volunteers under the eye of the Italian government—the invasion of the Papal States—the utter failure of the invaders to enlist on their side the sympathies of the Roman population—these are facts in the recollection of everyone. Foreign revolutionists levied contributions from the peaceful inhabitants of the Papal towns into which they entered; assassinations took place within the walls of Rome and in some of the towns—at Bagnorea, for instance,—taken by the insurgents, there were desecrations of holy things which one shirks from further alluding to. The Italian government, in the face of solemn treaties, connived at the invasion, and by allowing General Garibaldi to call together and address a public meeting at Florence, and to proceed to the Roman frontier in a special train, made themselves responsible for his acts. These facts are undisputed and indisputable, and yet upon the perpetrators of these crimes there have not been wanting those who heaped encouragement—who urged the Italian government to violate the treaties it had made, and to march to Rome, and many who thus urged on the Italian government to revolution, were the loudest in their denunciation of the American government for its supineness in putting

down men preparing to invade Canada. Many of those who most ardently supported the Italian revolutionists were the same who most loudly called for the severest punishment upon the heads of those who in Dublin, with more sympathy unfortunately from the population, or in Manchester, were guilty of precisely the same crimes.

"Is, however, the analogy complete? If there is any difference", asked the Right Hon. Colonel Monsell, M.P., urging these views on the meeting, "were not the Italian revolutionists the more guilty? My Lord Cardinal, injustice may be borne when it is the lot of all. Bad government may be tolerated when all are subject to it alike; but these double weights and measures—this canonization of acts in Italy which are treated as the gravest crimes at home—this is hard to bear indeed—*Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit hic diadema*—is not a Christian motto. This systematic injustice saps the very foundation of justice and of social order. It generates the belief that interest and prejudice are to govern actions, and not the voice of conscience. It substitutes as a governing principle the idea of might for the idea of right; it leaves no restraint on crime, except the fear of punishment; it paralyses the efforts of the one who preaches the Christian duty of obedience to the civil power. Am I too sanguine then in believing that the lovers of law and order, whatever form of faith they may profess, will join with us in condemning revolutionists abroad, just in the same degree that we condemn them at home. But, my lord, there is another grievous wrong we have to complain of: not only have crimes, condemned justly here, been extolled as virtues when committed abroad, but insult and contumely have been heaped on the heads of that gallant chivalry of France, who rushed forward, leaving houses and homes, and wives and children, to defend the Father of the Faithful against the full force of revolution. These men, some of them of the highest blood and most ancient lineage in Europe, have been stigmatized as mercenaries. Good God, my lord, was the Duc de Chevreux, who left his affianced bride to rush to arms, was he a revolutionist?—was the Baron de Charette, who drew again the sword his father had so nobly wielded in La Vendee—was he for so noble an act to be held up to odium? —was the Duc de Luynes, whose gray hairs had not prevented him from laying not only his great fortune but his person at the Pope's feet, was he worthy, for such devotion to a holy cause, of honour or of dishonour? No, my lord, we at least will pay honour where honour is so signally due".

Such is the story, full of glorious, if, too, full of painful incidents. The revolution that advanced upon Rome has recoiled in shame and terror and amazement, leaving the Romans tranquil and joyous, and the Holy Father triumphant, yet sorrowing in his triumph over those who have fallen in his defence, but lamenting with a far deeper sorrow over the misguided ones who were his enemies. We sympathize with him in his sorrow and we rejoice in his triumph; we recognize in his temporal sovereignty the keystone of the arch of our civilization, and we feel that there is yet one cause left for

which a man of principle may find it worth his while to speak, to act, to die.

Groundless pretensions of the Revolutionists to the possession of Rome.—But we must not fancy that his enemies, baffled for a time, have abandoned their purpose. Their designs are as deadly as ever—as reckless as ever is their determination to destroy. What is it they demand?—Upon what ground is that demand made—and what is the spirit by which it is enforced? They assert the kingdom of Italy has a right to the possession of Rome. It might just as well be said that the American government have a right to Quebec or Montreal or to London itself. If ever there was a spot upon the face of the globe which belonged to its sovereign, it is the City of Rome to the Popes. Why, it is very certain that Rome would, ages ago, have been a heap of mouldering ruins—would have been as Nineveh or Palmyra, the haunt of owls and foxes and unclean things, but that God in His Providence had chosen it to be the capital of the Spiritual Monarchy of the world, as its rulers had once been of the temporal. The attraction of the place to the millions of Catholics throughout the globe, the munificence of a long series of Pontiffs, their patronage of every thing that was exalted in art, and, above all, the glorious alliance between art and religion—these things have made Rome, and made it even more than of old—Rome the wonderful. But wonderful, how? No features are there of a great temporal capital. It is no mart of commerce, no house of luxury. It is the Holy City, where every sight and every sound, churches and catacombs, and tombs of martyrs, and relics of saints, bring home to you that it is not a city of earthly power, but, in the expressive words of Byron, the City of the Soul. This marvel of the earth the Italians have the glory of possessing amongst them, and this solitary and inconceivable glory they are infatuated enough to seek to destroy, and to convert the capital of Christendom into—what? Into a sixth-rate Paris or a tenth-rate London—a dismal Paris—an impoverished London. Who can, without the temptation to laughter as well as tears, think of a people of the intelligence and real greatness of the Italians indulging in that vision which seems to have possessed them from the days of Machiavelli down to the mediæval ravings of Mazzini, that the possession of Rome would make them the inheritors of the greatness of the Roman Empire?

True, in the city of Rome, the old Roman Empire does meet your eyes, but how? In dead limbs and fragments, from which, as from the bones of some mammoth or megatherion, you can infer the gigantic stature and articulation of the vast creature to which they belonged. But all is cold and dead—speaks of a world of twenty centuries ago, that never, never can be revived again. But with the Christian aspects of that capital it is far otherwise. There everything is life and strength, an organization animated and potent—the Colosseum is of bygone butcheries—the Pantheon of forgotten gods—while from the great temple of the Vatican an old man stretches forth his hand to give his blessing to two hundred millions

of the human race, his spiritual subjects. He, the Holy Father, Pontiff, and King, is yet beset with difficulties and dangers, his sacred throne threatened by anarchy and revolution, his temporal power assailed by enemies, many and mighty; but we may hope that the divine hand which established the temporal sovereignty of Peter, and has protected it for a thousand years, will still uphold it. Empires, and states, and dynasties have arisen and disappeared around it; temples have mouldered into ruins, and the gorgeous palaces of kings have crumbled over the heads of those who enjoyed within their walls a temporary splendour; diadems have been struck from the brows of fallen monarchs, sceptres have been broken, and wide extended ruin has devastated the universe, but the sovereignty of Peter has withstood both the ravages of time and the malice of its enemies. The storms of a thousand years have raged around its head and discharged their fury on its sides—the generations of men have been swept from around it, as the light sand is borne by the wind of the desert from the base of an Egyptian pile; but yet it has stood, often shaken, but yet erect, as if consolidated by time and made firm by duration. And so may it endure until the Church Militant shall cease from its combats, and exchange its perils and trials for eternal repose and never fading glory.

— Ne quisque tyrannus ab almâ
Vi pravû valeat Papam depellere Roma.

Such were the opinions given expression to by those who spoke, and enthusiastically received by those who assisted at this great meeting.

Conclusion.—"You will", said the Lord Cardinal at the close of the proceedings, "treasure up the sentiments which you have heard here to-day, and they will serve to encourage you to persevere in your historical attachment to the Holy See".

RESOLUTIONS.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, and counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Wicklow, convened upon requisition, to express sympathy with his Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth, abhorrence at the wicked invasion of the remaining portions of his dominions, and determination to use every influence to support him in his present difficulties, and held in the Metropolitan Church of the Immaculate Conception, Malborough Street, Dublin, on Friday, the 15th November, 1867 :

It was moved by O'Neil Segrave, D.L., and seconded by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and carried by acclamation, that

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN
do take the Chair.

It was moved by Wm. R. Byrne, Esq., J.P.,; seconded by the Very Rev. John P. Canon Farrell, P.P., and carried :

That Richard J. Devitt, Esq., T.C., Mark S. O'Shaughnessy, Esq., barrister-at-law, and Richard Paul Carton, Esq., barrister-at-law, be requested to act as secretaries to the meeting.

Letters of apology were read from the Very Rev. Charles W. Russell, D.D., M.A., Mynooth; the Right Hon. W. H. F. Cogan, M.P.; Chr. O'Connell Fitzsimon, Esq., D.L., etc.

It was proposed by the Right Hon. William Lane Joynt, D.L., Lord Mayor of Dublin; seconded by John O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., and resolved:

1. That we heartily sympathize with the reigning Pontiff, Pius the Ninth, in his present trials; and hereby proclaim our abhorrence of the unjust and wicked attacks which have, of late years, been made on his temporal sovereignty.

Proposed by David Sherlock, Esq., Q.C.; seconded by the Rev. T. N. Burke, O.P., and resolved:

2. That the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, legitimate in its origin, beneficent in its action, endeared to its own subjects, venerable in its historic associations, and the fruitful source of science and civilization, is entitled to the respect and gratitude of all true friends of justice and social progress.

Proposed by Right Hon. Richard More O'Ferrall, D.L., J.P.; seconded by Very Rev. Monsignor MacCabe, V.G., P.P., and resolved:

3. That in the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See we recognize an admirable arrangement of Divine Providence, necessary for the free exercise of the sacred mission entrusted by God to the successors of St. Peter.

Proposed by Charles Langdale, Esq., J.P.; seconded by Mr. Serjeant Barry, M.P., and resolved:

4. That in the name of religious freedom, the birthright of our holy faith, we protest against the sacrilegious attempts of the government of Victor Emmanuel to usurp the States of the Church, and to reduce the Sovereign Pontiff to the condition of a subject in an Italian kingdom; and accordingly we invite the Catholics of every nation to rally around the throne of the Vicar of Christ, to assert his rights, and to aid him by every means at their command to defend his state—the common inheritance of the whole Christian world.

Proposed by the Right Hon. Colonel Monsell, M.P., D.L.; seconded by the Hon. Judge Little, and resolved:

5. That in the name of justice and social order, we record our solemn protest against the calumnious attacks to which the government of the Holy See is day by day subjected by the anti-Catholic press and various associations of the United Kingdom, and against the open support given by them to the revolutionary societies of Italy.

Proposed by Sir James Power, Bart., M.P., D.L.; seconded by the Very Rev. John Curtis, S.J., and resolved :

6. That whilst we congratulate the Catholics of the whole world on their loyal attachment to the Holy Father, and on the many noble proofs they have given him of their sympathy and filial affection, we view with grief the apathy with which the governments of Europe have permitted his Holiness to be assailed in his rights and stripped of his territories.

Proposed by the Rev. Monsignor Forde, D.D., V.G., P.P.; seconded by Wm. Carroll, Esq., M.D., Lord Mayor Elect, and resolved :

7. That as Catholic France has assumed to herself the proud position of protectress of the Holy See, we call on the Emperor, by whose act other powers were prevented from intervening in the affairs of Rome, to take such decided and energetic measures as may insure the realization of the hopes of the Catholic world, and the restitution of all the territories of which his Holiness has been so unjustly despoiled.

Proposed by Sir John Gray, Knt., M.P., J.P.; seconded by Professor Wm. K. Sullivan, Ph.D. (Catholic University), and resolved :

8. That we hereby convey to the officers and soldiers of the Papal army the expression of our gratitude and admiration for the courage and devotedness displayed by them in the defence of the Patrimony of St. Peter, and for the heroism with which they have discomfited its irreligious and revolutionary assailants.

Proposed by Very Rev. Monsignor O'Connell, D.D., P.P., Dean of Dublin; seconded by Sir John Bradstreet, Bart., J.P., and resolved :

9. That the following address, embodying the sentiments to which we, as Catholics and Irishmen, bound to the successor of St. Peter by every tie of duty, affection, and gratitude, have given utterance, be adopted by this meeting, and that his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop be respectfully requested to forward it to his Holiness.

" MOST HOLY FATHER,

" We, the Clergy and people, your devoted children of the diocese of Dublin, humbly approach your throne to tender the expression of our undying attachment to your sacred person, and to record our solemn protest against the many assaults which, during the past years, have been made on your temporal sovereignty, and which still menace your inviolable rights.

" The devoted attachment of this kingdom in past ages to the See of St. Peter is known to the whole world : it is a prized inheritance dear to each one of us. But we beg to assure your Holiness that we yield not to our fathers in devotedness to that holy cause, and that at no period was Ireland more closely united to your sacred throne than at the present moment.

" To you, as Vicar of Christ on earth, duty, affection, and gratitude

unite us in the bonds of spiritual allegiance, and these same motives impel us to venerate you as a temporal ruler, whose sovereignty, the most ancient and beneficent of Christendom, is the guarantee of your free action as Head of the Church, and whose government, based on the principles of justice, is the source of so many blessings to society. And hence it is, Most Holy Father, that we indignantly repudiate the sentiments of those who vainly imagine they may assail with impunity your temporal rights, whilst they profess allegiance to your spiritual rule. No; your temporal independence is necessary for the exercise of your spiritual sovereignty, and, united with the faithful of the whole Christian world, we are resolved to use every legitimate means in our power to aid and assist you in its defence.

"Often indeed, Most Holy Father, have the glorious achievements of your pontificate been a source of consolation and joy to us. We rejoiced in the many fruits of your apostolic ministry, erecting new hierarchies, and gathering in new nations to the fold of Christ: we rejoiced when you returned from exile, triumphing over those who would once again overwhelm Europe with revolution and barbarism: we rejoiced when, in the name of the Catholic world, you presented a diadem of peerless glory to the Queen of Heaven: we rejoiced in the exalted wisdom displayed in the administration of your temporal dominions—a wisdom which elicited the admiration even of your enemies, and commended your rule to the affection and esteem of your own subjects: we rejoiced each time new names were added by you to the calendar of our patrons and of the models of Christian life: we rejoiced in the great moral and social truths which you solemnly promulgated: we rejoiced in the last great Centenary Feast, the common festival of all Catholics, and the echoes of our rejoicings have scarcely yet ceased to be heard amongst us.

"But at the same time, as loving children, we had more than once to share your sorrows and afflictions, Most Holy Father. Each insult offered to you, each attack upon your territory, each violation of your rights, each calumny uttered against your wise and provident administration, each betrayal by false friends, occasioned new sorrow, and excited our indignation against those who would wound the whole Church in its Head, and renew in his successor the chains and martyrdom of the Prince of the Apostles.

"And yet, Most Holy Father, it was to be expected that such trials and persecution would be your lot—the powers of darkness, by their impotent rage, should avenge their repeated discomfiture, and the storms of Genesareth should continue to gather around the mystic bark of St. Peter. But we know from the words of infallible truth these storms shall ever rage in vain around the Church of Christ, and though the deluge of human passions may submerge all things else, the Ark of God will ever ride triumphant on its waters. In His own good time, He whom the winds and waves obey will hush the storm, and calm and sunshine will once more smile upon His holy Church.

"It was only a few days ago that threatening clouds again foreboded danger to the Holy City, and the din of arms resounding through

the sanctuaries of Rome, excited in every breast anxiety and alarm lest these sanctuaries should be defiled, and lest your liberty should be imperilled ; but your faithful troops, fired with the spirit of the Maccabees of old, rolled back the revolutionary tide, and humbled to the dust the pride and boasting of the enemies of the Cross. All praise to those champions of Christ ; their heroism and devotedness will reflect lustre on their names till time shall be no more. And especially dear to us will ever be those martyrs of zeal and faith who sacrificed their lives in this noble cause ; their memory will be embalmed in our hearts, and their names, imperishably inscribed on the monuments of the Church, will remain as models of Christian heroism and faithful defenders of our holy faith.

" In conclusion, Most Holy Father, we again and again protest against the sacrilegious usurpation that would deprive you of any portion of the states of the Church, and thus endanger the free exercise of your spiritual power, and we invite the Catholics of all Ireland and of the whole Christian world to unite in this solemn protest.

" And now, praying that the seed sown in sorrow may bring forth a rich harvest of consolation to your Holiness, and that your sufferings for justice sake may be the harbinger of many joyous years of triumph, we, prostrate before your throne, implore your Apostolic benediction".

On the motion of Alderman John Campbell, J.P., the Cardinal Archbishop left the chair which was taken by the **LORD MAYOR**.

It was moved by Alderman Campbell; seconded by Hugh M'Ternan, Esq., J.P., and carried by acclamation :

That the respectful and hearty thanks of the diocese, and of this meeting in particular, are eminently due to the Cardinal Archbishop for his dignified conduct in the chair.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We have received the following communication from a venerated correspondent, on a matter of practical interest to many of our readers. We beg most respectfully to thank the writer, and to add that we shall always feel honoured by such proofs of the interest he takes in our periodical:]

To the Editors of the Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

GENTLEMEN,

Whilst you have, with your usual accuracy, stated in your November number, that incense is not allowed at a *Missa cantata*,

allow me to mention that the Holy See has granted it, as a favour, in the vicariate of Guinea, in the dioceses of Northampton and Southwark, and probably in other places. The faithful have sometimes been anxious that the favour should be obtained lest our chief mass should, through the absence of incense, resemble in any way the Anglican service. G.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO. VI.

THE existence of Fossil Remains is, then, a fact. Go where you will through the civilized world, and every chief town has its Museum, into which they have been gathered by the zeal and industry of man; descend where you can into the Crust of the Earth,—the quarry, the mine, the railway cutting,—and there, notwithstanding the plunder which has been going on for two centuries and more, you will find that the inexhaustible cabinets of Nature are still teeming with these remains of ancient life.

When we are brought, for the first time, face to face with these countless relics of a former world, we are impressed with a sense of wonder and bewilderment. That the skeletons before us, though now dry and withered, were once animated with the breath of life; that the trees now lying shattered and prostrate, and shorn of their branches, once flourished on the earth, we cannot for a moment hesitate to believe. But beyond this one fact, all is darkness and mystery. These gaunt skeletons, these uncouth monsters, these petrified forests, are silent, lifeless, as the rocks within whose stony bosoms they have lain so long embalmed. Had they speech and memory, they could tell us much, no doubt, of that ancient world in which they bore a part, of its continents, and seas, and rivers, and mountains; of the various tribes of animals and plants by which it was peopled, and of their habits and domestic economy; and how they lived, and how they died, and how they were buried in those graves

from which, after the lapse of we know not how many ages, they now come forth into the light of day. As it is, however, we can but gaze and wonder. We have nothing here but the relics of death and destruction: there is no feeling, no memory, no voice, in these dry bones; no living tenant in these hollow skulls, to recount to us the history of former times.

So thinks and reasons the ordinary observer. But far different is the language of the Geologist. These dry and withered bones, he tells us, *are* gifted with memory and speech; and, though their voice is not indeed like the common voice of men, their language is not, on that account, beyond our comprehension. Like the birds, and reptiles, and fish, and other symbols, inscribed on the obelisks of ancient Egypt, these bones and shells stored up in the Crust of the Earth, have a hidden meaning which it is the business of Science to search out and explain. They are Nature's hieroglyphics, which she has impressed upon her works to carry down to remote ages the memory of the revolutions through which our Globe has passed; and when we come to understand them aright, they do unfold to us the story of that ancient world to which they belonged.

We are now about to consider in what way Geologists attempt to fulfil this magnificent promise. It may be observed, at starting, that this branch of Geology is called *Palaeontology*, which means, as the word denotes—παλαιῶν ὅντων λόγος—the science which is concerned about the organic remains of ancient life. The honour of having been the first to place this science on a solid basis, in fact we may say the honour of having brought it into existence, is justly accorded to the distinguished Cuvier, whose name shed a lustre upon France during the early years of the present century. It is therefore still in its infancy; but it is alleged to have already rewarded the zeal of its students by many wonderful and unexpected revelations. We propose in the first place to examine the principles on which it is founded, and then to consider the conclusions to which it has led.

We shall begin with those more obvious principles which may be gathered from such a general survey of Fossil Remains as we attempted to sketch out in a former paper. For, though they escape the notice of most men, yet, lying as they do on the very surface of the facts, they can be understood without much show of argument. Moreover, what is very much to our present purpose, they confirm in a striking manner the Geological theory of Stratified Rocks, which we have been engaged in defending. These rocks, as the reader will remember, are said to have been slowly spread out, one above another, during the lapse of many ages, by the operation of natural causes; and we

have seen how this doctrine is supported by arguments founded on an examination of the rocks themselves,—of the materials that compose them, and of the way in which these materials are piled together. Now let us observe how clearly the testimony of Fossil Remains seems to point in the same direction.

First, the bones and shells which we now find in such profusion, deep in the Crust of the Earth, must have belonged to animals which, when living, flourished on what was then the surface. Yet now they are buried in the bosom of the hard rock, and covered over with beds of solid limestone, and sandstone, and conglomerate, hundreds and thousands of feet in thickness. How can we explain this fact, unless we suppose that these animals, when they perished, were imbedded in some soft materials, which afterwards became consolidated, and above which, in the course of ages, more and more matter was deposited, until at length that lofty pile of strata was produced, beneath which the remains are now found buried?

Again, it is part of our theory that the formation of Stratified Rocks took place, for the most part, under water. The Organic Remains, therefore, which we should naturally expect to find preserved in the strata of the earth, would be those of aquatic animals; or, if the remains of land animals were to be looked for, it should be of those chiefly which live near the banks of rivers and estuaries, and which, after death, might have been carried down by the current and buried in the silt and mud with which almost all rivers are charged at certain seasons of the year. We know as a fact that such animals are buried at the present day in the Deltas of the Ganges and the Mississippi; and it would be reasonable to suppose that the same should have occurred in former ages. Now here again the evidence of Fossil Remains exactly falls in with our theory. For the vast bulk of them are manifestly the remains of animals that lived in water; and the terrestrial animals, comparatively few, whose bones are preserved in the Crust of the Earth, are such as frequent the banks of great rivers or the marshy swamps of estuaries.

Thus much we may learn even from a cursory glance at Fossil Remains. But these curious monuments of ancient times have a deeper meaning, which cannot be unfolded without a more minute and laborious investigation. Our readers are aware that all the animals at present existing on the face of the Earth have been scientifically grouped together, according to certain well-marked characteristics, into various *kingdoms, classes, genera, and species*. Thus, for example, every one knows that the horse and the dog are two different *species*, belonging to the same *class of mammalia*; the eagle and the sparrow are two dif-

ferent *species* of the same *class* called *birds*. Then again the *class of mammalia* and the *class of birds* both belong to the one common kingdom of *vertebrata*; because, though different in many other respects, they agree in this, that all the members of both *classes* have a *vertebral* or spinal column, to which the other parts of the internal skeleton are attached.

Now when Cuvier began to examine closely the Organic Remains of former times, to which his attention was called by the bones dug up in the gypsum quarries of Montmartre, near Paris, about the close of the last century, he brought with him to the task a very large acquaintance with the various forms of life that, in the present age, prevail throughout the world: and he was greatly struck with the marked difference between the living animals with which he had been long familiar, and those with which he now became acquainted for the first time. The more he extended his researches, the more manifest did this difference appear; until at last it became quite clear that the great bulk of the animals whose remains are preserved in the Crust of the Earth, have no representatives now living on its surface. Nevertheless, he observed that, though the *species* no longer exists, it often happens that we have still *other species* of the *same genus*; or if the *genus*, too, be extinct, we have other *genera* of the *same class*. Here, then, is the first great truth at which Cuvier arrived, and which has been since confirmed by extensive observations:—that the animals which formerly inhabited this earth of ours, were, for the most part, widely different from those by which it is now inhabited: and yet that there is a well-defined likeness between them; that both have been created on a plan so strictly uniform, that the one and the other naturally find their place in the same system of classification.

As the science of Palæontology progressed, and new facts were day by day accumulated, another truth, not less important, was gradually but certainly developed. In the distribution of Fossil Remains through the various strata of the earth, there is a certain order observed, a certain regular law of succession, which cannot have been the mere result of chance, and which it is the business of science to unravel and explain. The facts are these. If we follow a particular set of *strata in a horizontal direction*, we find that the same fossils continue to prevail over hundreds of square miles, nay, often over a space as large as Europe, though beyond certain limits this uniformity of Fossil Remains will gradually be observed to disappear. On the other hand, when we penetrate *in a vertical direction through the strata*, we meet with the very opposite result. After a few hundred yards at the most, we find ourselves in the midst of a group of fossils, although different from those which we have passed in the bed above: and so on,

as we move downward, each particular set of strata is found to have an assemblage of fossils peculiar to itself.¹

We can have no reasonable doubt as to the truth of these facts. They have been established and confirmed by the observations of a whole host of geologists, whose researches have extended to all parts of the globe. Moreover we should observe that the negative evidence on the subject is not less convincing than the positive. Nothing is more easy than to refute a universal proposition if it is false. If it is not a fact that each group of strata, as we proceed downward, exhibits a collection of Fossils peculiar to itself, the assertion may be at once disproved by pointing out two or three different groups with the *same Fossils*. There are thousands of practical geologists at work all over the world, eager for fame; and any one of them would make his name illustrious if he could overturn a theory so generally received. Now, when a statement of facts can be easily disproved if untrue; and when, at the same time, there is a large number of men whose interest it would be to disprove the statement if possible; and when it is nevertheless *not* disproved; this circumstance, we contend, is a convincing argument that the facts *are* true. And such precisely is the case before us. We therefore think it unreasonable not to accept the facts.

Let us next examine what is their significance. Each group of strata, be it remembered, represents to us the animal life that flourished on the earth during the period in which that particular group was in progress of formation. It is, as it were, a cabinet in which are preserved for our instruction certain relics or memorials of that age in the world's history. Of course it is not a perfect collection; but only a collection of those remains that chanced to escape destruction, and by some natural embalming process to be saved from dissolution. When we learn, then, that there is a marked uniformity in the assemblage of Fossils that are spread out over a large horizontal area, in any group of strata, we conclude that, when that group was in course of formation, there was a certain uniformity in the animal life that extended over the corresponding area of the globe; just as, at the present day, the same species of animals are found to flourish over a great part of Europe, or of America. And if this uniformity of Fossil Remains does not extend horizontally to an indefinite distance, this is precisely what we should have expected from the analogy of existing creation: for when we examine the present distribution of animal life over the earth, we find a similar diversity to exist between countries that are far removed from one another, as, for instance, between Europe and Australia.

¹ See Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, pp. 94-95; *Principles of Geology*, p. 116; Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, pp. 410, 411.

In the next place, we are told that, as we proceed *downwards* into the Crust of the Earth, each successive group of strata has an assemblage of Fossils clearly distinct in character from those of the group above and of the group below. The conclusion to which this fact points is obvious enough. If, in the former case, we inferred that the animal life of any one period, considered in itself, was the same over extensive areas, in this case we must infer that the animal life of each successive period was *peculiar to that particular age*; being altogether distinct in its character from the animal life of the period that went before and of that which followed. It would appear, therefore, as Sir Charles Lyell puts it, "that from the remotest period there has been ever a coming in of new organic forms, and an extinction of those which pre-existed on the earth; some species having endured for a longer, others for a shorter time; while none have ever reappeared after once dying out".¹

Now, from these principles, Geologists have been gradually led to build up a system of *Geological Chronology*; in other words, to determine the *order of time* in which the numerous groups of strata that make up the Crust of the Earth have been formed, and thus to fix the age of each group in reference to all the rest. This Chronology is not reckoned by the common measures of time which are used in history, but rather by the successive *periods* during which each group of rocks was in its turn slowly deposited on the existing surface of the globe. For example, the Coal-measures that so abound in the North of England are very much older than the blueish clay on which London is built. But if we ask what is the difference between the age of the one and the other, we are answered not by days and years and centuries, but by the number of different formations that intervened between the two: we are told that the Coal-measures belong to the Carboniferous Formation; that this Formation was followed by the *Permian*, and that again in succession by the *Triassic*, the *Jurassic*, and the *Cretaceous*; and that, upon this last was spread out the *Eocene*, to which the *London Clay* belongs. Indeed, as regards the precise length of any given period, Geologists can offer nothing but the wildest conjectures. Some form their estimates in thousands of years, others in millions; and the wisest amongst them fairly confess they have no sufficient data to make an accurate computation. Nevertheless, they are all agreed in this, that the times of which we have record in history, that is to say, about the last six thousand years, are but a fraction of a single period; in fact, they are but as one day when compared to the long chronicle

¹ *Elements of Geology*, p. 95.

that is laid up in the Crust of the Earth. Our readers will be glad to learn something of the way in which this startling system of Geological Chronology is developed by its advocates.

At first sight, perhaps, it might be imagined that the order of time in which the various strata were deposited, can be easily learned from the relative position in which they lie. Since each stratum, when first produced, was spread out on the existing surface of the globe, it is clear that the one which lies uppermost in the series must be the newest, then that which lies next below, and so on till we reach the lowest of the pile, which must be the earliest of all. Nothing could be more satisfactory than this reasoning, if each stratum was spread out over the whole Earth, and if, after having been once deposited, it was never afterwards removed. We might then regard each stratum as a volume in the Natural History of the Globe, which, when it was finished, was laid down upon that in which the chronicles of the preceding age are kept preserved; and thus the position of every stratum would be in itself a sufficient evidence of the age to which it belongs.

But such is not the case. Nowhere does the Crust of the Earth exhibit a complete series of the Stratified Rocks laid out one above another. In any given section we can find but a few only of the long series of groups that are familiar to Geologists. And if we follow them on, in a horizontal direction, we shall invariably find that some of the strata will *thin out* and disappear, while new strata will gradually be developed between two groups that were before in immediate contact. Let it be observed, in passing, that this fact fits in most perfectly with the theory we have been all along defending. The Stratified Rocks were deposited under water; therefore, the strata of any given period were not *spread out over the whole Globe*, but at most over those parts only which, for the time, were submerged. With the next period came a change in the boundaries of land and water; and the formation of strata ceased in some localities and began in others: and so on from epoch to epoch. Thus the areas over which the process has been going on, have been, in every age, of limited extent, and have been ever shifting from place to place over the surface of the earth. Moreover, there is the opposite process of Denudation. Many of the strata deposited in the depths of the ocean must have been afterwards swept away by the breakers, as they slowly emerged from the waters, or at a later time, reduced to their original elements, and carried back to the sea by the action of rivers, rain, and frost. Hence it should seem, as well from the *fact* which is obvious to any one who will examine it, as from our *theory*, which harmonizes so completely with the fact, that the strata which we meet with in any

particular part of the Earth's surface present to us but a very broken and imperfect series of monuments. They are, as it were, but odd volumes of a long series, and, though they lie in juxtaposition, they may belong, nevertheless, to Geological epochs widely removed from each other.

Here, then, is the problem that remains to be solved:—to compare together the various groups of strata that we find spread out in different districts over an extensive area; to determine which of these groups belong to the same Geological periods, and which of them do not; and lastly, to arrange them all in one chronological series. Now it is chiefly by the aid of Fossil Remains that Geologists attempt to work out this important and difficult problem. We have already shown that the Fossil Remains which are found imbedded in each group of strata, represent the animal life of the period during which that group of strata was deposited. Moreover, we have seen that each period was marked by the existence of an animal creation specifically distinct in its character from all that went before and from all that followed. It is clear, therefore, that if, in two different districts, we meet with the same Fossils, the beds in which they are found must belong to the same Geological period: whereas, on the other hand, if two groups of rocks within certain limits, have, each of them a collection of Fossils, totally different from the other, it is a proof that these groups do *not* belong to the same period. Let us see now in what manner the practical Geologist proceeds to apply these general principles.

He takes first some one country, say England, and in that country he selects some one particular district. Here he examines a number of different sections, and makes himself familiar with all the strata of the neighbourhood, as well as with the order in which they lie. Let us suppose that he finds there different groups spread out one above the other, and let us call these groups A, B, and C. A being the lowest, B immediately above, and C above B. The chronological order of these strata will be, therefore, A, B, C. He will study the Fossil Remains which he finds imbedded in each group. For convenience we may designate the Fossils of A by the letter a, those of B by b, and those of C by c. Now, according to the principles we have already explained, these three collections of Fossils will be *specifically distinct* from one another, each collection being characteristic of one particular set of strata. Our Geologist next goes into a neighbouring district, and there examines a number of sections as before. Let us suppose that he encounters again the groups A and B. He may, perhaps, have been able to trace the beds from one district to the other, by observations made upon his line of route: or it may be that the nature of the

country renders these observations impossible; or that the observations were so imperfect that from *them* he could arrive at no certain conclusion regarding the identity of the strata. But at all events, if the new district yield an abundant supply of Fossils, he cannot long be at a loss. He will recognize the group A by the Fossils a, and the group B by the Fossils b. An important fact, however, soon attracts his attention. Group C has entirely disappeared, and is not to be found in this district; while between A and B there is a new group of rocks that he has not seen before, with a collection of Fossils different from a, b, and c. We will call this new group X, and its Fossils x. It is clear that the formation of X must have intervened between the formation of A and B; and the chronological order now stands A, X, B, C. In like manner another district may disclose a fourth group of strata, say Y, intervening between B and C. The chronological order will then stand A, X, B, Y, C. And thus the Geologist pursues his explorations until he has gone through the whole country, and arranged the principal groups of strata according to the order of time in which they were deposited.

In this way the whole of England has been minutely explored during the last half century. The task was first undertaken by William Smith, who is justly called the "Father of English Geology". After multiplied researches extending over a space of many years, during which he travelled over the whole country on foot, this eminent man published in 1815 his "Geological Map of England and Wales with part of Scotland"; a work which is described by Sir Charles Lyell as "a lasting monument of original talent and extraordinary perseverance".¹ Hundreds followed in the same course, exploring every day new districts, and, by the new facts which they brought to light, supplying what was wanting in the work of Smith, correcting what was faulty, and confirming what was true; until at length, in our day, it may be said that the Stratified Rocks of England are almost as well known and as completely mapped out as are its counties and its towns, its rivers, lakes, and mountains.

Meanwhile, the Geologists of the continent were not idle. Germany, France, and Italy have been extensively explored according to the principles we have explained; and, by a comparison of the results arrived at with the observations of English Geologists, the succession of strata over a great part of Europe has been pretty fairly ascertained. The following table, now generally adopted, represents in an abridged form the principal European formations, numbered according to the order of time in which they are supposed to have been produced:—

¹ *Principles of Geology*, p. 85.

13	POST-TERTIARY.	
12	PLIOCENE	
11	MIocene	}
10	EOCENE	TERTIARY OR CAINOZOIC.
9	CRETACEOUS	
8	JURASSIC	}
7	TRIASSIC	SECONDARY OR MESOZOIC.
6	PEMBIAN	
5	CARBONIFEROUS.	
4	DEVONIAN	
3	SILURIAN	
2	CAMBRIAN	
1	LAURENTIAN	

The reader will perceive that the series of Stratified Rocks is here divided into *three larger groups*, which represent the great *EPOCHS* of Geological time; and these again are subdivided into many smaller groups or *Formations*, which correspond to the successive *Periods* of each Epoch. Each *Formation* comprises in itself many different varieties of *rocks* laid out in successive *strata*, and each *stratum* is made up of many *beds* of varying thickness; even in the *beds* themselves we can often distinguish an almost infinite number of *laminæ* or thin plates, scarcely thicker than a sheet of paper, which correspond to the periodical depositions of matter by which the rock was originally formed. For our purpose, however, it will be enough to advert to the leading divisions set forth in the above table. The larger groups are called *Primary*, *Secondary*, and *Tertiary*; that is to say, *First*, *Second*, and *Third* in the order of formation. The other names, derived from the Greek, which are sometimes employed, have reference to Fossil Remains, which are imbedded in the rocks of each great Epoch. The *Primary* strata are called *Palæozoic*,—παλαιόν, *ancient*, and ξώον, *an organic being*,—because they contain the *oldest forms* of organic life: for a like reason the *Secondary* strata, which contain the *middle* or *intermediate* forms of organic life, are called *Mesozoic*,—from μέσον, *middle*, and ξώον; while the *Tertiary* are called *Cainozoic*,—καινόν, *new*, and ξώον,—inasmuch as they contain the *newest* or *most modern* forms of organic life.

Thus the names of the three great Geological Epochs are really *descriptive names*; that is, the obvious meaning of the words corresponds to the character of the strata which they are used to designate. But it is quite otherwise with the names of the several Formations; and this is a point which it is of the highest importance the Student of Geology should ever keep in mind. These names are purely arbitrary, and must be understood simply as *names* employed to designate the strata that were

formed in each successive Geological period, and *not to describe their character*. They generally had their origin in some accidental circumstance, or were derived from some particular locality; and afterwards, being perpetuated, gradually came to receive a much more extended application than that which the words themselves would seem to suggest. Thus, for instance, the *Cretaceous* Formation is so called from the remarkable stratum of white *chalk* (*creta*) which was deposited during that period over a great part of Europe; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the whole Formation is made up of chalk. On the contrary, in different localities it is composed of very different materials; near Dresden, for example, it is a gray quartzose sand-stone, and in many parts of the Alps it is a hard compact limestone.¹ Again, the *Devonian* Formation derives its name from the County of Devon, where the rocks of the Devonian period were first minutely examined; but we must not therefore infer that this Formation is peculiar to Devonshire; it is to be found in many other parts of England, also in Ireland, and on the continent of Europe. So, too, another Formation has received the name of *Carboniferous*, which literally means *Coal-bearing* (*carbo-fero*), because of the beds of Coal which are sometimes associated with its strata; and yet this Formation is often found quite destitute of Coal over a very extensive area.

With this sketch of Geological Chronology before us, we can now more fully realize to our minds the story we are told about the formation of the Earth's Crust. In the earliest age to which Geologists can trace back the history of the Aqueous Rocks—and they do not profess to trace it back to the beginning—this globe of ours was, as it is now, partly covered with water, and partly dry land; and the formation of stratified rocks went on in that age, as it is still going on, chiefly over those areas that were under water—not indeed throughout the entire extent of such areas, but over those portions of them to which mineral matter happened to be carried by the action of natural causes; and the Earth was peopled then as now, though with animals and plants very different from those by which we are surrounded at the present day; and some of these happened to escape destruction, and to be imbedded in the deposits of that far distant age, and have thus been preserved even to our time; and these strata with their Fossils are the same which we now group together under the title of the *Laurentian* Formation, and being the oldest we can recognize in the depths of the Earth's Crust, occupy the lowest position in our table of Chronology. Ages rolled on; and the Crust of the Earth was moved from within by

¹ Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, p. 115.

some giant force, and the bed of the ocean was lifted up in one place, and islands and continents were submerged in another, and so the outlines of land and water were changed; and with this change the old forms of life passed away and a new creation came in, and the *Laurentian* period gave place to the *Cambrian*. But the order of nature was still the same as before. The deposition of stratified rocks still continued, though the areas of deposition were, in many cases, shifted from one locality to another: and the organic life that flourished in the Cambrian times left its memorials behind it buried in the Cambrian rocks; and then that age, too, came to an end, and gave place in its turn to the *Silurian*; and this was, again, followed by the *Devonian*. Thus one period succeeded to another in the order set forth in our table, and every part of the globe was, in the course of ages, more than once submerged, and covered with the deposits of more than one age, and preserves the Organic Remains of more than one creation.

As we advance upwards in the series of Formations we soon perceive that the Fossil Remains, which in the earlier groups were scanty enough, become profusely abundant, until even the unpractised eye cannot fail to mark the peculiar character of each successive period;—the exuberant vegetation of the *Carboniferous* age, with its luxuriant herbage and its tangled forests, its huge pines, its tall tree-ferns, and its stately araucarias; then again, the enormous creeping monsters of the *Jurassic*, the ichthyosaurs, and the megalosaurs, and the iguanodons, which filled its seas or crowded its plains or haunted its rivers; and higher up in the scale, the colossal quadrupeds of the *Miocene* and the *Pliocene*, the mammoths, and the mastodons, and the megatheriums, which begin to approximate more closely to the organic types of our own age. But amidst all these various forms of life, the eye looks in vain for any relic of human kind. No bone of man, no trace of human intelligence, is to be found in any bed of rock that belongs to the Primary, Secondary, or Tertiary Formations. It is only when we have passed all these, and come to the latest Formation of the whole series, nay, it is only in the uppermost beds of this Formation, that we meet, for the first time, with human bones, and the works of human art.

Thus it appears pretty plain, even from the testimony of Geology, that man was the last work of the creation; and that, if the world is old, the human race is comparatively young. These broken and imperfect records, which have been so curiously preserved in the Crust of the Earth, carry us back to an antiquity which may not be measured by years and centuries, and then set before us, as in a palpable form, how the tender herbage appeared, and the fruit tree yielding fruit according to its kind;

and how the Earth was afterwards peopled with great creeping things, and winged fowl, and the cattle, and the beasts of the field; and then, at length, they disclose to us how, last of all, man appeared, to whom all these things seemed to tend, and who was to have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth. We do not mean just now to dwell upon the world's history which Geology presents to view: but we shall return to it in the sequel of these papers, when we come to consider how admirably the genuine teachings of Geology fit in with the inspired narrative of Moses; and how this science, although, like so many other, in the waywardness of its early youth, it assumed an attitude hostile to Religion, is now, like them, too, coming forward in its maturity to pay the tribute of its homage to the great cause of Revealed Truth.

It may here, very naturally, be asked, if these Geological records give us any information as to the manner in which each period of animal and vegetable life was brought to an end? Did the old organic forms gradually die out, and the new gradually come in to take their places? or were the one suddenly extinguished, and the others as suddenly produced? This question has been a subject of controversy among Geologists themselves; and therefore it is somewhat outside our scope, since we propose to exhibit only that more general outline of Geological theory which is accepted by all. Nevertheless, as it is a question that must needs occur to the mind of every reader, it seems to call for a few words of explanation as we pass along. In the infancy of Geology, it was commonly held that each great period was brought to an end by a sudden and violent convulsion of Nature. The Crust of the Earth was burst open in many places all at once; the bottom of the ocean was upheaved with a tremendous shock; the waters, driven from their accustomed bed, rushed with furious impetuosity over islands and continents; and the whole existing creation perished in a universal deluge. Then succeeded an interval of chaotic confusion, and when at length the waters subsided, and dry land again appeared, a new age in the history of the Globe was ushered in, and the Earth was again peopled by a new creation.

But this old theory has gradually given way as the Stratified Rocks have been more and more fully examined, and at the present day it is almost universally abandoned. Geologists have observed that the same species of Fossil Remains which prevail in the upper beds of one Formation, are met with also in the lower beds of the next, though in less numbers and mixed up with new species; and that, as we ascend higher and higher

into the later Formation, the old species gradually become more and more scarce, while the new are gradually becoming more and more numerous; until at length the characteristic forms of one age have disappeared altogether, and those of the succeeding age have attained their full development. For this important fact, which was brought to light within the last half century, we are mainly indebted to the unwearied researches and great ability of Sir Charles Lyell. Speaking of the Formations of the Tertiary Epoch, to which, as is well known, he has principally devoted himself, this distinguished writer sums up the result of his long investigation:—"In thus passing from the older to the newer members of the Tertiary system we meet with many chasms, but none which separate entirely, by a broad line of demarcation, one state of the organic world from another. There are no signs of an abrupt termination of one fauna and flora, and the starting into life of new and wholly distinct forms. Although we are far from being able to demonstrate geologically an insensible transition from the Eocene to the Miocene, or even from the latter to the recent fauna, yet the more we enlarge and perfect our general survey, the more nearly do we approximate to such a continuous series, and the more gradually are we conducted from times when many of the genera and nearly all the species were extinct, to those in which scarcely a single species flourished which we do not know to exist at present".¹ Hence, he concludes, and his conclusion is now the common doctrine of Geologists, "that the extinction and creation of species has been the result of a slow and gradual change in the organic world".²

It was long argued against this view, that we often meet, especially in the Primary and Secondary Formations, two groups of strata in immediate contact, one lying on the other, in which there is a perfectly sudden transition from one set of Fossil Remains to another altogether different. We find in each group a countless variety of species, and yet not a single species common to the two. Does it not appear that in such a case the organic life of one period was suddenly destroyed, and that of the next as suddenly introduced? Not so; there is one link wanting in the argument. It must be shown that these two strata which are now in *immediate contact* were originally deposited in *immediate succession*. But this it is impossible to prove: nay, it must needs be very often false. We have before observed that the areas of deposition were limited in every age, and were ever shifting from one locality to another. Therefore it must have been a frequent occurrence that, after one bed of rock was formed, the process of deposition ceased altogether in

¹ *Principles of Geology*, p. 312; tenth edition.

² Ib. 312.

that locality and did not begin again for many ages. Thus a long lapse of time often intervened between the deposition of two strata, which were laid out one immediately above the other. Moreover we have also seen that whole groups of strata may be swept away by Denudation; and then the rocks which are next deposited in that locality, will be in immediate contact with strata indefinitely more ancient than themselves. From these two considerations it is clear that the strata we find in any given spot of the Earth's surface present to us of necessity a very broken and imperfect series of records; and that it is only by exploring an unlimited number of different localities that we could hope to find a sample of the strata of every age. We may say, however, that in proportion as Geologists have hitherto extended their researches, and brought to light new strata, so have they been able to fill up the apparent gaps or chasms in the succession of organic life. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that, as our knowledge of the Earth's Crust becomes more and more minute, the sudden breaks in the continuity of the scale will be still further diminished and the successive stages of gradual transition more closely apparent.

This subject has been very happily illustrated by Sir Charles Lyell:—"To make still more clear the supposed working of this machinery, [for the deposition of Stratified Rocks and the preservation of Organic Remains,] I shall compare it to a somewhat analogous case that might be imagined to occur in the history of human affairs. Let the mortality of the population of a large country represent the successive extinction of species, and the birth of new individuals the introduction of new species. While these fluctuations are gradually taking place everywhere, suppose commissioners to be appointed to visit each province of the country in succession, taking an exact account of the number, names, and individual peculiarities of all the inhabitants, and leaving in each district a register containing a record of this information. If, after the completion of one census, another is immediately made on the same plan, and then another, there will, at least, be a series of statistical documents in each province. When these belonging to any one province are arranged in chronological order, the contents of such as stand next to each other will differ according to the length of time between the taking of each census. If, for example, there are sixty provinces, and all the registers are made in a single year, and renewed annually, the number of births and deaths will be so small in proportion to the whole of the inhabitants, during the interval between the compiling of two consecutive documents, that the individuals described in such documents will be nearly identical; whereas, if the survey of each of the sixty provinces occupies all the com-

missioners for a whole year, so that they are unable to revisit the same place until the expiration of sixty years, there will then be an almost entire discordance between the persons enumerated in two consecutive registers in the same province. . . .

"But I must remind the reader, that the case above proposed has no pretensions to be regarded as an exact parallel to the Geological phenomena which I desire to illustrate; for the commissioners are supposed to visit the different provinces in rotation; whereas the commemorating processes by which organic remains become fossilised, although they are always shifting from one area to the other, are yet very irregular in their movements. They may abandon and revisit many spaces again and again, before they once approach another district; and besides this source of irregularity, it may often happen that, while the depositing process is suspended, denudation may take place, which may be compared to the occasional destruction by fire or other causes of some of the statistical documents before mentioned. It is evident that, where such accidents occur, the want of continuity in the series may become indefinitely great, and that the monuments which follow next in succession will by no means be equi-distant from each other in point of time.

"If this train of reasoning be admitted, the occasional distinctness of the fossil remains, in formations immediately in contact, would be a necessary consequence of the existing laws of sedimentary deposition and subterranean movement, accompanied by a constant mortality and renovation of species".¹

There is another and a very striking fact in the succession of ancient organic life, which claims from us a moment's notice. As we proceed upwards through the series of Stratified Rocks, from the oldest to the newest, we find a gradual advance in the types of animal organization therein preserved, from the humbler and more simple forms of structure to those of a higher and more perfect character. That form of organization is regarded among Zoologists as the more perfect in which there is "a greater number of organs specially devoted to particular functions": Now all the forms of animal life with which we are acquainted may be reduced to two great divisions, the *Vertebrate* and the *Invertebrate*,—the former having a *vertebral* or spinal column, the latter having none: and it is agreed in conformity with the notion set forth above, that the *vertebrate* animals as a class exhibit a more perfect organization than the *invertebrate*. Again among the *vertebrates* themselves there is a gradation; the *reptiles* are ranked higher than the *fish*, the birds higher than the *reptiles*, and the *mammalia* higher again than the *birds*.

¹ *Principles of Geology*, pp. 321, 322.

All this we learn from Zoologists, who have pursued their investigations without any reference whatever to the science of Geology. It is, therefore, not a little remarkable when we discover this very order and gradation of animal life in the successive groups of Stratified Rocks. All the Remains of the earliest Geological Formations belong to *invertebrate animals* while the *vertebrate*, which are discovered for the first time in the Devonian Period, are, from that age on, more and more fully developed down to the present day, and now constitute, if not the most numerous, at least the most important part of the animal creation. Moreover, it is to be observed, the *vertebrate* animals do not all make their appearance at once, but come in successively according to the same scale of organic perfection,—the *fish* appearing first, then the *reptiles*, then the *birds*, and lastly the *mammalia*. Even among the *mammalia* a well defined order of progressive succession has been observed, which finally culminates in the appearance of man, the last created and the most perfect of animals.

And so Geologists go on ever searching out new phenomena, and grouping them together in two classes, until from particular facts they lead us to general truths; and then starting with these general truths as the groundwork of their science, they proceed to sketch out the Natural History of our Globe from the remotest ages of the past down to the present time. They study the stratified deposits of each succeeding age, and they analyze the Fossil Remains imbedded therein, and then they make their inferences, and then compile their history. They describe the forms, and the character, and the habits, of the organic life that flourished of old in this world of ours, and they tell us where the deep sea rolled its waves in each succeeding age, and where the dry land appeared; and they point out the Deltas of its ancient rivers, and measure the breadth of its Estuaries, and trace the course of its Glaciers, and mark the outlines of its Mountain chains. But with these and such like speculations we are not concerned. Many of them are open to controversy, and not a few are at this moment warmly disputed among Geologists themselves: besides, whether true or false, they do not in any way affect the relations between Geology and Revealed Religion. We shall be quite content, and it is all that our present scope demands, if we have made intelligible the general theory of Geological Chronology, and the kind of evidence on which it rests.

Before taking leave of the subject, however, we will venture to offer what seems to us a very interesting illustration of the principles we have been explaining in this paper,—one that will help to confirm the conclusions for which we have been contend-

ing, and that will also bring home to many minds the practical advantage to be derived from a thorough knowledge and just application of Geological science. Perhaps, too, it may help to revive the flagging attention of our readers; for the subject of our illustration is *Coal and the way to find it*. In this age of manufactories and steam engines,—when the atmosphere of great towns is heavy with smoke, and the quiet solitude of the country is so rudely disturbed by the shrieking of the railway whistle and the snorting of the sooty locomotive,—this black dirty mineral has acquired a value and an importance, which can succeed in rousing even the practical money-making man to pay some heed to the lessons of science.

Coal might have been formed in any Geological Period; and in point of fact, beds of Coal have been discovered in many different Formations. But in England and in Western Europe generally, it has been found by long experience, that the Coal beds of the *Carboniferous age* are more abundant and of better quality than those of any other. Indeed the beds of Coal that occur in other Formations are so thin, and of such inferior quality, that they cannot be worked with profit. It is therefore of the highest importance in the search for coal, before going to the enormous expense of sinking deep shafts to discover whether or no the rocks in which the search is to be made, belong to the Carboniferous Period. In this matter the mere *practical man* is often seriously at fault. Coal-bearing strata generally consist pretty largely of dark-coloured clay, and black shales, and similar deposit.¹ This is a fact that strikes the eye and with which the coal-miner is familiar. Hence when he meets with strata of this kind, he is apt at once to infer that Coal is near at hand. The Geologist, on the contrary, knows well that such strata are not peculiar to the Carboniferous rocks, but are often found in other Formations in which there is no Coal at all, or at least no Coal that will repay the expense of working; and therefore he will pronounce it most rash to undertake heavy works on the strength of these appearances. He has learned, however, that there are certain species of animals and plants which are found in the Carboniferous rocks and in them alone; he will search for these in the strata which it is proposed to explore; and by the result of his investigations he will know for certain whether these strata belong to the Carboniferous Formation or not.

Again it will often happen that, in the middle of a country well known to abound in Coal, the rocks which appear at the surface in a particular locality, are not only wholly devoid of Coal, but exhibit no resemblance either in mineral character or in Fossil Remains to the coal-bearing strata. A question here

¹ Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, p. 423.

arises of the highest practical importance. May it be that the coal-bearing strata are spread out beneath this uppermost bed of rocks? and is it worth the expense to sink a shaft through the one in order to reach the other? The practical miner has no very clear or certain principles to help him in the solution of this problem: and thus it has often happened that thousands and thousands of pounds have been expended in sinking shafts to look for Coal, where, as it afterwards proved, there was not the slightest chance of finding it.¹ Now, though Geology cannot tell if we shall succeed in finding Coal beneath these rocks, it *can* tell if there is a *good chance* of succeeding. It can tell whether there is a reasonable hope by penetrating into the Crust of the Earth at this particular spot, of reaching the Carboniferous Formation; and if we can reach the Carboniferous Formation in the midst of a Coal district, it is very likely we shall meet with beds of Coal. His first object will be to ascertain what is the Formation to which the superficial rocks belong. If it be a Formation earlier in date than the Carboniferous,—the Silurian, for instance, or the Devonian,—he knows that it would be simply waste of money to look for Coal beneath them; because the Carboniferous rocks cannot possibly be found underneath the rocks of an earlier age. And so the Geologist can tell beforehand what the mere practical man would only find out when he had spent his money. If, on the other hand, the rocks which appear at the surface belong to a period later than the Carboniferous, the Geologist will not always conclude that it is expedient to sink a shaft in search of Coal. For though the Carboniferous rocks may, in this case, be underneath, they may be so far down in the Crust of the Earth that we should have no chance of ever reaching them. Suppose, for example, that the strata which appear at the surface belong to the Cretaceous Formation. Referring to our Chronological table, we find that the Carboniferous age is separated from the Cretaceous by three intermediate Periods,—the Permian, the Triassic, the Jurassic. Therefore, when we find the Cretaceous rocks at the surface in any locality, it is quite possible, though of course not certain, that before we could reach the Carboniferous Formation, we should have to bore through thousands of feet of Jurassic, Triassic, and Permian rocks. And even then we cannot be sure of meeting with the coal-bearing strata; for perhaps they were never deposited over this area of the earth's surface, or, if deposited, perhaps they were subsequently swept away by Denudation. Hence we should reasonably conclude, that the expense of the search would probably be so enormous, and the chance of success so slight, that it would be much wiser not to make the attempt.

¹ Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, p. 428.

THE PAPAL ZOUAVES.

THE appearance of the Papal Zouaves in modern European society is like the flush of returning health on the face of one wasted by illness. It is a sign that the worst is passed and that there is hope for the future. The wounds that fester worst in the heart of Europe are infidelity, pusillanimity, and self-indulgence, and it is precisely to these that the Zouaves oppose their spirit of faith, their energy, their self-sacrifice. The loss of faith, which is the logical result of Protestantism, has led men to blaspheme whatever claims to be supernatural. Hence the attacks on the Papacy, the struggle to get hold of the education of the young, the marvellous abuses which have made the press a curse instead of a blessing to society. And this diabolical activity has too often paralysed the energies even of the well-disposed. The children of this world were wiser than the children of light; and the latter, who love to possess their souls in peace, shrank, too timidly, from confronting the unscrupulous audacity and wickedness of the enemies of society. And thus a few men without conscience and without principle—the heads of secret societies—have come to exercise a terrible sovereignty over the masses and even over those who rule the masses. Such men have found their most powerful auxiliary in that love of pleasure and self-indulgence which is so marked a feature of our age, which it is part of their own plan to foster, and which has left the manhood of Europe enervated in will and intolerant of all salutary control.

Every man among the Papal Zouaves furnishes at once a protest against this state of things and a salutary lesson of virtue to all. From what we have been able to collect concerning some few among them, the reader will be able to learn what manner of men they are who have renewed in the nineteenth century the Christian chivalry of the ages of faith.

The virtues of the Irish and English Zouaves have been of late so fully brought before our readers that we need not describe them here. We confine ourselves, therefore, to a few from among the Zouaves of France and Holland.

Bernard de Quatrebâbes, as we learn from a notice of his life compiled¹ by one who was his class fellow and cousin, was born at Nantes, 14th February, 1840, and was the eldest son of the Marquis Louis de Quatrebâbes. He studied at the school of St. Francis Xavier at Vannes, and afterwards at that of Ste. Genevieve. He had just completed his studies when, in 1860, the defeat of the Papal cause at Castellidardo brought sorrow

¹ See *Etudes, etc.*, December, 1867.

to so many Christian hearts. After mature and careful deliberation he presented himself to General Lamoriciere to serve in the Pontifical army as a volunteer. On his arrival in Rome he chose the Zouaves, among whom there were already many of his relatives and acquaintances, but it was represented to him that he would be of more use in the artillery. He at once made the sacrifice of his own will, and entering the Foreign Battery under command of Captain Dandier, he served as a simple private for seven years, discharging in silence and humility the rude and mean offices of a soldier's life. If voluntary exile from his country, if separation from a family by him most tenderly loved, if poor fare and a hard life deliberately chosen, instead of the comforts and elegance of a lordly home, and all this from a motive of religion, are proofs of a noble nature and of ripe virtue, the seven years service of Bernard de Quatrebarbes is more glorious than many a brilliant victory won on the battle field.

His disinterestedness was heroic: his superior officers, moved by his abilities and admirable conduct, had resolved to raise him to the rank of officer. Bernard, however, learned that this could not be done without prejudice to the claims of one of his comrades, an Italian and like himself a volunteer, who had no other means of support. Without saying a word to any one, he at once took all necessary steps to have the command conferred on his companion. This generous act obliged him to remain in the ranks for many long months. Later on the Foreign Battery was incorporated with the native artillery, the volunteers who had composed it passing, if they so wished, into the ranks of the Zouaves. Bernard, in his devotion to the cause, still chose to remain at the post he had been assured was the one in which he could be most useful. Admired by all, he was at length made an officer, and became the idol of his men.

When the agitations of last September commenced, Lieutenant de Quatrebarbes was about to retire for a few months to his home. But in view of the threatening danger he remained at his post. He was sent to Monte-Rotondo with a detachment of artillery. A column acting under command of M. de Charette, had received orders to dislodge the Garibaldians from the positions they were occupying on the frontiers. Nerola was the enemy's head-quarters, and against it the attack was to be directed. It was soon found that without cannon the place could not be taken, except at a tremendous sacrifice of life. M. de Quatrebarbes undertook to bring up his field pieces, and by wonderful efforts, succeeded in keeping his word. His guns soon opened a breach in the tower, and it was this that forced the Garibaldians to surrender their position. He himself thus writes of this his first engagement: "At last I have heard the

balls whistle; I am now content. I had long desired to be under fire. I had no fear. No doubt, I thought that death might overtake me every minute; but this thought did not affect my will. I gave all my attention to what I had to do, so that I had no mind for anything else. Thank God for me. I was able to go to confession and communion on the eve of my departure".

On Friday, 25th October, the battle of Monte Rotondo commenced. Four thousand Garibaldians surrounded the place defended only by two companies of the legion and one of Swiss Carabineers. They soon succeeded in gaining possession of some houses situated near the Porte Romana, and that from their fine vantage ground told with fatal effect upon the besieged. Captain Costa, who commanded, perceived that if possible they should be at once dislodged, and asked Lieutenant de Quatrebabes if he could bring one of his guns to bear on the houses to demolish them. The lieutenant replied that his men would be terribly exposed, but that he would venture. "We sallied out", he himself writes, "with our piece ready charge 1; there was nothing to be done but to fire. At first I alone went outside the gate to find out the exact spot to place the battery, so as to protect my men. There was none of the enemy's infantry near enough to charge us with the bayonet, and even if they did, the legion who were on guard at the gate, were ready to sally out to our aid. But such was the nature of the ground that our own infantry fire could be little use. The Garibaldians, seeing our manoeuvre, fled from the houses, and took up a position on the right, out of range from the town, and commenced a terrible fire upon us".

A perfect shower of bullets fell upon the place where the brave soldier stood directing his piece. Hardly had he given the word to fire, when two bullets struck him. One broke his left arm in three places, the other shattered to pieces his right hand.

"At that moment", he wrote afterwards to his mother with his mutilated hand, "I felt all of a sudden a violent pain in the left elbow, and a still more painful numbness between the arm and the hand. I confess that I lost myself for a moment. Self-love would have made me brave; it was not powerful enough to make me overcome nature and check my groans. Not that I uttered any cry; but still a few words such as, *My God, what pain!* may have looked like poor courage to the soldiers who were with me. Thus wounded, I retired within the gates, for I was fainting; then, supported by a legionary and an artillery soldier, I went slowly towards the hospital, where I was attended by the surgeon of the village and by the military surgeon".

When Monte-Rotondo was delivered from the Garibaldians, Quatrebabes, who was well treated by his captors, had the happy-

ness of embracing once more not only his gallant comrades, but also his father, who had hurried to Rome at the first news of his son's wound. He was carried to Rome on one of the river steamers, but no care could check the inflammation produced by his wounds. Amputation was proposed, but the proposal gave him great affliction. It was only at his father's wish that he consented to the painful operations which took place on 16th November. The Marquis de Quatrebarbes knelt by the pillow of his son, and in that position he was told by a priest who had just come from the Vatican that the Holy Father, hearing that the operation was about to begin, had burst into tears, and had knelt down to pray for the devoted sufferer.

The agony after the operation was extreme. Bernard, aware of his danger, asked for his mother. But his mother was herself seriously ill at home in France. His sister and aunt were soon by his side to comfort him. He welcomed her with indescribable joy. "Tell me about my mother", he cried over and over again, "tell me about my mother, my sisters, my brothers". It was a bitter affliction to him that if he survived he would never be able to do anything. He said to the Sister of Charity who attended him, "My sister, the good God has given me much suffering; but I don't complain; all He does is well done".

The end was now drawing near. Bernard asked the chaplain to be allowed to receive the Holy Communion as Viaticum oftener than once a week. He turned to his sister saying, "Pray you for me, to-morrow I am to receive my God, and I am not able to pray to prepare myself". He then requested them to recite the Rosary out loud, he himself taking care to say it in a low tone. Towards evening he made them read for him the Imitation of Christ on entire submission to the will of God in trials and afflictions. "That is beautiful", he said, "read on". And soon after he again interrupted the reader, saying, "How God has visited me! I who never desired anything but to enjoy a tranquil life with my family, and who yet have always been away from home! How God visits me! I have no wish to murmur, for I know that He is infinitely good, that He loves us exceedingly, and that He does all for our greater good. Even the things we don't understand, and which may sometimes seem to us a little harsh, all are for our good. I know it, and therefore I wish what He wishes, and I offer myself entirely to Him. Oh! if I could but refrain from feeling sorrow. . . . But it gives me consolation to think that God once said, 'Let this chalice pass from me'".

The next morning he received the Viaticum with the most lively sentiments of faith. His strength was now fast ebbing; an interior fire consumed him and caused him exquisite pain.

He was calm, and from time to time repeated the words, "My God!" as if offering to his Creator the sufferings that were purifying his soul.

On 22nd November, in the evening, he received the Extreme Unction. He could no longer speak; but his sister pronounced slowly for him the names Jesus and Mary, and some acts of resignation to God's will, and the dying man, unable to express in words that he joined in the prayer, expressed it by gentle sighs. He was conscious to the last, and towards midnight quietly breathed his last without agony and without fear.

Thus lived and thus died one of the noblest of Frenchmen, who was proud to be one of the soldiers of the Pope. Let us now turn to heroes whose rank in life was more humble than his, but whose merits before God and man were equally splendid.

Peter Jong, the Dutch Zouave, who is now the popular hero of his native country, was a young villager of twenty three years of age, the sole support of his widowed mother, whose farm he cultivated with his own hands. One day towards the end of 1865 his mother was reading from the newspaper that some of the young men of Holland were leaving home to take service in the Pope's army. "What brave fellows they are", cried she in admiration. "Mother", suddenly replied her son, "if you give me leave, I will do the same: it would be such a happiness to die for the faith". The mother understood that God called for her child, and without hesitation replied: "I give you leave: you may go". In a few days Peter went to say goodbye to the burgomaster of Lutjebrock, his native village. "My friend", said the great man, "what are you doing? why should you go to a foreign country to fight for a foreign king?" "I beg your pardon, sir; I am not going to fight for a foreign king in a foreign country. The country where I am going is the country of all Catholics, of which the Pope is king; and it is for this king that I am ready to sacrifice all, even my life". When he was on the point of starting one of his companions who had come to say farewell said to him: "You will give it to them, won't you, if they attack the Pope". "That I will: I'll hit them so hard that you'll hear talk of it here". He was as good as his word.

The Dutch newspapers which furnish these details give also some of Jong's letters, full of vigour and simplicity. On February 21, 1866, he wrote, after coming home from St. Peter's, to his mother: "When the Protestants tell you that St. Peter's chair is worm-eaten, say that it's false; tell them that Peter Jong, and his cousin, William, have seen it, and add that it is so solid that no devil will be able to overthrow it, nor Victor Emmanuel nor all his clique". Another letter is dated 10th January, 1867. "You tell me it is reported that I am a corporal. Better report

that than that I was locked up. But neither would be true: I am not a corporal. You know that it was not for that I came here. I wish to be a Zouave, and I am content to do what my officer tells me to do so. Besides this I am ready, if necessary, to sacrifice my life for the Catholic faith. If God does not want this sacrifice, I will go home again to take up my work". And in another letter of 22nd September, three weeks before his death: " You would be delighted to see me go home, my dearest mother, in my Zouave uniform. But the time is not come. We are likely to have something to do here soon. . . . On holidays we carry three standards: the first is red, and signifies that blood will flow when they attack us; the second is yellow and white, blessed by the Holy Father, and it signifies that there is joy in the army, and that all are full of courage; the black one indicates that we will never give up fighting as long as a single Zouave remains alive".

It need not be repeated here how at Monte Libretti, Peter Jong, after having killed in unequal fight fourteen of the Garibaldians, knelt down that he might meet his death like a Christian.¹ His mother on hearing of his death cried out: " Then I shall never see my Peter again in this world; but I shall find him in heaven. And now I have not the consolation of having a son in the Pope's army". Some one here interrupted her, asking: " What! if you had another son would you really let him go?" " If I had many sons I would let every one of them go". In a few days in the subscription list for the Papal army in the *Tyd* newspaper, there was this: " Mrs. Jong, for the wounded at Monte Libretti, where my beloved Peter gave his life for the cause of God, of the Church, and of the Pope, twelve florins". Some of the newspapers related that on hearing of her son's death she wept: " That is not true", she observed, " they are calumniating me".

Another mother had given permission to her son also to join the Pope's army. On the eve of their departure it was late when they retired to rest. When the mother thought her son was asleep, she stole into his room and knelt down at the foot of his bed. The young man was sleeping; but waking suddenly he perceived his mother, and implored of her to take her rest, that her fretting would make her ill. " And what would you do, my son, if your going away would make me ill and cause my death?" The young man hesitated for a moment, and then said: " I would go". The heroic mother stood up proud and happy and embraced her son: " Go, my child, you are worthy to shed your blood for the cause of God".

¹ One of his comrades wrote home to the parish priest who had loved them both: " You need not pray for Jong; he lived like a saint, he died like a hero".

On the same day and in the same engagement in which Jong lost his life, John Stephen Crone of Groningue was also slain. From his childhood this angelical young man burned with the desire of shedding his blood for the faith. When he heard of the troubles in Rome, he rejoiced that at length the long-wished for opportunity had arrived. "If you were to offer me the full of that table of gold", said he to one of his brothers who was a goldsmith, "I would not take it to give up my intention". He wrote from Rome to his mother: "What happiness for the man who will shed his blood even to the last drop; the martyrs of all ages will come to meet him to bring him to heaven".

Louis Mogel, belonging to a very respectable family at Limbourg, wrote after the affair at Bagnorea. He could not refrain from tears at the sight of the profanations perpetrated by the Garibaldians in the church and convent of that place. He wished to atone with his life for these horrible sacrileges, and repair thereby the insults offered to the honour of God. "Farewell", he wrote to his parents, "farewell! If you hear of my death, do not weep; but rather intone the *Alleluia*".

Peter Willems of Telbourg, who was present at Bagnorea, wrote home between one battle and another: "You cannot believe what a glorious campaign is this of ours, to fight the enemies of the Church! While charging the Garibaldians at the point of the bayonet, over heaps of their slain, I thought I saw the heavens open. Farewell, my beloved parents; farewell, my brothers and sisters; a thousand times farewell! I tear myself away from all that is dear to me. I hope to hear to-morrow again the word of command, *Charge for Pius the Ninth! Farewell!* I will write after each engagement, if they don't kill me; if I fall, some one else will give you the news".

After the battle he thus wrote of the Garibaldian prisoners: "Most of the *liberators* of Italy have never spent their time so well as since they were taken prisoners. Our beloved Pope-King looks on these unfortunate fellows as poor weak men who have allowed themselves to be corrupted, but whose heart is still capable of good. Let us hope that they may be converted here. Although the Netherlands are far away, you can help this good work by praying for these poor fellows. Beg of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to bestow upon them the treasures of His graces. Their conversion will be truly a consolation for that Divine Heart, especially now when so many souls are being lost".

And again: "What battles are before us! Happily, we have no need to ask like Pilate, *What is truth?* We believe that Our Saviour is represented by His Vicar Pius the Ninth. If, therefore, it be required, we will give the last drop of our blood for the peace of the Church . . . We know that God has no need of us to give

peace to His Church ; but in what school does He form His elect, except in that of sacrifice ? Help us a little ; the evil is great, and demands powerful remedies. Such is the unity of the Church, that it is easy to know in the present circumstances who is Catholic and who is not. The Head is suffering ; all good Catholics ought to suffer with him. This is the true sign of love".

Another who escaped unhurt appears to make an apology for his safety : " I have been present at all the engagements, except at Bagnorea. I could not be everywhere, but I took a share of all. I have been seven times under fire. To day I mount guard at St. Peter's—always for the Holy Father".

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TEXT OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES—I. JOHN, v. 7.

(Concluded from our last.)

If in the fifth century, the text of St. John was in use throughout the entire African Church, it is not surprising that Vigilius Tapsensis, and, soon after, Fulgentius, and the author of the work against Pintas, fearlessly adduced it as of unquestionable authority in the disputes with the Arians. "*Unitum nomen divinitatis clause est declaratum, dicente Joanne evanglista in epistola sua* : Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus, et in Christo Iesu unum sunt. . . . Vides quia in deitate et in substantia plenitudinis per omnia una sunt, et in nominibus personarum tres sunt".¹ In the same way St. Fulgentius appeals to the text in the book of the replies to the objections of the Arians (obj. 10th), and in that *De Trinitate* (c. 4) also, the author of the book against Pintas n. 8. 2.² But in the first place, Fulgentius joins to his quotation the other one already used by St. Cyprian in the third century. "*In Patre ergo et Filio et Spiritu Sancto unitatem substantiae accipimus, personas confundere non audemus. Beatus enim Joannes Apostolus testatur, dicens*: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus; et tres unum sunt. *Quod etiam beatissimus martyr Cypriannus in epistola de unitate Ecclesiae confitetur . . . Atque haec confessim testimonia de Scripiuris inseruit (Cyprianus)*: Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unus sumus. *Et iterum*: De Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et tres unum sunt". Therefore, neither Fulgentius nor the

¹ Vigil, Tapsens, *De Trinitate*, lib. 1. Biblioth. Max. PP. tom. viii. page 775 ; lib. x. page 793.

² Opp. S. Eulgentii, ed. Paris, 1864, pag. 68, 331, 540.

other African bishops exiled in Sardinia had any doubt about the use of the verse in the churches of Africa in the third century, or about its being quoted by St. Cyprian.

However, critics have done what they could to create doubts about the fact of its having been cited by St. Cyprian; and this in order to strengthen the opinion advanced by Scholz and others, that Vigilius Tapsensis was the first to appeal to this passage, and that it should be rejected not only from the body of the text, but even from the margin. They urge, that in the place where, according to Fulgentius,¹ St. Cyprian appeals to the three heavenly witnesses, the appeal is not made to the seventh verse, but to the three witnesses, the spirit, water, and blood, of the eighth verse, which three things, according to the mystic interpretation by St. Augustine,² were supposed to signify the three Divine Persons. But we reply, 1° this interpretation was quite unheard of before St. Augustine's time;³ 2° St. Augustine had recourse to this mystic signification solely to support his too wide assertion, that in Scripture the word *unum* was not applied to more things than one, unless they were consubstantial. Nor did he advance this mystic interpretation as certain, or necessary, but merely by way of conjecture to meet objections brought against hermeneutical canon. Hence he would never have adduced his the eighth verse as a clear proof of unity and trinity.⁴ And this interpretation, unknown before Augustine's time, was not adopted after his day by any save a few^b influenced by his authority, and

¹ *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, ed. Bal. p. 196.

² *Contr. Maximin. Arian*, lct. I. cap. xxii. n. 3.

³ F. Mathaei asserts in his edition of the New Testament, that Athanasius, tom. 2, pag. 180, explains v. 8 of the Divine Persons. But this is false. We have consulted three different editions of Athanasius, and we have found nothing of the kind at the place quoted, or elsewhere. In the dispute against Arius, attributed to Athanasius. tom. 2, p. 229, n. 44. the words *hi tres unum sunt*, are certainly taken from the seventh, not from the eighth verse.

⁴ St. Augustine's words are: *Ne forte nicas spiritum et aquam et sanguinem diversas esse substantias et tamen dictum esse, TRIS UNUM SUNT; propter hoc admonui ne fas laris. Haec enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint sed quid ostendunt, semper attenditur.....Tria itaque novinus de corpore Domini exisse, cum penderet in ligno.....si vero ea quae significata sunt velim inquirere, non absurde occurrit ipsa Trinitas, qui nunc solus, verius, summus est Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.....ut nomine spiritus significacionem accipiamus Deum Patrem.....nomine autem sanguinis Filium.....et nomine aquae Spiritum Sanctum.....Si quo autem alio modo tanti sacramenti ista profunditas, quae in epistola Joannis legitur, exponi et intelligi potest secundum catholicam fidem.....nulla ratione respuendum esse, etc.*

^b Besides Facundus Herminianensis, this Eucherius of Lyons mentions this mystic interpretation *De quaestionebus N. Test., Bibl. Max. PP.*, tom. vi., p. 853.

Primum irones Christi auctoritatem divinam in Codicibus emendatis iugis exercitatione meditentur.....ne vitu librariorum impoliis mentibus inolescant. Quamvis omnis Scriptura divina superna luce resplendeat.....in Psalterio tamen et Prophetis et epistolis Apostolorum studium maximum laboris impendi.....quos ego cunctos novem Codices auctoritatis divinas, ut senex potui, sub collatione prisorum Codicum, amicis ante me legentibus sedula lectuone transivi (CASSIODOR., Praef.

in itself is too far fetched and improbable.¹ When, therefore St. Cyprian and other fathers, before Augustine and after him, those who were not influenced by Augustine, e.g. Pseudo Athanasius in *Disput. contra Arian.*, n. 44, employ as a proof of the Trinity the words *De Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto Scriptum est, tres unum sunt*, they must be understood as alluding to the seventh and not to the eighth verse of St. John.

Facundus Herminianensis, who addressed to the Emperor Justinian, at Constantinople, his books on the three chapters, refers² St. Cyprian's citations to the eighth verse. But, first of all, it seems that Facundus confounded the Greek codices, in which the seventh verse is wanting, with the Latin codices, in which, as we have shown, it was certainly found in the time of Facundus in the African churches. This confusion is made apparent by the way in which the quotation is made; for, on the one hand, the writer implies that he was entirely unacquainted with the seventh verse, whilst, on the other hand, he retains from the Latin codices the words *in terra: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra*; now the phrase *in terra* implies the corresponding testimony of the witnesses *in caelo*. All Greek codices which omit verse 7, omit from verse 8 the words *in terra*. Now, Facundus, writing among the Greeks to a Greek emperor, neglected the seventh verse on account of the common Greek reading, and then, as an African, being well versed in the argument against the Arians drawn by the African bishops from the I. John, in order not to deprive his cause of the argument from the *tres unum sunt*, preferred to copy St. Augustine's mystic interpretation of the eighth verse. When once he adopted this method, it was but natural for him to refer St. Cyprian's translation to the same eighth verse. But the words themselves, and the history of the mystical interpretation, do not lend themselves

ad Institut. div. litt.). And elsewhere: *Quoniam Pater Augustinus (Doct. Christ., lib. ii, cap. xv) communi-t ita divens: Latini Codices idest veteris novique Testam- menti, si necesse fuerit, Graecorum auctoritate corrigendi sunt..... ideoque nobis (monachis Vivariensibus) et Graecum Pandecten reliqui comprehensum in libris sep tuaginta quinque, etc. (ib., cap. xiv).*

"Non putasse se quemquam theologine tironem ignorare. Patres latinos excepto Hieronymo graece nescientes uti non potuisse Codicibus graecis (l. c., sect. iii)."

Michælis, who was one of the first to assail this verse 7, being asked by one of those who maintained it to be genuine, how he knew that the Latin Fathers who quoted the verse were possessed of no Greek MSS, gravely replied: "Non putasse se quemquam theologiae tironem ignorare, Patres Latinos, excepto Hieronymo, Graeco nescientes uti non potuisse Codicibus Graecis" (l. c., sect. iii). Did not the learned scholar know that many Latin Fathers who quote the verse, were well acquainted with Greek, as, for example Tertullian, Cyprian, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus? And whoever says that other Fathers, as Hilarius, Ambrose, etc., did not know Greek, shows that he has never compared their writings with those of the Greek Fathers, Origen, Basil, etc.

¹ De Rubeis *Dissert. de tribus in caelo testibus*, cap. vii.

² Lib. i., p. 7.

to that view; and besides, the authority of St Fulgentius is greater than that of Facundus.

It is certain, therefore, that the seventh verse was commonly read in the African Church in the third century, as well as in the fifth and following centuries. This being so, it was undoubtedly read in Africa even in Tertullian's time, and an unprejudiced reader of the twenty-fifth chapter of the book *contra Praxeam* must admit that it is quoted there. In the preceding chapter Tertullian has proved the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, alleging, among other texts, the words of Christ (*John*, x. 1): *Ego et Pater unus sumus. Caeci qui non videant, primo Ego et Pater duorum esse significacionem, dehinc in novissimo, sumus, non ex unius esse persona quod pluraliter dictum est, tum quod; Unum sumus, non unus sumus* (cap. 22). He then proceeds (cap. 25) to prove the Trinity, that is to say, to show that, as the Father and Son have one and the same substance, so the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have but one substance. He proves it thus: *Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filio in Paracclito tres efficit coherentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt non unus, quomodo dictum est Ego et Pater unus sumus, ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem* (ib., cap. 25). The phrase, *Ego et Pater unus sumus*, which in the previous chapter is used to prove the consubstantiality of two persons, is here quoted merely to illustrate the parallel meaning of the other phrase, *Tres unum sunt*, which is quoted to prove the consubstantiality of the three persons. Now this proof would have no value if the phrase itself were not part of Scripture; and if so, and if addressed as a proof of the Trinity, they cannot be other than the words of the seventh verse. The two quotations, that of the master and that of the disciple, are therefore parallel. St. Cyprian says: *De Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: et tres unum sunt*. Tertullian says: *Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracclito, qui tres unum sunt*.

And this places us in a position to conclude that the seventh verse was read in the ancient Latin version which was in use in the first ages, *primis fidei temporibus* (August. in *De Doctr. Christiana*), and which in the early part of the third century was already established in Africa: *in usum extierat*.¹

Mill asserts the contrary; but his conjecture, that Tertullian and Cyprian quoted from the Greek codices, and not from the Latin version, rests on no grounds of probability.

The statement that the seventh verse existed in the ancient version is confirmed by the *Speculum* of St. Augustine, edited

¹ Tertull. *de Monogam.* cap. xi.; *Contr. Marc.*, lib. ii. cap. ix.; *Contr. Prax.*, cap. v.

by Cardinal Mai;¹ and by the Pseudo-Athanasiian *Enarratio in Symbolum*, edited by G. Bianchini (pag. 40). Bianchini is of opinion that this *Enarratio* was written in Latin in Africa before the Pelagian heresy. In his preface (l. c.) Cardinal Mai relates the reasons which led Card. Besuzio and himself to attribute to St. Augustine the *Speculum* of the Basilica Sessoriana rather than the one edited by the Maurini. It is certain, however, that both one and the other make use of the ancient Latin version as it stood prior to the translation of the Old Testament and the labours undertaken on the New by St. Jerome. Now the text of the three heavenly witnesses is expressly quoted twice in the *Speculum* and once in the *Enarratio*. Towards the end of the second chapter of the *Speculum* where it treats of the distinction between the three divine persons: *Item illic : Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt in Christo Iesu; et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt.* And again at the end of the third chapter, the same is repeated, with the omission of the earthly testimony. The words of the *Enarratio Symboli* are very much to the point, (pag. 40) *Respondeat nobis pro cunctis Joannes, qui in pectore Domini nostri familiariter recubans totius doctrinae potuit arcana cognoscere, etc. . . . Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt. Nonne post haec nobis hujusmodi fidem et morrest, perdere, et salus est custodire.*

As far as St. Augustine is concerned, some may doubt whether he was the author of the *Speculum*, but no one can doubt that the verse was well known to him. Whoever would assert that in 430 (when St. Augustine died) a text of such importance was unknown in Africa, although in 484, when the profession of faith above quoted was compiled, it was commonly received in the African churches, must be unacquainted with the principles of church government and ignorant of the reverent solicitude with which, at all times, the deposit of the Sacred Scriptures was guarded. How could so serious a change have been accomplished, and that insensibly, within the space of fifty years, in that very Africa where, for a new translation of a text much less important, the people rose against the bishop and forced him to return to the ancient version to which they were accustomed? "Volens", says St. Augustine (ep. 71, n. 5), "*post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe?*" Seeing, however, that in his day the verse was already wanting in many Greek codices, and even in some places in Latin ones, by way of a more correct reading, the holy doctor was led to ignore it in his polemical writings, especially against Maximinus, according to

¹ Nova Bibliot. Patrum, tom. i. part ii. pag. 6-10.

his own general principle, that controverted arguments *non tanta firmitate proferuntur adversus contradictores*. Openly, at least, he never cites the verse in the works which we have of him; but the manifest allusions made to it may be seen in De Rubeis (*Dissert. Crit.*, cap. vi.), Bengel (*Apparat. Crit.*, in h. l. n. 20), and Cardinal Ma (Pref. ad *Speculum Aug.* pag. viii).

From the reading in use in the African churches we are at liberty to conclude to that of the other western churches, even if we had no direct testimony to appeal to. But such testimony is not wanting. Spain furnishes as her evidence the *Collectio testimoniorum Scripturae et Patrum*, which Zaccarias believes to be older than St. Isidore, to whom it is ascribed by Maffei and Arevalo,¹ the famous Codex Toletanus of the Bible, which is not later than the eighth century;² Etherius and Beatus *Contra Eli-pandum*; and before these, Idacius, or whoever is the author of the *Disputatio contra Varimadum*.³ In these documents the seventh verse and the eighth are quoted expressly as the genuine text of St. John's Epistle.⁴

In France, in the fourth century, Phebadius (otherwise Sebadius) of Agen cited the verse almost in the same way as Tertullian and Cyprian (*lib. cont. Arianos in fine Bibl. Max. PP. tom. 4, p. 305*), before the half of the fifth century. St. Eucherius of Lyons transcribed both verses clearly in the *Formularium Spiritualium* (cap. xi.), where he treats of the numbers *quos mystica exemplorum ratio inter sacros celebriores facit* (ib. n. 3, Bibl. Max., tom. vi. p. 838): *Ad Trinitatem (referuntur) in Joannis epistola: tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra spiritus, aqua, et sanguis.*

In Italy, towards the middle of the sixth century, Cassiodorus not only collected MSS. of the Scripture, both Latin and Greek, or the Greek Pandect, as he styles them, but used every diligence to secure accurate readings, collating them carefully one with the other. He quotes in his *Complexiones* both seventh and eighth verses (Ed. Maffei, p. 145). Upon which passage Maffei thus writes: “*Discimus modo ex auctore nostro, Romanos quoque melioris notae ac vetustiores libros ita loquutos fuisse; cum enim tanto studio monachis suis in inst. div. lect. praeceperit, ut praestantissimis et Graeci etiam textus collatione repurgatis codicibus uterentur, utque in ambiguis locis duorum vel trium priscorum emendatorumque codicium auctoritas inquireretur, ipsum in primis*

¹ Opp. S. Isidore, ed. Arevalo, tom. 2, p. 27 seqq.; Isidorian, cap. 83.

² P. Vercellone, Apparatus Bibl., tom. I. Sect. Variant. Vulgat., p. 84.

³ Ruinart. Commentar. in Histor. Persec. Vand., cap. iv. n. 7, p. 442.

⁴ Opp. S. Isidori, tom. 7, pag. 291; *Lectiones var. ex Cod. Tol. in vindicis Vulg. Blanchini*, pag.; ccili. Cont. Eli-pand., lib. 1, n. 25, Gulland, tom. 18, p. 296; *Contra Varimad. Bibliothec. Max. Patrum*, tom. v, pag. 729.

idem praestitisse quis ambigat?" We may also cite the Codex *della Cava*, referred by Cardinal Maii to the seventh or eighth century, and Ambrosius Ansbertus, towards the half of the eighth century (*In Apcc.*, lib. 1, Bibl. Max., tom. 13, p. 415), both of which authorities have the seventh verse.

We have thus traced by aid of positive documents the history of this verse as a genuine part of Scripture from the earliest ages of the western church, and established the fact of its presence in the ancient Latin version as it stood both before and after St. Jerome, and, much more, before and after the recension of Alcuin.¹

If we examine the context of St. John's letter, it will be seen at once that if the seventh verse be omitted, the context becomes disordered and broken; but if it be inserted, the context becomes so clear and coherent, as to make us feel glad when we find it in trustworthy documents. This made even the Protestant Bengel exclaim: "*Adamantina versiculorum cohaerentia omnem Codicum penuriam compesat. . . . Certius agnosci hoc Dictum (v. 7) potest, quam pars folii ex libro aliquo amissa, passim quiescita, alicubi reperita et in tota struatura parti non amissae congruens*" (l. c. n. 28). And in truth, if you omit the seventh verse, how are you to explain the use of the masculine gender in v. 8: *quoniam tres sunt. . . . et hi tres unum sunt?* (Greg. Nuz. orat. 31 al 37, n. 19). Now the presence of the seventh verse removes all the difficulty. Again, the ninth verse

¹ Since God was pleased to place in the Latin Church the visible head of the whole Church, he wished in and by this Church to preserve the integrity of the faith, as also of the written word. This clearly results from the history of the Deutero-canonical books, the authenticity of which, amid all the hesitation of the Orientals, was rescued from doubt, and clearly established by the constant tradition, usage, vigilance, and definitions of the Latin Church. Hence, by a wonderful disposition of the Holy Spirit, the use in the Latin Church of the Vulgate was kept in view by the Fathers at Trent as their guide in making the two decrees concerning the canonical books, and the authenticity of the Vulgate. On the contrary, in the East where there was much oscillation about the Deutero-canonical books, there was also much obscurity about the text from St. John. The positive documents in favour of v. 7 may be reduced to the following. In the dispute against Arius, attributed to Athanasius (Opp. Athanas., t. 2, p. 229, n. 44, the words, *hi tres unum sunt* are quoted to prove the unity of nature in the Three Persons. The entire verse is quoted, and exists in Latin and Greek in the Acts of the fourth Council of Lateran, at which some Greek bishops were present (Hard., t. vii, p. 18); it is quoted by the Greek Emmanuel Calceas, who in the fourteenth century, wrote for Greeks (Combeis., Auctuar. ii, p. ii, p. 219), also by Joseph Briennius, a Greek monk, in the early part of the fifteenth century (Griesb., Diss. cit., pag. 11). At present it is found in the reading used in churches by the Greeks and Russians, and in the new Greek version (Bengel, l. c., n. 22). That it existed in ancient codices, is proved directly from the Prologue to the Catholic epistle attributed to St. Jerome, and indirectly from Cassiodorus. Among the Greek MSS^s still existing, there are three which have the v. 7: that of Dublin (of Montfort); the Ottobonian (in the Vatican), and that of Naples of the eleventh century. The ed. Complutensis, the third of Erasmus, and all other editions down to the Rationalistic ones of the Protestants, admit the v. 7.

speaks of the *testimonium Dri quoniam testificatus est de Filio suo*; and these words make the seventh verse absolutely necessary. Otherwise there is nothing to which they are to be referred.

We shall not stay here to ask if all these proofs would be sufficient in case of a book which had been left to the care of private individuals. But if the book were the code of a nation's Laws, and confided to the care of public authority, beyond all doubt, a public use which should go back to the earliest times of the state, would be argument enough to prove the authenticity of the laws themselves; and if a dispute arose, the competent tribunal would certainly declare them authentic. Now, in our case, there is question of the Holy Scripture in one of its most important passages. That Scripture is the code of the faith, entrusted not to private judgment, but to the authentic guardianship of the Church, assisted by the Holy Spirit. Hence, the public and constant use of a dogmatic text by the Church is sufficient proof that such text was legitimately received as part of the Scripture; for, it would never have been so received had it not been written by the Apostle John. The bare fact of its use by the Church is enough to prove it to be genuine, even if we leave out of sight the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Church, too, had scientific reasons enough to show the authenticity of the text. The way in which it has come down to us was, therefore, the following: The verse passed certainly from the Greek originals into the version which was established in the early ages of faith and received by the Latin Church, and through this version it was ever kept in public use. Nor for this was it necessary that its use should have been equally universal in all times and in all places; for after the omission had become general (perhaps about the fourth century) in most Greek codices, it was to be expected that some Latin ones also should omit it, as we find it omitted, for example, in some which were written at a time when, beyond all doubt, the seventh verse was used in the Latin Church. When this difference of reading had been introduced by the Orientals, and when, in consequence, a certain hesitation about the verse arose in the west, as had happened before with regard to entire Deutero-canonical books, it is not surprising that some Latin fathers chose, at least in controversy, to abstain from quoting the verse.

Protestants do not possess the true Church of Christ; but, in addition to this, their own principles render it impossible for them to have even a visible religious society properly so called and kept together by authority. The Protestant is an isolated individual, whose sole guide is his own private judgment. Hence it comes that the Bible is not a record, the authentic meaning of

which is to be interpreted by any public authority, but a book handed over to each man, to be examined and discussed by him as he may think fit. Hence, as they do not admit any authentic interpretation of the true meaning of the Scripture, so likewise, according to their theory, they must refuse any authentic definition of the genuineness of an entire book or of single texts. Such authenticity must be established by each individual for himself by an historical and critical investigation. The result of thus making human learning the basis upon which faith and religion rest, is, that the authority of the Holy Scripture can never be clearly established, at least in the case of the great bulk of mankind; and that even the learned, who are constituted judges in religious matters, may reject, consistently enough with the Protestant principle, some of the sacred books as being spurious, and may reject a greater or less number of them, or even them all, according to their different fancies, or the imperfect state of science, or, to speak more truly, according to what happens to the interests of the of religion.

We do not, therefore, here maintain that in case of the verse in question there exists such a store of historical and critical arguments, as of themselves, and according to the Protestant principle of dealing with the Bible as with a profane and private book, would prove beyond all doubt the authenticity of St. John's text. But we do maintain that whereas according to our Catholic principles we are able to prove it to be authentic, the Protestant, in accordance with his own principles, and with all his critical helps, can never prove it to have been interpolated. And the reasons are these.

We admit that this verse was wanting in many of the Greek codices in the fourth century, and, , perhaps, in some places, even in the third, and this omission may have been caused either by the hurry of copying, in consequence of the same words occurring in both verses, a mistake which has frequently occurred in like circumstances elsewhere; or it may have been designedly done in compliance with the *disciplina arcana*, as Bengel believes (l. c. n. 25); or the omission may have been spread by Eusebius, to whom Constantine had confided the task of preparing many codices for the Church of Constantinople,¹ as M. Lehir has lately suggested;² or the omission may have been brought about in some manner unknown to us. Now, when we have admitted all this, and that the verse is wanting in some Latin codices, which copy the Greek ones, our adversaries have no other critical argument to bring into the field against us. But this omission does not prove that the dogmatic text, which, as we have shown,

¹ Edict., *Vita Constant.*, lib. iv. cap. 36.

² *Vestiger, Introduction*, vol. I, p. 555.

was read in the Latin Church from the earliest antiquity, did not form part of the original text of St. John's Epistle. Therefore, our adversaries have no critical proofs whereby to establish that verse to be an interpolation.

The arguments usually alleged against us, and not without great show of learning, are derived from the manuscripts of the Holy Scripture, from the works of the Fathers, and from the ancient versions.

The Greek MSS. belonging to the fifth or fourth century are very rare, and are the Vatican B, the Alexandrine A, and the Sinaitic, which closely resembles the Vatican; one MS. in the Angelica Library, formerly belonging to Cardinal Pasionei, is ascribed to the ninth or tenth century; all the others which are quoted by Griesbach, Schötz, etc., are of a later period, namely, from the tenth to the fifteenth century. With the exception, therefore, of three Greek MSS. which contain the Catholic epistles, we possess none older than that of Charlemagne's time, and all these were written when the text *I. John*, v. 7, was already common in the Latin Church. These MSS. are certainly derived from others of an earlier date; and the very abundance of MSS. without the verse after the tenth century, is proof enough that the verse was omitted before that date. Now let us contrast this double series of documents. On the one hand, we find the verse from the ninth century to the fifteenth, in public and universal use in the Latin Church; on the other, we have during the same period of time, Greek MSS. issuing generally from private sources, in which it is ordinarily wanting. Now we ask: what skill can deduce from this inspection of documents an argument to prove that the true reading is to be found in these private Greek copies, and that a new text has been introduced into the public use of the entire western Church without contradiction, in a matter of such importance, and in such a way as that even the Greek schismatics themselves should accept the interpolation in spite of the vaunted authority of the Greek MSS.?

No doubt, the scarcity of ancient MSS. might be compensated by the writings of the Fathers, provided the context showed beyond a doubt that they did not use the verse in question. But for this purpose it is not enough, 1° that the Fathers neglect to employ this verse when they are proving from Scripture the divinity of the Word and the consubstantiality of the Father with the Son, or when they set themselves to prove the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This is plain from what we have said above about the method employed by these Fathers in quoting this passage. Tertullian against Praxeas, the African bishops in the confession of faith addressed to Hunnericus, St. Fulgentius in the second book to Thrasamundus, and in that against Fastidiosus

(compared with the book on the Trinity addressed to Felix the Notary), the same Fulgentius, or whoever else is the author of the book against Pintas the Arian, have collected many texts wherewith to prove those very points of doctrine, and yet they omit from among them this seventh verse; it is only when they treat of the entire Trinity that they cite the text from I. John, v. 7. 2° It does not follow that the seventh verse was wanting because some Fathers write the eighth verse immediately after the sixth. For this occurs in Iditius (or other who wrote) against Varimadus, in Cassiodorus, in the *Speculum* of St. Augustine, in the *Libellus Testimoniorum* (among St. Isidore's works), in Etherius and Beatus, in the Codex Toletanus, in that of La Cava, and in several others; all of which place the eighth verse after the sixth and then insert the seventh. Finally, 3° it is not enough that the Fathers quote the eighth verse without the seventh when their object is to prove, not the Trinity, but some other doctrine, for the proof of which the eighth verse is more suitable than the seventh. Keeping in view these remarks about the silence of the Fathers, it can never be proved that the seventh verse was unknown to the Fathers of the third century. Mill, in his notes, has carefully collected all the passages from the Fathers, and although he was of opinion that the seventh verse was unknown to them, he sincerely defends its authenticity. It was from Mill that Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, and others, copied these passages, thus attempting to prove the interpolation from what Mill had proposed to himself merely as a difficulty capable of solution. Griesbach writes thus about the Fathers of the third century: "Cinqua septimum non legerunt Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus nec in Adumbrationib[us] Latine versis, neque in ceteris operibus, Hippolytus contra Noetum, Dionysius Alexandrinus in epistola ad Paulum Samosatenum". And again: "A Patribus Latinis non citatur, ubi vel maxime ad rem pertinet atque omnino expectari posset; hic pertinent auctor de baptismo hereticorum apud Cyprianum, et Novatianus". Let us examine the authorities he quotes. Mill assigns as the place where Irenaeus ought to have quoted the seventh verse, lib. 3, c. 18, in ed. Massuet. c. 16. Now in that chapter Irenaeus is treating of the Incarnation, and is showing that Jesus Christ is one person only, and not (as the Gnostics held) one person as Jesus and another as Christ; wherefore he does not even quote the text from Matth. xxviii. 19: *Baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, nor John, x. 30: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*; nor would the seventh verse of I. John, c. v., be more suited to his purpose than these. And what is more, Irenaeus never once quotes in those works of his that remain to us, the verse, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, and only once quotes St. Matthew,

xxviii. 19,¹ to prove that the Holy Ghost, which was given to the faithful, was the same which descended upon Jesus Christ at His baptism. Why then should he quote the passage from St. John's Epistle more than from his Gospel? Perhaps the Gospel text was wanting also? Clement of Alexandria in his undoubted works never quotes either the text from St Matthew's or the one from St. John's Gospel: why then should he quote the text from the Epistle? In the *Excerpta* of Theodotus in the appendix to Potter's edition of Clement's works, the verse from St. John's Gospel is quoted to prove the divinity of the Person who became incarnate; but in this there is no mention of the Trinity. Were the Catholic theologians to produce with similar confidence against these fastidious scholars, the Latin *Adumbrationes* which appear under the name of Clement, and, perhaps, even the book of Hippolytus against Noetus, and the letter of Dionysius, they would at once raise a cry against such doubtful authorities. However, these *Adumbrationes*² will never tell us what reading the author or translator followed in St. John's epistles, for they consist of only a few sentences extracted from that letter. Nor does Hippolytus treat of the Trinity of Persons, but of the distinction of the Father and the Son, and of the Incarnation of the Word. He has only an incidental allusion to the Trinity (n. 10), but brings no other proof than the formula of baptism. Our adversaries urge also: "Dionysius saepe versum octavum citat, non item septimum, quamvis de divinitate Christi ac de Trinitate per totam fere agat epistolam". We reply: it is not accurate to say that he quotes the verse often, for he does so only in the fourth question, where he declares that we have been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, and then quotes twice in the same context the words of the eighth verse: *Et hi tres in unum sunt aqua et sanguis et spiritus.*³ Now in this there is no question of the Trinity, but of a totally different subject, to which, whilst the seventh verse had nothing in common with it, the eighth verse was quite applicable. Besides, in this entire epistle, and even in the other works which bear the name of Dionysius of Alexandria, we never once find either the verse of Matthew or that of St. John's Gospel. There yet remain to be examined the two Latin writers of the third century. The author of the book *De Baptismo Hereticorum* unites, it is said, the sixth with the eighth verse, and omits the seventh. Now, if we said in reply, that in the copy of the Bible used by this writer, the eighth verse immediately followed the sixth, and was in turn followed by the seventh, as was the case

¹ Lib. 8, c. 19 al 17.

¹ Bibl. Max. Patrum, tom. 3, p. 233.

¹ Opp. ed. De Magistris, pag. 230-1.

with many other writers, who could gainsay us? This collocation of verses 6 and 8, proves nothing therefore; nor does the context; for the writer does not speak of the Trinity, but of a totally different matter. He distinguishes three kinds of baptism: the baptism of the spirit, *quod plerumque cum baptismo aquae coniunctum est*, the baptism of water, and the baptism of blood. If it be asked, how then is baptism one, *utique manifestum est*; he replies, *illa ratione quia diversae sunt species unius ac ejusdem baptismatis ex uno vulnere profluentis in aquam et sanguinem*. . . . *Et quoniam videmus omne baptismum spirituale trifariam divisisse, veniamus etiam ad probationem narrationis propositae. Ait enim Joannes in epistola sua de Domino nostro nos docens: His est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, etc.* (v. 6). Quia tres testimonium perhibent spiritus et aqua et sanguis et isti tres in unum sunt (v. 8). *Ut ex illis colligamus et aquam praestare spiritum solitum, et ipsum quoque spiritum (desiderium cum charitate) praestare spiritum solitum*¹. Now, we ask, what had the seventh verse to do with this distribution of baptisms, especially when the author had verses 6 and 8 here united together in his copy as we may reasonably suppose? Especially since, as we have shown above, v. 7 was certainly read in the third century in Africa, where our author wrote.

The other Latin writer who is alleged against us is Novatian, “qui liber de Trinitate cum pluribus Scripturae testimoniis probet, Christum ut et Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum, hunc certe locum in primis opportunum praeterit”. We reply as in the last case. Novatian treats at length of the divinity of Christ, of the distinction between the Father and the Son, and slightly (cap. 29) also of the Holy Ghost; but he does not set himself to prove from the Scriptures the Trinity of Persons; and hence although (cap. 12) he introduces the words of Christ, *ecce ego vobiscum usque ad consummationem seculi* (Matt., xxviii. 20), he never once makes use of the text: *Baptizantes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* (ib. 19); which expresses all the Persons at once. What wonder then that he should omit the text of St. John's Epistle?

Among the Fathers of the fourth and fifth century, there are certainly some, for example St. Cyril of Alexandria;² whose context shows that either they did not find the verse in their copies of the Bible, or that they designedly omitted it as having been omitted in others. But such contexts are very rare; so that the long list of names borrowed by Griesbach from Mill, and from Griesbach copied (with the addition of various errors) by Scholz, is reduced to but few Fathers. It is certainly inaccurate to quote as witnesses of the omission of the v. 7, Alexander of Alexandria

¹ Opp. Cypri. ed. Balbus, pag. 364.

² Thesaur., tom. 5; par. ii, pag. 363.

in his epistle to Alexander of Constantinople, the Council of Sardis in its synodical epistle to all the churches,¹ and the Council of Nice itself. For in these documents there is no question of three Persons in common, and hence no reference is made even to the text from St. Matthew; and, what is more, the Council of Sardis makes but a sparing use of Scripture texts to prove the divinity of the Son. As to the disputes concerning the Holy Ghost, which Gelasius Cyzicenus, at the close of the fifth century, relates as having occurred in the Nicene Council, they are undoubtedly supposititious, whatever may be said about the omission of the v. 7 therein.²

But, although we contend that but few Fathers, taken separately, supply positive proof of the omission of St. John's text, we do not therefore deny that the text is wanting in many Greek codices and in a few Latin ones. This conclusion is warranted by the common silence of the Greek Fathers throughout the entire period of the disputes concerning not only the Person of the Son, but also concerning the Holy Ghost, and the Three Divine Persons, which disputes have furnished us with ample demonstrations of the Catholic dogma from the fourth century downwards.

We must not, however, neglect to notice an assertion made by our adversaries regarding St. Leo the Great: "Leo Magnus", writes Griesbach, p. 13, "universum contextum excribit, sed hunc versiculum translit in celebri epistola ad Flavianum in Graecum sermonem conversa et in Concilio Chalcedonensi praelecta". If this were true, the necessary explanation would be, that St. Leo, as addressing the Greeks, designedly omitted the verse; for it is absurd to suspect that in the middle of the fifth century it was wanting in the Latin codices. In fact, thirty years after the epistle to Flavianus, we find the verse commonly read in the African churches; it was read also in Spain and in Gaul; in the following century, in Italy. Cassiodorus (whose father was in the train of Pope Leo, in his famous interview with Attila) found it in ancient and most correct codices; it appears thenceforth in the common reading of the entire Latin Church. How then could it be unknown to Pope Leo? The epistle to Flavian proves merely that in St. Leo's copy the sixth and eighth verses went together, as in the codices used by other Fathers. The Pontiff does not quote the seventh verse, which followed our eighth, because it did not bear on his subject. His scope was to prove against the Eutychians that Christ had true human nature, and is shown by verses 6 and 8 joined together, and not by the seventh which follows.

Nor do the ancient versions serve our adversaries better than

¹ Harduin, tom. i., pag. 295, 661.

² Hard., tom. i., p. 407, sqq.

the Greek codices and the Fathers. First of all, let us put aside the Ethiopic, Armenian,¹ Syriac (Philoxenian), and all the later Syriac and Arabic versions, and the Slavonic version, for, whatever may have been the primitive reading, they are all made from Greek texts of the fourth to the ninth century; and we are willing to allow that during that period the verse was wanting in many Greek MSS. The learned have concluded from some historical data that the Copts had a version of the Bible in the third or at the beginning of the fourth century; but no one, we think, can form any certain judgment of the primitive text of that version. If the text be wanting in one or two copies known to critics, the probable explanation is, that it was omitted at a later period after the Greek. The same explanation holds concerning the pure Syriac version. In the MSS. of this version which are known to scholars, the Deutero-canonical books of the Old and New Testament (*II. Peter*, ii. 3, *John Apocal*) are missing, although it is proved that in the fourth century, in St. Ephrem's time, they were to be found in it. No wonder then that even in case of *I. John*, v. 7, the Syrians were in some measure led astray by the Greeks. We do not say that this can be proved to a certainty, nor do we undertake such a task. It is for our adversaries to furnish a demonstration, since they assert that a reading common to all the Church, and by long use, common even to schismatics and Protestants, should be expunged as an interpolation. For us it is enough to show that on Catholic principles the authenticity of the verse may be proved, and that even on the false theological principles of Protestants, there are no critical arguments to prove it to be spurious.

Before concluding our remarks, we cannot but call the attention of our readers to the variations of Protestantism in this matter as well as in many others. We have met with no arguments against the authenticity of this verse which were not already, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, familiar to Mill, Bengel, and others, if we except some Greek MSS. more recently examined, which, however, furnish no additional proof. Notwithstanding this, while the dogma of the Trinity was as yet unassailed, learned Protestants, not from deference to authority, but through a kind of Christian instinct remaining from Catholic times,² felt that the universal and constant usage of the Church

¹ In many Armenian MSS., v. 7 is wanting; but not in all (Card. Maii, *Nova Bibl. PP.*, t. i., p. 2, pag. 7). It was quoted at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Armenian councils of Sis and of Athan, the acts of which were published in Armenian and Latin by Galanus (*Conciliat. Eccl. Arm. cum Roman.*, t. 1, par. 1, p. 461, 478).

² Bengel, though a Protestant, thus writes: "Mirabilis est dispensatio divina non solum in toto verbo sed etiam in singulis eloquii, quae instar siderum varios ortus et occasus habent." Eamque in hoc maxime loco gravissimo observare fas est, qua factum esse credas, ut testimonium clarissimum de SS' Trinitate extremo

was of immensely greater weight than a few arguments mainly negative by which it was sought to destroy an authority of such importance. Hence, from the end of the sixteenth century down to the closing ten years of the last, the Socinians were the only Protestants who denied, with the doctrine of the Trinity, the authenticity of this verse. The other Protestants who still held the doctrine of the Trinity strenuously defended v. 7, on the authority of the Latin version, and even, as Michaelis complained towards the close of the last century (l. c. sect. 1.), went so far as to accuse those of being heretics who denied it. But no sooner did many Protestants begin to undermine the dogma, and especially as soon as the Rationalists openly rejected it, they began to bring forward not indeed new arguments which were not to be found, but old and well known difficulties by which they might first throw doubts upon, and then openly reject, verse 7 as spurious. From this history of the controversy it is plain that they were influenced more by prejudices and dogmatic errors than by critical arguments. It is much more surprising, however, that some even learned Catholics¹ either should have consented to the denial of the authenticity of I. John, v. 7, or at least in certain countries should hardly dare to openly affirm or to defend it.

sevo Iohanneo quasi apex apostolici testimonii ederetur¹ Atqne id paulo postquam editum erat, absconditum quodammodo fuit. Itaque Graecis non perinde lectum est.....idem autem latine propagatum martyres in Africa potissimum ulteriore corroboravit.....Sic Ioannes Socinismum, Antichristianismum, etc² hoc versiculo, non dicemus primitus latine conscripto, sed hactenus corde Latinorum potissimum opera conservato redarguit" (*Apparat.* in h. 1, § 28).

¹ After the Council of Trent, at the close of the seventeenth century, Richard Simon was the first Catholic who directly proposed arguments against the authenticity of the verse (*Crit. du N. T.*, tom. 2, c. 18); but far from meeting any to share his views, he met with severe reproof (*Bossuet, Seconde Inst. sur le N. T. de Trevoux*, tom. 4, p. 609). And yet Simon did not dare to deny explicitly the genuineness of v. 7; on the contrary, he acknowledges that it is confirmed by the authority of the Church, and that it should be received.

" Il n'y a que l'autorité de l'Église qui nous fasse aujourdouy recevoir ce passage comme authentique. Les Grecs mêmes qui sont ennemis des Latins, s'accordent là-dessus avec eux. (*ib. pag. 217*).

THE LATE CARDINAL STERCKX.¹

*"Posui adjutorium in potente, et exaltavi electum de plebe mea".
Ps., lxxxviii. 20.*

THIS is the second time, within a few weeks, that we are assembled in this Church. When we met here at the beginning of September, His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin offered at the altar the divine sacrifice to call down the lights and the blessings of God upon the members of the Catholic Congress gathered together in his metropolitan city from all parts of Europe and of the world. It seems to me, and I am sure also to you, that this happened as if but yesterday. It was certainly but yesterday that our venerated Cardinal assisted in the full vigour of strength and life at that office, at once sorrowing and jubilant, which Belgium celebrated in memory of her heroic sons immolated by their own courage in defence of the holiest of causes.

If on that day you had been told that you should soon meet here again, and that you should meet on his account though without himself, how great would have been your surprise! That surprise has been brought home to us, and has brought us all here to-day.

It is true, then, that he is no more! but his spirit will watch over us now, while we are engaged in cherishing his memory, and while we seek to edify ourselves by the example of his life, a life so full of days, so full of services rendered to God and to men.

It is of that life I am about to speak to you; to you, my lords, who were his brethren, and to you my brethren, who were his children. And if on the one hand, what you feel towards such a father and such a brother makes my task an easy one, on the other it does but increase my difficulties, for no tongue can describe the feelings which at this moment all of you experience. How much more unfit, therefore, to satisfy your expectation, am I after a few hours of hurried preparation during these three days, troubled as they have been by the unexpected blow which has fallen upon us? But if words fail, facts will speak for themselves of the entire life of his Eminence Cardinal Sterckx, Archbishop of Mechlin and Primate of Belgium.

I recognize in my text the leading idea of this life. God therein speaks of every man whom he selects for the accomplishment of some great design: "*I have laid help on one that is mighty, and have exalted one chosen out of my people*"—Ps. lxxxviii.

¹ Sermon on occasion of the funeral of the late Cardinal Engelbert Sterckx, Archbishop of Mechlin, by the Right Rev. Mgr. Dechamps, Bishop of Namur.

20. This is how God speaks of those whom He chooses to achieve great things. Engelbert Sterckx belonged to the chosen ones of Providence, and he faithfully answered the divine call in the beginning, in the course, and in the end of his career. Let us see how this shines conspicuous in all his acts, that thereby we may lighten the weight of our sorrow.

Engelbert Sterckx was born at Ophem, in this diocese, on November 2, 1792, of parents full of faith and other Christian virtues. Like Cardinal Gousset, Archbishop of Rheims, he sprang from the people, his father being a farmer of easy circumstances. It was upon this family that Providence fixed His eye to choose from out of it a future prince of the Church. Since the days of the apostles down to our own, the Church has always been at once a great school of authority and of respect, and a great school of equality before God. At the age of nineteen, after the spotless and studious years of his early youth, Engelbert felt more and more the powerful impulse of grace which called him to devote his life to God. Obedient to the call, he entered the seminary at Mechlin in 1811. When he had been there two years, his aptitude for work and his singular discreetness caused him to be appointed under secretary of the Archbishop. Two years afterwards, he was ordained priest. In 1815 he was appointed vice-rector, and afterwards professor of philosophy and of moral theology, so thoroughly was his progress in sacred learning and in the knowledge of men appreciated by his superiors. But, you know, my brethren, learning is but the means to an end. The sacerdotal heart of the young professor burned with a longing to make use of these means, and to employ all his study and all his strength in the great work of the salvation of souls. His longing was fulfilled, and in 1821 he was appointed to the parish of Bouchout. The professor of theology, thus changed into a country parish priest, esteemed himself fortunate in being able to devote his life to the sublime duties of the sacred ministry. He had no desire or thought of else, when in 1821 God's Providence, which had never lost sight of him, inspired his superiors to call him to the important office of Dean of Notre Dame, at Antwerp.

It was in this new sphere of duty that his great qualities became conspicuous; his prudence, his charity, his firmness, his sweetness, his increased application to business. But what especially characterised him was a moderation unmixed with weakness, and a constant love of peace. In 1827 the Prince of Mean, Archbishop of Mechlin did not hesitate to choose him for his Vicar-general. Mgr. de Mean felt his strength ebbing. His infirmities but too often played the traitor to his zeal. He wished therefore that his vicar-general should be his right arm, his second self. It was soon apparent that the Archbishop's choice

had been guided by Providence, for the hour was come when Engelbert Sterckx had to sustain with his archbishop and for his archbishop, what was perhaps the most serious struggle of his lifetime. Many of you were witnesses of that struggle, and all of you know its history. Not one of you has forgotten the trials of the Church in Belgium during the years that intervened between 1825 and 1830. At that period the king of the Netherlands was doubly deceived; deceived in Holland by the sectarians who sought to Protestantize Belgium, and deceived in Belgium by Belgians who had renounced at once the spirit of their ancestors and the religion of their fathers. These men, hating the Church more than they loved liberty, consented to sacrifice liberty to their anti-religious passions. They thronged round the throne, and would not allow the king to see the true Belgian people as it really was. Full of ability and restless energy they created such disturbances as made it difficult for the sovereign to hear the voice of the nation. Thus was William the First deceived as Joseph the Second had been, and he chose to attack among all the liberties dear to Belgians those especially which concerned the soul: freedom of conscience and freedom of education. Christian families soon found themselves placed in the alternative either of handing over their children to an educational system which they condemned, or of sending them out of the country. Young men called to the priesthood were ruthlessly forced either to renounce their vocation, or to profane it by passing through an ostensibly ecclesiastical institution founded at a great expense by a power hostile to the liberty of the Church, and situated as if in contrast with the ancient university, at Louvain. This so-called philosophical college was the handiwork not of philosophy but of philosophism. Philosophism has never been the friend of liberty. It never even took the trouble of going by byways to get the education of the country into its hands; it went straight and seized upon it and made it a monopoly in the true sense of the word. The influence exercised in educational matters by moral power and liberty is no monopoly, for that influence is undoubtedly legitimate if liberty be not an empty name. A monopoly in the true sense of the word, and according to the usage of all languages, is a privilege secured by the power of the state. Such a privilege the state then reserved to itself in educational matters in Belgium. At the period to which I refer, the state reckoned upon the old age of the Primate of Belgium. Since 1826 that prelate was without a colleague in the episcopate, a metropolitan standing alone, an archbishop without a suffragan. But the state did not take into account the conscience of that old man, who leaned upon him whom he had chosen to be one heart and one soul with himself.

Then was renewed in our midst and on our behalf, what happened long ago in the east, on behalf of the entire Church, when the aged patriarch of Alexandria through his deacon Athanasius arrested the course of Arianism.

If I recall here that illustrious name, I am but following the lead of the most illustrious of German writers, who did not fear to apply it to the archbishop of Cologne during a struggle which the world has not forgotten. The Church of Germany, says Goerres, was wanting for a man who could say: *No*. Such a man came, and the Church of Germany was saved. The man who in our country and during a struggle ever to be remembered by us, knew how to say *no* in his turn, was the vicar-general of Mechlin who realized to the full all the expectations of his archbishop.

The government of the Netherlands ever refused to recognize him as vicar-general; and when, partially receding from its mistakes, it consented to sign a concordat with Leo the Twelfth, and to permit the vacant sees to be filled up, it still would not allow the vicar-general of Mechlin to be one of the new bishops. And why? Because that man, of whose condescension and patience and conciliating spirit all of you have had long experience, never would make advances to conciliation at the expense of justice and truth; because he never failed to say *No* when his conscience forbade him to say *Yes*. And this is the reason why, when after 1832, the Church and the Holy See could use their liberty in choosing bishops, the first archbishop of Mechlin was Mgr. Engelbert Sterckx.

He who had ever so faithfully defended the liberty of the Church and of education, did not fail to avail himself now of both for the good of souls and of his country. He completed the organization of his seminary, which he had commenced under Mgr. de Méan. In compliance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, he had but one seminary, divided into several sections, according to the requirements of the studies preparatory to the ecclesiastical state. At Mechlin, the centre of the diocese, he installed the sections of theology, history, and canon law. In the same city, but in a different quarter, he placed the schools of humanity, philosophy, and the natural sciences. He established corresponding sections in two other districts of the diocese: one at Wavre for the Walloon population, and the other at Hoogstraeten for the Flemish population of the province of Antwerp. After founding his seminary, he established numerous educational institutions throughout the diocese, such as the vast college of St. Louis, afterwards transferred from Mechlin to Brussels, and finally, with the co-operation of all the bishops of Belgium, the important institution of

the Belgian college in Rome, in that city of Catholicity where every Christian nation has an establishment of its own. He also took care in concert with his episcopal colleagues to lend his aid to the government in organizing primary education in Belgium, so that it might be in accordance with the religious liberty of families, with the natural sentiment of faith, and with the requirements of social order. Every one knows that our beloved king, Leopold the First, always looked upon this as one of the greatest glories of his reign. The archbishop also exerted his best efforts to have religious instruction given in all the houses of secondary instruction in the kingdom. Finally, at the head of his suffragans, he endowed Belgium with a great establishment for higher education. He was the first to conceive the idea of that Catholic university now so universally celebrated, where science is loved, and the very mention of whose name fills our hearts with gratitude towards those who in it have restored to us our *Alma Mater*. Thither flock the young men of the land in search of science in its widest sense. Yes, science in its widest sense; for there the natural, the rational, and the juridical sciences are taught in their fulness as in all the universities of the civilized world; science in its widest sense, for not a single doctrine worthy of the name, remarkable either for its truth or for its falsehood, is there kept concealed from the youthful minds of those who are soon to grow into men in the struggles of life. We possess there a striking proof that Christianity fears nought so much as want of light; there, no one dreads to approach the subject of the supernatural, as those great children dread it whose very fear of it makes them cry out so loud; there, it is proved that truth and faith are based on facts no less securely than purely scientific truth; there, it is shown that God demands faith, but demands it from the reason, and after having proved that it is He who speaks; there, it is recognized that though revealed truths still have for us, in time, their inaccessible side—*inaccessibile lumen*—they have also another side perfectly accessible to reason, where the ravished intellect may contemplate the harmonies of the two worlds, of the world of nature and the world of grace, thereby enjoying a wondrous spectacle never to be beheld by those who shut their eyes to the light of God. Finally, the divine charter of the human race is there pointed out in the Gospel, a charter always more brilliant than any lights of ours, ever in advance of our progress, ever more perfect than the best of our laws. And from that Catholic university we see issuing forth solid Christian men to take their places in every sphere of social life, men endeared to their country and to religion, by their science, their faith, and their patriotism.

But the happy union of those three qualities, science, faith,

and patriotism, brings us back to him whose death we are lamenting. The Archbishop of Mechlin was at once a man of God, a learned theologian, and a distinguished patriot. We hold in our hands a high testimony rendered to those rare qualities of the great departed, and we are the more happy in recalling it to your memory since it does justice at once to the Belgians and to their king. Hear how Gregory the Sixteenth spoke in the allocution of 13th September, 1838, seven years after Belgium had won back her independence:

"The admirable zeal of the Belgian people for our holy religion has always been known and proved. We foresaw long since what great things might be expected from that kingdom for the Church's good, and for the salvation of souls. Events have shown, venerable brethren; that we were not deceived in our expectations, and we are therefore filled with a joy in which you are certainly sharers. Every one knows that seminaries and schools of all kinds for both sexes, even for those of the lowest class, flourish in Belgium at present; that the young are therein trained in piety and learning; that these free schools are under the direction of the clergy; that the Catholic University of Louvain, restored some years ago, is remarkable for its teaching of sound doctrine; that not only the clergy, but the entire people, is a model of obedience and of devotion to this sovereign chair of St. Peter; and, finally, that free communication in spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs with the Holy See, which is the constant and fruitful source of so much good, is nowise hindered in that kingdom. These advantages, which have brought us so much joy, are principally due to the entire body of our venerable brothers the bishops of that kingdom, and we wish hereby to pay public praise to their zeal and vigilance. *They are due, above all, to our venerable brother Engelbert Sterckx, Archbishop of Malines,* a man of such integrity and so distinguished for his piety, his learning, his prudence, and his gentleness, that he has justly won for himself the esteem and good will not only of the bishops, of the clergy, and of the people, but also of the illustrious King of the Belgians. As it has been for a long time in our thoughts to give the Belgian nation a public testimony of our paternal affection, we have judged that in nowise can we please them more, or do anything more suitable, than by introducing into your illustrious college the Archbishop of Mechlin".

After words like these, my brethren, it is easy for us to speak the whole truth without dread of being accused of excessive zeal for the memory of our beloved and venerated metropolitan.

Yes, he was distinguished for his piety. It filled him so thoroughly that it was sensibly reflected in his noble features. He thereby, all unconsciously, attracted souls to God. The love of God which glowed in his heart shot forth its flames, the fire of zeal for souls. Immediately after his consecration he established retreats for the clergy and missions for the people. Se-

conceded everywhere by a faithful clergy, he welcomed with warmth, and with the heart of a true Catholic bishop, those helpers of the pastoral clergy, the religious orders, raised by Providence to free men from sin, and give them the liberty of the children of God. The sons of St. Dominic, of St. Francis, of St. Ignatius, of St. Vincent de Paul, of St. Alphonsus, the congregations of virgins consecrated to God for the education and salvation of those of their sex, the associations devoted to piety, to charity, to labour—all, all were encouraged by the eminent archbishop.

Yes, he was distinguished for his prudence and for his gentleness. He knew how to speak the truth without making it odious, and to satisfy his conscience without yielding anything to passion. No wonder then, that, as Pope Gregory the Sixteenth declared, he won the esteem and affection, not only of the bishops, clergy, and people, but also of the sovereign. He loved the dynasty that crowned our national institutions. He was deeply attached to the royal family, and the attachment was reciprocal. He loved Belgium with an unconquerable love. He stood by the side of Mgr. de Méan when Belgium was being made a nation. He held the pen when the Archbishop of Mechlin wrote to the National Congress the letter which became so famous, and which never can be forgotten. He stood by the side of the throne the day the King of the Belgians ascended it, and he was the first to call down upon his reign the blessings of God. It was he who blessed the marriage of King Leopold the First and of Queen Louise, whose holy memory shall ever live amongst us. It was he who in baptism impressed the indelible Christian character on the soul of the young prince whom we honour to-day as our king. It was he who presided at the majestic obsequies which the nation paid to its Queen. It was he who in St. Gudule blessed the espousals of the future King of the Belgians with the descendant of Maria Theresa, a princess who resembles so much her incomparable ancestress. It was he who, in the same sanctuary, called down the blessings of heaven upon the new reign. The impulses of his heart were in keeping with the lessons of his faith; love for the rulers whom God had given to the nation, love for his country itself. And herein he was the best expression of the unanimous sentiments of the Belgian clergy.

But how describe his love for the Holy See, for the centre of Catholic unity, for the Vicar of Jesus Christ! He ever seized with eagerness the opportunity of visiting the tomb of the Apostles, and of prostrating himself upon the steps of the Confession of St. Peter, whither the episcopate of the whole Church ever resort to refresh their strength. The Cardinal of Mechlin

returned to Rome on five different occasions after the visit which his promotion to the Cardinalate had rendered necessary. He went there to assist at the conclave which elected Pius the Ninth, that great Pontiff, whose right to independence is now defended by courage the most sublime, and by the leading speakers of Europe. He went there to assist at the definition of the universal belief of the Church in the Immaculate Conception of the second Eve. He went there to the solemnity of the martyrs of Japan. He went there to the beatification of Blessed Berchmans, a child of his diocese. He went there to the recent festival of the Centenary of the Holy Apostles and of the canonization of the martyrs of Gorcum, in whose number were Belgians, and among them a native of Brussels, to whom our venerated Cardinal was connected by ties of blood. He cherished the hope of going there once again to take part in the coming General Council, and to share in the labours of that incomparable assembly, which will shine like a rainbow of peace in a sky now darkened by tempests; but God judged him worthy of a yet more perfect peace, and this divine word fell upon him: *amodo jam dicit spiritus ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.* Whilst he devoted himself with holy ardour to spread devotion to the saints of his diocese, those blessed souls obtained for him from God the grace to come and join them in their glory. He saw without trouble death draw near, and he welcomed it with sweetness. His robust constitution and excellent health would seem likely to have kept far away from him the thought of death; but he was wont to apply to himself what he taught to others: *we know not the day nor the hour.* His last will begins with the words: *Death may surprise me at any moment.* What follows this expression is so full of faith, of piety, of profound Christian humility, and of pastoral charity, that I can find no better ending for this discourse than these words of his last will:

“First of all I give most sincere thanks to God, my Creator, to Jesus Christ my Saviour, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to my Angel Guardian, to my Patron Saints, and to all the saints in heaven for the countless blessings I have received during my life, especially for that of having been called to the ecclesiastical state, in which I have had more opportunities of sanctifying my own soul, and of doing more good to my fellow men. I am sorry that I have not made a better use of the graces bestowed on me by God, by help of which I could have reached a higher degree of perfection. I deplore all my negligences and all my faults. I deeply regret that I have offended a God so good in Himself, and who has loaded me with so many favours. I thank all the members of my family for the true affection they have always shown me (he then names them one by

one). I thank my devoted vicars-general, the members of the metropolitan chapter, my faithful secretaries, all the deans, all the priests, all the religious men and women, all the devout faithful of my diocese, for their attachment to me, of which they have given me so many proofs, and for the services they have rendered me. If in aught I have offended them; if I have given them the least pain, I humbly ask their forgiveness. I have never ceased to love them all without exception, even those who have shown me any enmity either on my own account or on that of religion. I pray God to enlighten all those who stray from the path of virtue and of truth, and to make them understand, that the true religion is the only source of happiness in this life and in the life to come, of the happiness of souls, of families, and of nations".

I leave you, my brethren, under the influence of these words. They are calm as certainty, simple as the truth, touching as charity itself. With our Cardinal so venerated and so much loved, I pray God that they may reach those for whom they were intended, and that in His mercy He may make use of them to bring back the wanderers to the path which they may follow to the last.

DOCUMENTS.

LETTER FROM THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TO THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

Come accennavo a V. Emza, nell' ultima mia, umiliai al S. Padre nell' udienza del passato Giovedì (14) la cambiale di lire sterline 350 con i sensi della lettera che l' accompagnava, ed in quella di oggi (19) mi sono dato premura di presentare la nuova di lire sterline 500, leggendogli contemporaneamente la nuova lettera dell' Eminenza Vostra. In ambidue le circostanze, si è mostrato Sua Santità *sensibilissimamente commossa* per la perseverante costanza *de' suoi buoni Irlandesi* in accorrere ai suoi bisogni e ripetere con si esemplare maniera i sensi della sua devozione verso la S. Sede. Ha implorato dal cielo sull' Emo. Arcivescovo di Dublino, suo clero, suo Popolo, e su tutta l'Irlanda le più ampie benedizioni. Sono grandi, dicea Egli, le tribolazioni che mi circondano, ma nello stesso tempo il Signore *dives in misericordia* mi procura tanti argomenti di consolazione che sentomi sempre più forte in mezzo alla procella, che la mia confidenza nella stella del Mare non potra certamente mancare ad ottenerci il pienissimo trionfo di una causa, che eviden-

sentente è causa di Dio. Volle poi incaricarmi di esprimere nell' Augusto suo nome all' Emza. Vostra questi suoi sentimenti; ed io onorato di su dolce incarico, lo adempio in questo foglio; cogliendo con estremo piacere questa occasione per ri-protestare quei sensi di profondissima venerazione, sincerissima stima ed amicizia, co' quali sono e sarò sempre, bacianole umilissimamente le mani,

Dell' Eminenza Vostra,

Umilissimo Devotissimo Servitor Vero,

Al. CARD. BARNABO; Pref.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

FEBRUARY, 1868.

ANCIENT IRISH HYMN OF ST. BROGAN-CLOEN IN PRAISE OF ST. BRIGID.

THE hymn of St. Brogan-Cloen in praise of St. Brigid, which we now publish, is one of the most valuable records of the life of our great patroness which have been handed down by our early Church. It is preserved in a very ancient MS. of Trinity College, which is certainly not later than the ninth century, and in the famous *Liber Hymnorum* of St. Isidore's, Rome, which is probably of the same age.

The author of this hymn was St. Brogan-Cloen, whose name, as Colgan tells us, was honoured on the 17th of September, in the church of Rostvireck, in Ossory. The *Martyrology of Donegal* also mentions a St. Brocan as honoured on that day. The name Kilbrogan recalls his memory in the neighbourhood of Bandon, and he is venerated as patron of the parish of Clonee in the diocese of Waterford, where a few years ago a new church was dedicated under his invocation in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of this city. In the Roman MS. the following title is prefixed to the hymn in the original hand:

Locur huius immi Slab "The place where this hymn
blaoma, na Cluain mor Moë- was composed, was Slabh
doc, peirro, bñoccan Cloen. Bladhma, or Cluain mor Moed-
Tempur mc [?] immorrio] hog. The author of it was
Lugosac, meic Loegairne, righ- Brogan Cloen. The time was
Erino, occur Ailella, meic when Lughaidh, son of Loeg-
Dunlaing, ríg Lagen. Caupa haire, was king of Ireland, and

¹ The mc is probably an error on the part of the scribe for im, the usual contraction for immorrio, "indeed", "moreover".

1. Ultan Aírro Óireacain, a
aite¹ do pochtairg fairi co no
inniseo fearta Brigidte tne²...
briathra cuibroni filita, an
ire Ultan no chomáinil
fearta Brigidoe urde vo.

Ailill, son of Dunlang, king of Leinster. The cause of writing it, viz., Ultan of Ardbraccan, the tutor of Brogan, requested him to narrate the miracles of Brigid in appropriate poetical language, for Ultan had collected all the miracles of Brigid for him".

From this important record we learn the following particulars:

1. That St. Brogan lived for some time in the monastery of Sliabh-Bladhma, founded by St. Molua, and in that of Cluain-mor Moedhog, now Clonmore, in Bantry barony, county Waterford, founded by St. Aedan, patron of Ferns, about the year 620.

2. The period to which the poem refers embraced the reigns of Lughaidh, king of Ireland, and of Ailildus, king of Leinster. *The Annals of the Four Masters* mark the death of Lughaidh, son of Loeghaire, in 503, after a reign of twenty-five years. From Colgan we learn that Ailildus, according to the ancient catalogues of the kings of Leinster, died in 523, after a reign of twenty years. Thus, the subject of the poem would embrace the period from 478 to 523, during which St. Brigid adorned our island by her virtues and miracles. The learned Colgan having inadvertently referred this passage to the "time when the poem was composed", fell into a serious anachronism regarding the time of its composition.

3. As to the occasion of the poem, St. Brogan is expressly said to have composed it at the request of his master, St. Ultan of Ardbraccaen: "Ultan of Ardbraccaen, the tutor of Brogan, requested him to narrate the miracles of Brigid in appropriate, poetical language, for Ultan had collected all the miracles of Brigid for him". In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, the same statement is made under the 4th of September, the feast of St. Ultan, as follows:

"Ultan, Bishop of Ardbrecain. He was of the race of Jrial, son of Conall Cearnach. One of the habits of Ultan was to feed with his own hands every child who had no support in Erin, so that he often had fifty and thrice fifty with him together, though it was difficult for him to feed them. One hundred and eighty-nine was his age when he went to Heaven, A.D. 656.

"Cuimin of Coindeire also says that he had a prison of stone, or boards against his side, and that he used to bathe in cold water in a sharp wind, thus he said :

¹ Colgan has omitted two words in his translation (*Tr. Th.*, p. 515.): being all but illegible, he doubtless did not notice them.

² A word is completely defaced here.

" ' Ultan loves his children ;
A prison for his lean side,
And a bath in cold water
In the sharp wind he loved'.

" It was he that collected the miracles of Brigid into one book, and gave them to Brogan-Cloen, his disciple, and commanded him to turn them into verse, so that it was the latter who composed 'The Victorious Brigid loved not', as it is found in the Book of Hymns" (*Martyr. of Donegal*, Public. I. A. S. pag. 287. seq.).

Again, when commemorating our holy patroness on the 1st of February, it is said :

" It was Ultan that collected the virtues and miracles of Brigid together, and *who commanded his disciple Brogan* to put them into poetry, as is evident in the Book of Hymns, i.e., 'The Victorious Brigid did not love' ", etc. (*ibid.*, pag. 35).

4. The connection of the author of our poem with St. Ultan, sufficiently indicates the time when it was composed. The death of St. Ultan, as we have just seen, is marked in the *Martyrology of Donegal* in 656. The *Annals of the Four Masters* in the same year record his death "on the 4th of September, in the one hundred and eightieth year of his age" (O'Donov., i. 269). The *Annals of Ulster* register it in the same year, though in 662 they again mention it with the additional remark *secundum alium librum*. Tigernach records his demise in 657, varying as he generally does by one year from the other annalists. This date corresponds perfectly with the historic data which are given in the Scholia on the Metrical Calendar of Aengus the Culdee; from which we learn that St Ultan specially devoted himself to the care of the orphans, who were deprived of their parents by the yellow plague, which laid waste our island about the middle of the seventh century (see *Introduction to Obits, etc., of Christ Church*, by Dr. Todd. I. A. S., pag. lxxv.). Cathal Maguire, in his *Annotations on Aenghus*, at the 4th September, says that Diarmait Mac Cearbháill was king of Ireland in the time of Ultan of Ardracan; and we know from our annalists that Diarmait reigned from 644 to 665. In the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* of Michael O'Clery, at chap. 23, is given the genealogy of St. Ultan, who is ninth in descent from Caolbadh, king of Ulster, who died in 357. Allowing then thirty years to each descent, the age of St. Ultan is brought down to 627. As, however, all our ancient writers agree in assigning an extreme old age to our saint, the date 656 may, without hesitation, be marked for his demise.

Since, therefore, St. Brogan composed this poem at the request of his great master, St. Ultan, we may safely assign its date to

about the year 650. The reference to the monasteries in which it was composed, agrees perfectly with this date. Sliabh-bladhma and Clonmore were both founded about the year 620. The poem itself furnishes some intrinsic data which lead to the same conclusion: thus, in verse 10, a fact from the life of St. Coemghen of Glendaloch is historically introduced, and this saint's repose is chronicled in our annals in 617. We may, therefore, confidently assign the interval between 620 and 650, as the period when St. Brogan composed this poem.

5. We should here add some notes to illustrate the many peculiar forms of expression which are used in the poem itself. Our limited space, however, obliges us to confine our remarks to the phrase which occurs in the second verse, in which St. Brigid is styled "The Mother of the heavenly King". At first sight this seems to be a startling expression, and yet it is only a simple metaphor taken from the words of our Divine Saviour, in which He teaches that whosoever performs the will of His heavenly Father, "the same is His Brother, and Sister and Mother". There was a special reason why our Irish writers used this phrase in regard to our great patroness. They love to style her "the Mary of Erin": they liken her virtues, miraculous power, and patronage to those of the Holy Virgin; and they add that, as Mary is the leader of all the virgin choirs, so Brigid is the leader of the virgins of Erin. St. Ultan, in the beautiful poem, "Christus in nostra insula" (*Lib. Hymn.*, I. A. S., pag. 58), says of St. Brigid, that "she pledged herself to become the Mother of Christ, and proved herself to be so by her words and deeds". The same great saint, in his *Life of St. Brigid*, mentions how, during an assembly of the clergy of Kildare, a holy man announced to them that he had seen the Blessed Virgin Mary in vision, and when on the next day St. Brigid came to the assembly, he immediately cried out, "This is holy Mary, whom I saw in my vision": then adds the writer, "all gave glory unto her as being in the type of Mary" (Colgan, *Vit. Test.*, cap. 14, pag. 528). The *Martyrology of Donegal*, on the 1st of February, writes:

"A very ancient old book of vellam, in which is found the Martyrology of Maelruain of Tamhlacht, and the saints of the same name, and the names of many of the mothers of the saints, states that Brigid was following the manners and the life which the holy Mary, Mother of Jesus, led. It was this Brigid, too, that did not take her mind or her attention from the Lord for the space of one hour at any time, but was constantly mentioning Him, and ever constantly thinking of Him" (Public. I. A. S., pag. 85).

Other passages from our ancient writers, illustrating this title,

may be seen in the *Book of Hymns* (I. A. S., pag. 65). Hence, St. Brigid being "the Mary of Erin", our poets did not hesitate to apply to her in a figurative sense those titles which strictly speaking could only designate the speial and characteristic prerogatives of the holy Mother of God.

6. There is another short Irish poem which presents in a most striking way many of these titles. It is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College and in that of St. Isidore's. Colgan, who gave a Latin translation of it (*Trias*, pag. 606), attributes it to St. Columbkille, and the preface in the *Liber Hymnorum* also mentions this saint as one of those to whom it was generally referred. Others, however, attribute it to St. Ultan, the great master of St. Brogan-Cloen, and under his name it was printed with an English translation by the learned Mr. Stokes in his *Goidilica*, pag. 81. It is as follows:

Brigit be bithmatch	Brigid, noble woman!
bneo opro oblech	A flame, golden, beautiful,
wompe von bithflach	A sun dazzling splendid,
an grian tino cōrolech.	May she bear us to the eternal kingdom.
Ronroena brigit	May Brigid save us,
Sech vñngu demne	Despite the throngs of demons
no[r] noena neunn	May she overthrow before us
cathu cack teome.	The battle-hosts of every disease.
Voroooba innunn	May she destroy within us
ap colla ciru	O'er flesh's taxes (i.e. our sins),
inchnoeb comblathaib	O blossoming branch!
in mathair iru.	O Mother of Jesus!
Anofrioḡ inmain	The pure Virgin, dear to us,
Conorvðam arbaill	Great her dignity,
biamroen cechinbaro	May we be always safe
lamnoeb oo laignib.	With my saint of the Lagenians.
Lethcholba flacha	She is a pillar of the Kingdom
la pacraic primroe	With Patrick the preeminent, ¹
intlacht uafraigib	The garment of garments,
inorigain pignae.	The Queen of Queens.
Robbet iappinic	When in our old age
encuipp hicclic	O'er bodies are laid in sackcloth,
vianach ponboena	May Brigid shower her blessings on us,
ponruera brigit.	May Brigid save us.

7. As regards the hymn of St. Brogan-Cloen, it was first published by Colgan (*Trias*, pag. 515), with a Latin translation. Mr. Stokes, too, has of late published it from the Trinity College text (*Goidilica*, Calcutta; 1866, pag. 82, seqq.); accompanying it with an English translation which, however, he admits to be very far from classical. We now present the Irish text of St. Isidore's MS., and we add a Latin translation, based on that of Colgan, but in which many corrections have been made in accordance with the more literal version of Mr. Stokes. We cannot conclude without thanking Mr. O'Looney for his kind and valuable assistance in editing this important record of our early Church.

¹ The gloss adds that "Patrick is the head of the men, Brigid of the women of Ireland".

HYMNUS S. BRIGIDAE.

Nilcair Íbrigis buaonach bith,
riasaip fuithe eoin inaile:
contuil cotluio cimmeoa
inonóeb ari écnairic ammaicc.

Níomor neasnáig etairse,
trínoit con huagail hírig:
Íbrigit matair mo fuaireach
níme fláca feij cíni.

Nírbu écnairg, nírbu elc,
ní ruchair banchach brígach:
níbu naithig bémnech, bhecc,
níríg Mac Dé ari vibao.

Níru fori fuitu fantaich,
érnearf cen neim, cen mathim;
nírbu chalao, ceannachtach,
nicair inoomun cathim.

Nírbu fhi óigthiu acher,
cain boi fhi lobhru truaigu:
fori maig agra tacht cathi,
dollaioi ronraove fuaigu.

Níbu airgeach eirlebe,
genair fori meon maige;
amru agra do thuath aib,
dagnam flatha Maic Mairé.

Amru ramuo Sanct Íbrigte,
amra pleá con huala;
bahoen imCruist congoba,
dal arcomtig fíroama.

Foh uair Mac Caille calle
uaghchino Sanct Íbrigte:
bameno inn a himthechtaib,
forpinti paelor a itge.

Oia noongairiuin fhi cech trer,
nach moe riorat mobeoil;

5

10

15

20

25

30.

Gloss. 1.—We are indebted to a kind friend for the following interlinear glosses: in a future number we hope to insert the marginal notes with some further remarks on the author of the poem:—1. nil caip.—1. ni poedan [she loved not] Íbrigit.—1. Óneo fariat [fiery dart]. Bith.—1. in bith [the world]. 2. Siarair.—1. no faindeartar [she sat]. Eorn.—1. avis, no [vel] Eorn.—1. in virginitate. In ailt.—1. in altitude. 5. Ní mor.—1. nibuaga [not excessive]. neasnáig.—1. a hecnach [her earping]. 6. Trínoit con uafal hírig.—1. iucu poboi con iuir uafal na Trínoite ocoai [From the beginning she had the noble faith of the Trinity]. 12. Ní fhi.—1. in po nec [she sold not]. 13. Ní bu fori fuitu fantaich.—1. mpr bu fantaich fhi fuitu [she was not greedy for trifles]. 14. Ermair.—1. no eirmiata [she bestowed]. Cen neim.—1.—cen imoergao [without reproach]. 15. Nír bu chalao.—1. nír bo gando [she was not pernicious]. 16. Nicair.—1. ni pochaip [she loved not]. in domun cathim.—1. catim in domun trífein

HYMNUS S. BRIGIDÆ.

- Non dilexit Brigidæ victoriosa mundum,
Sedit sessionem alitis in alto,
Dormivit somnum captivi
Sancta, propter absentem filium.
Non multum fecit obloquium, 5
Fidem habuit nobilem Trinitatis:
Brigidæ mater Domini mei
Coelorum, Domini inter natos optimi.
Non erat querula, non erat malevola,
Non dilexit contentiones muliebres vehementes, 10
Non erat serpens contumeliosa, maculata,
Non vendivit Filium Dei pro transitoriis.
Non erat cupida rerum temporalium,
Largiebatur sine felle, sine remissione,
Non erat parca, nec prætendens excusationem, 15
Non diligebat mundum transitorium.
Non erat cum hospitibus aspera,
Benigne tractabat leprosos miseros,
In campo extruxit suam civitatem,
Ad regnum Dei populosum nos conducat. 20
Non erat armentaria montana,
Nata est in medio campo.
Bona erat scala pro populis,
Ad intrandum in regnum Filii Mariae.
Praeclara erat congregatio Brigidae, 25
Praeclarus locus cum dignitate:
Circa solum Christum erat sollicita,
Familia ab hospitibus frequentata.
Posuit bonis avibus Maccallæus velum
Super caput Sanctæ Brigidae; 30
Clarum erat in eius gestis,
In coelo exaudita est eius petitio:
Deum Te precor in omnibus adversis,
Modis omnibus quibus valet os meum,

guroem [she loved not the transitory things of the world for herself indeed].
 17. Acher.—.i. ἄρρενας, no ἄρρεν, no ἄρρεν .i. ἡρα [passionate, or bitter, or (it may be thus:) acher, i.e. angry, i.e. ira]. 19. ἀραιτάχε.—.i. πο χυμταῖς [sic built]. 20 Λαύρ.—.i. Θεο [of God]. Ρομηνοε.—.i. θριγίτ [may Brigid conduct us]. 23. Δαμποւ.—.i. μετατη .i. θριγιόε [the city, i.e. of Brigid]. Οὐ εὐαχθεῖ.—.i. οὐ εὐαρέσκαμ [that they may enter]. 25. Δαμπού.—.i. bona. Σανκτὴ θριγίτ.—.i. a Sancto (derivatur Sanct.). 26. Κον ιωλα.—.i. ιωνιανη [with dignity]. 27. Βα οηνο.—.i. βα ιμ Κριτ αεναρ ποβοι άγγελον, no πορογαβηταρ [its solicitude was for Christ alone, or (congabe, i.e.) it was solicitous, etc.]. 28. Αρ κομτι.—.i. αρ γναθαχ [frequented]. Γη ναμα.—.i. γη οεγιτι [by guests]. 29. Πο.—.i. μαιθ [good]. 31. Βα μενο.—.i. βα πολληρ [it was conspicuous]. 33. Νοργουροι.—.i. νοργουροι [i beseech thee]. 34. Ναχ μον.—.i. ναν μον [every way]. Ρορεφατ.—.i. πο

35. Domnu. — .1. fōdomna quam māre [deeper than the sea.] 37. Coemgen. — .1. cōem in gen, no agin. .1. a ḡrēc, no māith a eplab̄a [beautiful the child, or (beautiful) his mouth, i.e. his countenance, or (the meaning of the word coemgen may be) good his speech]. 39. Da Loch. — .1. da locha [of the two lakes.] 40. Conio naſlario. — .1. conaſlīng [so that he possessed]. 1ap jaeth. — .1. 1ap ſecup [after labor]. 41. Ni bu ſanc Brigit ſuanach. — .1. Sic Sancta Brigita fuit sicut Coemgen. Shuanach. — .1. cotultach [sleepy]. 42. Ni bu uafach. — .1. ni hinuaifib ſepcc De Aice, act uogner [it was not occasionally she had the love of God, but constantly.] 43. Sechnich-iuſt. — .1. ni pochpen [she did not lay up]. 44. Ni noſta. — .1. ni poſ cornaſtar [she did not preserve]. 44. Uethao ce. — .1. eſtāraſ [fleeting]. 45. Anoo	35 35 40 45 45 50 55 60 65 70
T̄riar, Oenfēr, am̄u ḡceoil. ſoach̄ru von c̄ath Coemgen clot, rnecta t̄riar̄in luáer̄ gaet, Inglinn valoch cért̄a c̄iōth̄ Conionaplario r̄ich iap̄ jaethi. Ni bu Sanct Brigit ſuanach, ni bu uafach im ſeinc Óe; rech nichuij, nihorena Ino noeb vibaõ bethao ce.	
Anoořigenai inR̄i do ſeptaib ari Sanct Brigit, ari niðerinta ariouni, capim ſcuala cluař nachib̄i.	
Cetna thogaunt viaſoidev, Laceteim hífenamain; Niðgeib uorath a hóegeod, niðroigaih allenamain.	
Allucht ſalle iappuioiu, fērcup̄-ba ari acoſcup̄ Sech ba pathech inçu Óe, ni bu bponach intorcup̄.	
Lathi buana vi māvboct, niðrith loct̄ ari lāmchab̄oib̄; batari carochi naðorte, fōnbith ſepair̄ anb̄ig.	
Eppcoip uovař cenrat, niðbu diñi inðabuv̄ vi, manbađ ſopiaraih injj̄i, blegoñ innambo patk̄hi.	
Argaunt̄ lathé anb̄ige caracha ſop medon nēoe; Scaraip iapum a ſopib̄iat itaij̄ ſopuerlein̄ ſpiene.	
Inn mac agnōr iuðarcaro Brigtae ari écnair̄ ari R̄is, uobert̄ rech̄ multu huade,	

refret [they are able.] 35. Domnu.—.1. fōdomna quam māre [deeper than the sea.] 37. Coemgen.—.1. cōem in gen, no agin. .1. a ḡrēc, no māith a eplab̄a [beautiful the child, or (beautiful) his mouth, i.e. his countenance, or (the meaning of the word coemgen may be) good his speech]. 39. Da Loch.—.1. da locha [of the two lakes.] 40. Conio naſlario.—.1. conaſlīng [so that he possessed]. 1ap̄ jaeth.—.1. 1ap ſecup [after labor]. 41. Ni bu ſanc Brigit ſuanach.—.1. cotultach [sleepy]. 42. Ni bu uafach.—.1. ni hinuaifib ſepcc De Aice, act uogner [it was not occasionally she had the love of God, but constantly.] 43. Sechnich-iuſt.—.1. ni pochpen [she did not lay up]. 44. Ni noſta.—.1. ni poſ cornaſtar [she did not preserve]. 44. Uethao ce.—.1. eſtāraſ [fleeting]. 45. Anoo

Profundiorem pelago, magnifice praedicabilem,	35
Trinum et Unum, mirifica narratio.	
Vocavit ad praelium Coemghenium celebrem,	
Nivem in eum agitat ventus,	
Glindolachae sustinuit crucem,	
Ut reperiret requiem post tribulationem.	40
Non fuit Sancta Brigid somnolenta,	
Non temporaria circa amorem Dei,	
Non acquisivit, non custodivit	
Sancta, res transitorias huius mundi.	
Tot operatus est Dominus	45
Virtutes per Sanctam Brigidam,	
Quot non factae sunt per hominem,	
In ullo loco ubi audivit auris viventis,	
Prima vice qua missa est,	
Tempore verno, curru vimineo,	50
Nihil diminuit de prosperitate hospitis,	
Nec diminuit eius substantiam.	
Larido ex cacabo posteā,	
Quodam vespere, magnus fuit triumphus,	
Dum erat satiatus canis inde,	55
Nec propterea contristatus hospes.	
Quodam die messis, licet erat pauper,	
Non erat haec ansa reprehensionis religiosae meeae,	
Serenum fuit in ejus messe,	
Per reliqua loca ingens pluvia.	60
Episcopi hospites accesserunt ad eam,	
Quod esset non modicam hospitalitati periculum,	
Nisi succurisset Dominus	
Per lac trinum vaccarum.	
Custodiebat die vehementis pluviae	65
Oves in media planicie,	
Pallium postea explicuit,	
Domi, super radium solis.	
Vir improbus, qui postulavit	
A Brigidā, propter amorem Domini,	70
Accepit septem verveces ab ea,	

μιγεναι.—ι. cen labant rona reptaib ῥοτη [without mentioning the miracles that follow here]. 48. Καρμ.—ι. τιο ατην [whatever place]. 1. (cuala).—ι. ubi. 61. Τουσαργενταρ.—ι. ποαθαργενταρ [they went (to her)]. 62. Νην δυδινηρ.—ι. νι βι τε, νο νι βι νεριοι [it would not be small, or, it would not be trifling]. 63. Μανβαο.—ι. μανι ρυζεο [had he not added]. 65. Δργαιρ.—ι. πο ινγαιρ [she herded]. 67. Ιαρυμ.—ι. ιαρ γεν [after that]. ξορβητα.—ι. α cocoll. πο ρειρετας ιασταρας αρκενα [her cow, or whatever other upper garment (she wore)]. 69. In mac.—ι. in meρplech tanic co δηριγιτ [the thief who came to Brigid]. Ρο ιαρσαο.—ι. πογανεταρ ι. πο γυνεταρ [he requested]. 71. Το βεητ.—ι.

- atáet nír dírgaib allín.
- 15** Dom rour̄ matchour̄
an dorrigenai domaith,
amra t̄ i nforr̄gusin, 75
Senta impe ba neiglair.
- Senair incallis comair̄,
ba glan cen neim cen galair,
bamó amra ariailiu,—
vincloich dorrigne falano. 80
- Níru rímo, níairimo,
an dorrigenai insondeib duil;
bennachair inclaianeich,
comtar̄ forriel a tírui.
- Ingen amlabai roberc 85
Urigte, ba hoen amra,
níluio aláim agra laim
comtar̄ neil accomlabra.
- Amra, cinne renartar,
ba neit Dé rudoiglinneartar,
nobó mi lán lar̄ incoin,
incú noconmilleartar. 90
- Damo amra ariailiu,
mír votluchértar̄ donluct,
nicoill dath ammarita,
brothach focneig innahuct. 95
- In clam gáde ailegér t̄i,
bamaith conidrualaio dó,
renair̄ foriclu naloeg,
capair̄ foriclu nambo. 100
- Repaig iapum a chapput
rochuaio vo Úrig Cobraig Coil,
alloeg liaclam icaspput,
inbó inoisairo alloeg. •
- Inoisiam doadaigcenat,
fó léó rudoigcload nech,
fínu conucaib inob
matan tancatai atech. 105

73. If dom rour̄.—.i. if dom dan .i. if dom filirect [it appertains to my profession, i.e. my poetic art]. Matchour̄.—.i. maoirian imriur? [if I fully relate?]. 76. Senta.—.i. nō renartar̄ [she blessed]. 77. in caillig.—.i. caillech nobo i Cluan Moigna, ocus comalle mci, cotarla Úrigt vocum na cille, co tanic iappat̄ co Úrigio, ocus cop bo glan iapum [a virgin who was in Cluan Moigna, and she was pregnant; so that when Brigid came afterwards to the church, she went to Brigid and was therewith cured.] 79. Ba mo amra.—.i. Ba moe in tamu fírcailo vo venam [it was a greater marvel to perform another miracle (than this just narrated)]. 81. Ní arimo.—.i. ní etair̄ a cupum .i. nietair̄ a árum, no níairimim ecce inderna vo feartai [I cannot recite them, i.e. I cannot enumerate them; or, I do not mention all the

- Nec gregis inde diminuit ipsa numerum.
Ad meam scientiam spectat referre
Quot fecit sancta opera bona,
Praeclarum ipsi balneum benedictum, 75
Factumque circum eam cervisia rubra.
Benedixit quamdam sanctimonialem gravidam,
Eamque curavit a dolore et infirmitate,
Fuit et aliud miraculum majus,
Lapidem convertit in salem. 80
Non possem ennumerare omnia
Quae fecit sancta creatura,
Benedixit facie tabularem,
Ita ut limpidus redderetur uterque oculus.
Filia muta allata fuit 85
Brigidae, singulare erat facinus,
Non dimisit manum suam e manu illius,
Donec clare fuerint collocutae.
Praeclarum quomodo lardum benedixit,
Hoc virtus Dei praestitit, 90
Illud integro mense erat juxta canem,
Nec canis semel attigit.
Praeclarus erat et alterum,—
Portio carnium accepta ex olla
Non inficit colorem vestium ejus,
Licet calida fuerit ejus sinu excepta. 95
Leprosus institit apud eam pro eleemosyna,
Et bonum ei quod ipsa donaverit,
Illa benedixit vitulum optimum,
Qui post hoc optimam inter vaccas diligebat. 100
Progressus postea curru vectus,
Versus Aquilonem ad Brigh Chobtaigh Chadil,
Vitulus cum leproso in curru,
Vacca sequebatur vitulum.
Boves qui ad eam accesserant, 105
Bonum eis si aliquis eos revertisset,
Eis restitit fluvius,
Mane reversi sunt domum.

miracles she performed]. 82. ino noeb ouil.—i. ino ouil noeb [the creature holy]. 89. Senartap —i. Brigid. 90. Ro voglinneftap —i. voglinneftap [secured (it)]. 94. Dotluchetap.—i. ro dotlagentap [she desires]. 96. Drongach.—i. te [hot]. Rocper innahuct.—i. nolaad innascit .i. inuct Dringte [it fell upon her bosom, i.e. the bosom of Brigid]. 97. Gave algen —i. noguro a algaif [she begged her alms]. 98. Conropualao vo .i. co noenartap [that she granted it]. 100. Capair pocelu nambo.—i. ro capartap inloeg togu nabu [the calf loved (followed) the best of the cows]. 105. Ovodaaf censat.—i. ro atarcantap [which came to her]. 106. fo.—i. math [good]. Ro vordcloid.—i. porcloidev [if (anyone) turned them]. 107. Conucabid.—i. vo tuapcaib. inoob.—i. inoabano [the river rose up].

- Scapair ahech ceno abret,
intan dophetetarpon pan, 110
Nibu lechipe innam,
Mac De fomoraid pigtaim.
Tathig fomc allaro atchet,
fotchuaio dor efan anor,
Senaip bprigit labachaille,
liamucca gabair for.
Mugairt mucc meth vi dobleth
dapi Mag Fea, ba amra,
taifnetar coin alta vi,
comboi inllactur Gabra.
Agrir inprinnach nalloro
do naith a athig intluais,
vochum fevai compelai,
ce voferpnatai intluais.
Damenn inn a himthectaib,
bah gen matheji Mac Rig maipl;
Senaip innen luannach,
Conio nimmejic innalasm.
Nonbuir vibescaich renair,
amcrat amindia allino chro,
in fepi folmagorretar
goita nifritch colano do.
An domigne vo fepitairb
nifail dohuiume coceir,
Amra ngsab pjiointo lugoach,
Trenfeji niodigair anept.
Omna natuargair inrluas,
Infechta naile, vigeirei cloe,
Aphent am Mac la bprigtae
co aijm iochsao aboth.
Inret arsgait-nad clethi
ari uic fji fjaic inoniao,
focreir inmuiri fuit poit,
Coppitch immevon iach.
Amra vi inbantreibthach 145
aprououtacht im Maiis Coil

109. Ceno a bret.—i. robair fo bprigtait indeich [the harness] broke upon the breast of the horse]. 110. Dophetetarpon.—i. no peirtearpon [they were going]. 112. Fomoraid.—i. no fomoraidar, no, no fomagorecar—helped or relieved (her)]. 120. Gabra.—i. tellac mosp fil im Maiis Lagen [a great hill situated in the plain of Leinster]. 121. Agrir.—i. no erpastaip [she bestowed]. 123. Compelai.—i. no elai, no ngori [he escaped or]. 124. Cevoferpnatai.—i. ce nataifnetar [though it (the multitude) hunted (him)]. 129. Nonbuir vibescaich.—i. Oubloclain vorib, ut fepitair [it is said they were Danes]. 130. Amcrat 135. Amra

- Equus caput suum e fraeno solvit,
Dum decurrentib[us] per declive,
Nec idcirco jugum inaequale exstitit,
Filius enim Dei regia manu succurrit. 110
- Aper frequentabat ejus gregem
Ab Aquilone, ubi est vallis nunc.
Quem Brigida baculo suo benedixit,
Cum grege jugiter permansit. 115
- Porcum pinguem ipsi datum
Per campum Mage Fea, res praecleara,
Insecuti sunt eum lupi,
Usque dum veniret ad Uachter Gabhra. 120
- Tradidit vulpem sylvestrem,
Donum curatori suo miserabilis;
Ad sylvam postea evasit.
Quamvis eum persequebantur turmae. 125
- Clarum fuit in ejus gestis
Quod singularis mater fuerit Filii Regis Magni;
Benedixit avem volatilē,
Ita ut luderet super ejus manū,
- Novem latrones benedixit
Qui intinxerunt sua arma in sanguine,
Sed quem impetebant
Lanceis, non habebat corpus. [i.e. fuit species inanis]. 130
- Quantas fecerit virtutes,
Nullus est qui referre posset plane,
Praeclarum qualiter minuerit edacitatem Lugadii, 135
Pugilis, et ejus non extinxit vires.
- Arborem quem dimovere non poterat multitudo,
Alia vice, praecleara virtus,
Transtulit ejus Filius pro Brigida,
Ad locum ubi (ipsa Brigida) moderatam agebat vitam. 140
- Gemma argentea, quod stendum non est,
Quae, ut malum servae militis fieret,
Projecta est longo jactu in mari,
Reperitur in ventre salmonis.
- Praeclarum ipsi qualiter viduae,
Succurrerit in Campo Caoil, 145

nogab.—.i. march do gaib [well she took]. ḡr̄mo.—.i. noigaidh ḡr̄mo [she diminished the meal]. 138. Cl̄ct.—.i. ēgne .i. cloic, ingn̄m [illustrious, i.e., famous, the deed]. 139. Amād.—.i. C̄pt̄ [Christ]. 140. Co ar̄m.—.i. co hinev [to the place]. 141. lochtara & both.—.i. ḡr̄c̄ra .i. m̄po bo māit a bith [when her life was mortified, i.e., holy]. 141. ḡr̄c̄lech.—.i. n̄p̄ bo corp .i. vocleit, no vo vicit [which it would not be just to conceal, or forget]. 142. ḡn̄ p̄anc.—.i. ḡn̄ c̄manū [towards the handmaid]. ino maro.—.i. in t̄p̄n̄ p̄p̄ [the champion]. 143. p̄ot̄.—.i. p̄osa [long]. Roit.—.i. ep̄choir̄ [cast], 144. iach.—.i. in br̄atam [the salmon]. 145. am̄a.—.i. march .i. do br̄igit [good, i.e., for Brigidi]. 146. ḡr̄vouctact.—.i. ḡr̄voer̄taig [she succoured?].

1. **Loifcier** in gairmait **nu**
 roj tein iefuin in oloeg.
Bamo amra aghairiu,
 ariomhalaigtar in sonoeb
 matan ba hóig in gairman
 liamathairi **vith** in oloeg. 150
In dan arsgat na chommais
 in cheir, nubo amra vó,
 rojbí bhrigte fhiaboir
 iarum, commebaro hitrí.
Focleff immeis lár inceir,
 foirith amra iarrusiu,
 nífuirecht cróen fchrepu,
 bamó truis aghair. 155
An oighe vo fírtaib,
 ní fail dune dovecha;
 Senair villait vo Chonlair,
 an tan do bhech vo lethá.
Intan hi bagabu vó,
 am Mac riempe níroeirbhíath,
 doberit villat iomol,
 ionchino icasírat doirth. 160
An ól mead vó do bhech,
 nibo aincear cech tuca,
 coirith stoeb tegvair,
 nicon aighneart aon chucá. 165
Agrír vo raith a hachis,
 intan ionánic aleaff
 Sech nífuirecht foircíair aon,
 nicon terbád banna ar.
Foroon itge Ólrigte bet
 rích fhi gábu covenróir,
 níobbet inna lobhan leth,
 ionoul ingnuir Spíru Nóeb. 175
Donfáir coclaroib theneo,
 donchath fhi iala craia,
 iongnadat aonob itge
 hipláth nime fech phiana.
 180

149. **ba mo amra** —1. **ba moe** [in tamu fírt aile] vo venam aon [it was a greater marvel to perform another miracle]. 150. **ariomhalaigtar** —1. **ro imoilgátar** [(Brigid) affected]. 152. **Vith** —1. **ro vithtar** [the suckled].
 153. **in dan arsgat** —1. **in mnó, no intarcáir** [the gem, or the treasure].
Naochommais —1. **nárobhrí** [which he broke not]. 155. **Rojbí** —1. **rojbhrí** [(Brigid) broke it]. 157. **Focleff** —1. **poláir** [it was put]. **Lár** in ceir. —1. **Lár** in ceirvoi [by the artisan]. 159. **ni fuirecht** —1. **ni aighneart** [there was not observed]. 162. **Dune dovecha** —1. **dóine a riaccuim** [a person to recount them]. 163. **Senair villait** —1. **ro renartar etach** [she blessed reasment]. 169. **An ól** —1. **mo tabac** [the vessel]. **Ól** —1. **vo Ólrigte** [to

- Quae combussit postem novum,
Super ignem in coquendo vitulum.
Praeclarus fuit et alterum
Quod praestitit Sancta,
Mane postis repertus est integer,
Et matrem sugebat vitulus. 150
- Donarium argenteum quod non potuit frangere
Faber aerarius, praeclarum erat Sanctae,
Fregit Brigida sua manu
Postea, ut exslicerit in tres partes.
Ponderatae erant partes per artificem,
Repertum est, post hoc miraculum aliud,
Ne scrupula quidem est inventa,
Qua pars tertia maior altera fuit. 155
- Quot patravit miracula,
Non est qui plene posset referre,
Benedixit paramenta Conlaido,
Quando ad Italiam ibat,
Quando erant ei necessaria, 160
Eius Filius ante eam ipsam non decipiebat,
Attulit illi paramenta in arca,
Quae feliciter posuit in curru.
- Vas mulsi erat ei oblatum,
Nec detrimenti quidquam passus est offerens, 170
Repertum enim est juxta ejus domum,
Apud eam non inventum fuit.
- Tradidit illud suo curatori,
Quando ipsi erat necessarium,
Nec repertum est crescere, 175
Nec ex eo cecidit gutta.
- Protegant nos preces Brigidae,
Sit protectio ab defendendis nos contra pericula,
Nos miseri simus sub ejus patrocinio,
Antequam veniamus ad conspectum Spiritus Sancti. 180
- Succurrat nobis cum gladio ignito,
In certamine contra impetus daemonum malignos,
Perducant nos sanctae ejus preces
Ad regnum coeleste liberatos a poenis.

Brigid]. *Bo b̄p̄ech*.—*i.* *tucāo* [was brought]. 170. *n̄i bo ancer*.—*i.* *n̄i bu*
vōmēne vōn t̄i tuc [it was not disadvantageous to him who brought (it to
 Bright)]. 173. *Δ̄p̄ip̄*.—*i.* *p̄oep̄nār̄t̄p̄* [she bestowed]. *Δ̄hach̄ig*.—*i.* *Δ̄p̄ip̄*
m̄uiḡne [her steward]. 175. *n̄i r̄apecht*.—*i.* *n̄ib̄ap̄n̄ct̄*, *i.* *n̄ip̄n̄t̄ch* [there
 was not observed, i.e., not found]. 177. *lop̄ vōn t̄ige*.—*i.* *p̄opn̄nt̄c̄e b̄p̄iḡe*
i. p̄o[ʃ]oxt̄act̄aiḡet vōn ait̄gej̄in i. b̄iḡte [upon us (may) Brigid's prayers
 (be), i.e., may her, i.e., Brigid's prayers protect us]. *b̄et*.—*i.* *no bet* [may they
 be]. 178. *Conp̄oia*.—*i.* *ap̄ p̄oiai* [. . . . our assistance].
 182. *Ciapa*.—*i.* *ubā elta ubā demonū* [black flights of demons . . .]. 184. *Ron̄p̄nāv̄at*.—*i.* *ap̄ p̄oep̄as*

Rianoul la haingliu von chath,
ne cam inneclair forphith;

185

tachmet fiavat, feirri cechnach,
nicair Órigit buaoach bith.

Atteoch éplam Sanct Órigte,
Co fantaib Chille dara,

190

nobbet etiom ocuf phein,
manim niodig imoda.

Inchaillech impeveto Cuinnech

195

noprciatr nefoebia réde,
nifuaipi afer ácht Maire,

domunammap mobrigé,

Domunemmap mobrigé,

noprimdegail viaircuire;

Conacra rím a néplam,

ar noilem cépnam uile

200

Molao Cuirt, clothach Labharo,

aoisao Maic Dé ván búadair,

nopflacha Dé cenfena,

cach nogab, cach nochualá,

Cach nochualá, cach nogab,

205

nobbé bennact Órigte far;

bennacht Órigte ocuf Dé i

forfodriabat immalle,

Fail vi challig ipichro,

nochofnagur domoichil,

Maire ocuf Sanct Órigit,

210

fonafoeßam vún viblinarb.

[our deliverance]. 187. Tachmet.—i. Comerce .i. impeveto [protection]. Fiavat.—i. in De maiç [of the good God]. Cech nath.—i. cech vana [each science]. 189. Eplam.—i. éplam .i. arbol allam rím venam pentu ocuf mhabaile [great her hand, i.e., wonderful her hand in working miracles and prodigies]. 193. Impeveto.—i. no phadageo .i. no impect [who

<i>Antequam eamus cum angelis ad certamen,</i>	185
<i>Curramus ad Ecclesiam celeriter;</i>	
<i>Protectio Domini praestantior est omni officio,</i>	
<i>Non amavit Brigida victoriosa mundum.</i>	
<i>Precor patrocinium Sanctae Brigidae,</i>	
<i>Cum Sanctis Killdariensibus,</i>	190
<i>Se interponant inter nos et poenas,</i>	
<i>Anima mea in perditionem ne veniat.</i>	
<i>Sanctimonialis quae percurrebat Curreach,</i>	
<i>Sit noster clypeus contra arma acuta,</i>	
<i>Non invenit sui similem praeter Mariam,</i>	195
<i>Confidamus in Virtute mea, [i.e. Brigida].</i>	
<i>Confidamus in Virtute mea,</i>	
<i>Sit protectrix nostris turmis,</i>	
<i>Adjuvet ejus patrocinium,</i>	
<i>Ut mereamur omnes evadere.</i>	200
<i>Laudes Christi sermo preclarus,</i>	
<i>Adorare Dei Filium officium victoriosum;</i>	
<i>Regnum coeleste obtineat,</i>	
<i>Quicunque recitaverit, quicunque audierit.</i>	
<i>Quisquis auscultaverit, quisquis recitaverit,</i>	205
<i>Benedictio Brigidae sit super eum,</i>	
<i>Benedictio Brigidae et Dei,</i>	
<i>Sit super recitantes simul.</i>	
<i>Sunt duae sanctae virgines in caelis,</i>	
<i>Quae suscipiant meam protectionem,</i>	210
<i>Maria et Sancta Brigida,</i>	
<i>Quarum patrocinio innitamur singuli.</i>	

drove, i.e., who went]. *Cona*—i. a cursu equorum dictus est. 199. *Conacra*—i. *no cognā* [may it help me]. 200. *Δημοτικόν*—i. *πορνάμ* [may we deserve]. 201. *Clochach*—i. *αἰρωνής* [distinguished]. 210. *Vom vichill*—i. . . . In the MS. Trinity College, Dublin, is added the Latin strophe:

“*Sancta Brigitta virgo Sacratissima
In Christo Domino fuit fidelissima. Amen*”.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

"This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
 Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,
 Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic,
 Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that rest on their bosoms.
 Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep-voiced neighbouring ocean
 Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.
 This is the forest primeval; but where are the hearts that beneath it
 Leaped like the roe, when he hears in the woodland the voice of the huntsman?"
 LONGFELLOW's *Evangeline*.

BENEATH the pines of the Arcadian forests described in these lines by the poet, the Catholic Church has created a civilization which she alone has power to create, and which may well put to shame the civilization of which older nations are so proud. In these solitudes as elsewhere, under her saving influences, the stern wilderness has rejoiced and has flourished like the lily; it has budded forth and blossomed, and has rejoiced with joy and praise.¹ True, the civilization of which we speak has none of the splendour or luxury of that of Europe; its glory is entirely from within. It has its seat in a poor tribe of Indians won from their unbelief to the faith of Christ; its triumphs are not so much over the material world as over the inner world of the hearts of these poor and unknown men. The Souroquois, commonly called Micmacs (men practising secrets), were a large and powerful nation, occupying the present Nova Scotia, the Atlantic coast of New Brunswick, the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, and the islands of the gulf of the same river as far east as Newfoundland. In 1760, when Maynard made his submission to the British, the Micmacs were three thousand in number, yet at that time their number was considerably diminished. They are now about two thousand. They still hold large tracts of land. In Cape Breton alone, government has secured to them fourteen thousand acres of excellent land. Whilst in the United States the Indian tribes are fast disappearing before the white man, being mowed down by the vices which the latter has implanted among them, the Micmacs have been preserved, and their preservation is owing to the Catholic Church. In seven years the Indians in the States have lost seventy-four thousand souls, while the Micmacs are still almost what they were one hundred years ago. One of the missionaries who has spent his life among them has communicated to us a truthful picture of what Catholicity has done for the Micmacs, and that picture we now wish to lay before our readers in all simplicity.

¹ *Isaias*, xxxv. 2.

I.

The Micmacs pay particular honour to the Blessed Trinity; for that reason they sign themselves frequently with the holy sign of the cross. They have a great devotion towards our crucified Saviour; hence they sing and read often His passion, and have it represented in their chapels by the stations; hence their great respect for crosses and crucifixes. They have a great devotion towards Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, in honour of which they have several hymns, canticles, the whole doctrine of it being put into verses, which they sing like psalms. They have also a great devotion towards the Infant Jesus. I never read more beautiful and tender compositions than they have in their language.

They have a great devotion towards the saints. Those whom they honour in particular are: the ever Blessed Virgin Mary, called our Mother Mary, St. Joseph, St. Joachim, called Suasin, their patron saint, their guardian angel, but above all St. Anne, the glorious patroness of the whole tribe. She is called by them our grandmother St. Anne. They know several prayers, hymns, and canticles in honour of St. Anne, our Mother Mary, St. Joseph, St. Suasin, *my angel*, and of the patron saint. Several of these are said during the morning and evening prayers. Every little child knows our mother Mary, and our grandmother St. Anne. The names of these saints are often repeated during the day, as, *our Mother Mary, help me*; but *grandmother St. Anne, pray for me*. They make also novenas in honour of those saints. They have pictures of them which they keep with the greatest care. Every chapel is under the invocation of St. Anne. Every one knows with what solemnity the feast of St. Anne is celebrated amongst them.

They make often pilgrimages in honour of St. Anne. When they are in great danger on the sea in their canoe, or in the winter hunting in the woods, or to obtain the grace of baptism for a child not yet born, or to be restored to health, or to obtain some other favours from heaven through the intercession of St. Anne, they make a vow to visit one of the places where she is honoured, and to offer some presents in that place. I saw an Indian who was very sick and given up by all. He made a vow to visit St. Anne in Canada, if God would restore him to health. His petition was granted, and he walked all the way to Canada and back. In general they make the vow to go to the Indian Island, C. B., and to other chapels, and also to places where crosses are erected.

Though the holy names of our mother Mary, of St. Anne, etc., are often repeated by the Micmacs, yet they will always pronounce them with reverence in their necessities and dis-

tress of soul and body. *Jesus, have pity on me; our Great Spirit, have mercy; our mother Mary, I beseech thee to help me*, etc., are frequent expressions; but they will never pronounce them in vain in a disappointment or a passion, as far as I know. They have no idea that holy names should be pronounced in trivial matters or in passion. When the Micmac speaks of God, of His saints, of holy things, he will be very serious. A girl was once accused for having committed a grave fault. And what had she done? She was smiling a little while she was instructing little children. I know of no expression in that language which amounts to a curse.

Whenever any of the Micmacs has offended another by quarrelling, fighting, or by provoking any one to anger, or encouraging him to fight, or by giving bad example by his conduct to any one, he has to ask publicly pardon, which is called in their language, *Habiksiktadink*. The offender has to go in the wigwam of him whom he has offended; all the relations of both parties who are present, as also the neighbours, assemble. One of the old people will make a speech to exhort them to pardon. He who has received the offence expresses then his case, and also the offender. All this is done quietly. Then the offender rises, goes before the other one, kneels down, and says: *My friend, forgive me*; after which he kisses him, and he gives the kiss of peace to every one present. This is done with the greatest silence. Then the other party rises, goes to his offender, kneels down, and says: *My friend, I forgive thee*; after that he kisses him, and all present receive the kiss of peace.

One of the chiefs or one of the old people again makes a speech. Every one of both parties receives a penance, with the difference, that the offender gets a greater one. After the pardon all is forgotten, it is even forbidden to mention it again. If the offence has been grievous, such as fighting, etc., then the two parties will go to confession after the ceremony is over.

If one of the young men or women has offended an aged person, though the latter may have been the first to provoke him, the young people have to go into the old man's camp and ask pardon; for they say we ought to respect old people, and not speak before them. This is also the case if a son or a daughter answer their parents, or give them a reprimand, or strike them. If a husband has left his wife, and has gone to live in another wigwam, he must be the first to ask the pardon. But if she has given him reason for doing so, she has to come to the camp he is living in, and be the first to ask pardon.

If the two parties refuse to make use of the pardon, the chief has to prepare them, or the captains are employed as peacemakers, or others who have some influence over them. This is

very seldom the case. I know but of a single one during six years. Two men were quarrelling about a piece of cleared land. Each one of them pretended it was his own, and that the other ought to come into his wigwam to ask first pardon. They remained about a month in that state.

Besides this public pardon there is a private one. Before any one goes to confession he will go to the wigwam of those he has offended, or who have done anything against him, and will ask their pardon and give them the kiss of peace. If any one refuse him pardon, he cannot go to confession.

If any one of them is very sick, all those who have offended him, and who have been offended by him, will go to visit him and ask pardon. After his death they all pardon one another.

Besides the public and private pardon, there is also a general one, which takes place on Good Friday. The whole tribe comes together on that day. The chief, or whoever presides, gives an exhortation on forgiveness. Then the chief will ask pardon of all for the offences during the year; then the old men; and so on. The pax will not be given on this occasion; and the women will not ask pardon on that day.

Little children who have offended others will only receive *nibisochen* discipline, and do not make use of the pardon.

II.

The Micmac is well known for his great charity. You may well say that the whole tribe forms but one family, and that everything is common amongst them, food, clothes, tools, wigwam, etc. If they get anything, they will divide with their neighbours; or if it is too small to be divided, they will invite them to their wigwams. If any one of them has had a good hunting, such as killing a moose, or a good fishing, every one will partake of it, and there will be feast for all every day as long as it lasts. If anyone enters a Micmac's wigwam while he is at a meal, he will be invited and get the same portion as the rest, should he even be entirely unknown to him. The Micmac will consider it as an injury if any other Micmac enters his camp at the time of a meal and does not partake of it with him. At any time by day or by night that a stranger enters the camp, the woman will never fail to prepare the little food that she has. They consider it a great honour if a white man eats with them.

Old people, orphans, the sick and infirm, are particular objects of the Indian's charity. An old man who has no near relation to take care of him, is taken into the family of a young man, who treats him just as his own father. The other Indians will bring him from time to time something to comfort him in his old age. They make, from time to time, collections

amongst themselves to buy for him what he stands in need of, and you will observe that, in general, old people are better dressed and fed than the rest. A very old Indian brought me one day six shillings and three pence. I asked him from whom he had got it, for I knew he was unable to work, and others supported him. He told me that the Indians had made a collection for him to buy some food and clothes. "My food", he said, "is good, I do not wish for a better; my clothes are also good for the short time I have to remain here; but my soul wants some food and clothes, that it may be well dressed when it goes before the Great Spirit".

If the parents die and leave children behind them, every family is desirous to take them into its own household. They are not well pleased if another family gets the preference. They consider and treat an adopted child as their own. The Micmac would never permit that any child belonging to the tribe should be received into the family of a white man. He does not only like to receive into his family orphans belonging to his tribe, but he likes also to get orphans or abandoned children belonging to the white people, and even to the blacks. Last week an Indian family came to me. They had a black baby, whom they got from a Baptist girl in the Gut of Canso. I admired the great love, attachment, and care they had for the little mulatto. He died a few days ago in my camp. They were very sorry. I asked the Indian: "Are you glad the baby is gone home?" "No, my father", he said, "I feel sorry in my heart, but I am glad he has received baptism, and is gone to the Great Spirit, where he prays for me and my family. If I had not taken him the poor child would not have received baptism". Some of the Indians came even from Pomquette (a distance of ten miles), to assist at his funeral. If any one is sick, every one visits him continually; they will travel twenty to forty miles to visit him. Every one will bring him something; they prepare medicine for him; go to the white people to get something better than they can give him themselves; they speak to him of heaven, of Jesus, of the Great Spirit, of our Mother Mary, of St. Anne, etc. They say prayers for him; if his sickness increases, every one considers it as an honour to go for the priest, and even if the priest's house be very far off. In a word, each strives to alleviate his position, and prepare him for eternity. When a woman is sick, the other women will take care of her children; and if there is no daughter in the family able to work, every woman will take her turn to prepare the food. Every morning and evening they pray for their benefactors, and for all people in the world, dead and living. On every great festivitiess they make a collection in their chapels, and that money is destined to get

masses said for all who live in this world. They will say: "This mass is for the Pope, bishops, priests, and all living in the world".

I repeat it, all the Micmac live in such a way as if they were but one family. They make also use of no other name amongst them than brother, sister, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, son, daughter. They have many other names in Micmac, but they use them only when they speak amongst them of others not belonging to the tribe.

A man or boy will call every woman, if she is older than himself, *my older sister*; if younger, *my younger sister*. A woman or girl will call a man and boy, if he is older than herself, *my older brother*; if younger, *my younger brother*. A child is called, *my son*, *my daughter*, or *my child*. Every old man is called by young people, *my grandfather*; if he has never been married, *my uncle*. An old woman is called, *my grandmother*. But a husband calls his wife *my wife*, or *my friend*; and she calls him *my husband*, or *my friend*.

From those names you may see that they consider themselves as all belonging to one and the same family.

The Micmac children show always a great respect, love, obedience, and assistance towards their parents. They will never speak in their presence whenever strangers are present. When they have done anything that displeases them, they will kneel down before them, ask pardon, and kiss them, after which a penance is imposed upon them. They do not speak disrespectfully of them, never mention their faults, not even to the priest. Nothing could give more grief to an Indian boy or girl, than to mention in his presence a fault which his parents have committed. In the wigwams they give the first place to their parents, and should any one occupy that place of honour during the absence of the parents, as soon as they see the father coming home, they will leave that place. They will never pass before their parents, except there are strangers or old people on the opposite side, and then they will always make it known to them. They obey them punctually in the least things. They firmly believe that if they disobey them, they disobey the Great Spirit, who will punish them and shorten their life. They will never do anything, or go to any place, without asking their permission.

The assistance they give to their parents during life, and in their sickness, and after their death, is beyond description. I saw boys who in the morning left the wigwam, and brought to their parents in the evening the little food they had got, without having touched it themselves. Every thing they earn and receive they bring to their parents, without retaining for themselves the least thing. Sometimes the boys go in a season of distress

a great distance, to where some money can be made, and they bring every penny home, and give it cheerfully to the father. I know a widow of forty, who by her hard labour supports her sick mother, her blind grandmother, and an orphan boy.

An Indian family was living alone in the winter in the woods; the mother became sick; the boy walked over sixty miles in deep snow to get a priest for her.

After the death of their parents they pray for them every day during one year, and are most careful to have masses said for them. They will give the value of the crosses and medals they have received from them for the same purpose.

The parents have a great love and attachment for their children. Before the child is born they will pray daily that he may receive baptism. It gives them a great trouble if one of them dies without that sacrament. The mother can never forget it, not even in her old age. You will hear them saying, "My father, I have something in my heart that troubles me; my child died many years ago, and has not been baptized. Poor child, it cannot see the Saviour. It is not buried in blessed soil. I cannot have masses for it, I cannot see it when I die", etc.

The Micmacs believe that those children go to a dark place, where they will remain until the end of the world, and having not yet had their time of probation, they will then get it, and it will be of a short duration.

After the birth of the child there are prayers of thanksgiving to God and to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Anne, to be said by the parents. The child is brought the same day, if possible, to the priest. If it is sick and no priest near, one of the Indians will give him private baptism. Many of them, especially the catechists, know very well how to give it. A great number of the children die very young, and some who have received but private baptism.

One of the children was suddenly born in a canoe on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was dangerously ill, and the father baptized it, and it died before they landed. I asked the father, "Why did you baptize it?" He said, "There was no other one in the canoe but I myself, my wife, and my little children". He had baptized it well with water from the St. Lawrence.

The mother will never fail to present herself for the benediction *post partum*. It is called in Micmac *the entering into the Church*. They consider it of the greatest importance. They believe that if any woman dies without having received it she cannot enter heaven, and has to wait in purgatory until another woman applies her own, which she has received, though many years ago, from the priest, to her. If, therefore, any one is dangerously sick, who has not received the purification *post partum*, another

woman will give her her churching, and then she will come again to the priest to get it back. It is very difficult to convince them of the contrary. They are not well satisfied with the practice of those priests who tell them, when they present themselves *post partum*, it is not necessary; when you go to confession you are churched. The hieroglyphical book of rites which they possess tells the women that they have to receive the churching before confession.

III.

The parents teach the children all the prayers and singing they know themselves; and they pay other Indians, who are good scholars, to teach them. The parents are proud of their children in this respect. The more they know of prayers, catechism, instructions, the more the parents like it. I said to an Indian, "Look at that boy, he knows one hundred different prayers". He said: "Look at my boy, who knows one hundred and fourteen". He really knew them, and was but eleven years old. He who knows all their books is considered a great scholar and a wise man, and he is set to teach others. There is great emulation amongst them: one tries to surpass another in learning the prayers and Catechism. A mother will repeat continually to her baby the words, *Jesus, our Mother Mary, St. Anne*; so that they are the first words the child learns to pronounce. When they commence to talk, they will continually recite before them the small catechism; so that the little children learn it by heart before they know what they pronounce.

In the evening, sitting around the fire in the wigwams, they relate the principal events of the Old and New Testament, and they make a deep impression on the children's minds.

As soon as the child knows well his prayers and the small catechism, he is permitted to go to his first confession. The mother will give him an instruction on confession, examine his conscience, and tell him of what he has to accuse himself. As she is watching her child continually, she knows his faults. I listen sometimes with the greatest attention to these motherly instructions to children. It is astonishing how simply and beautifully the mother explains to her child the sacrament of confession. After his first confession he will commence to learn *Kommunéuli*, which is a large treatise on communion only. It contains the prayers to be said before and after communion, which have to be learned by heart; the preparations for soul and body, etc. After that they learn the large catechism, the historical catechism, etc.

The parents are inconsolable if a child who is preparing for his first communion dies without it, and they will do all they can that he may receive it before he goes to his home.

It must not be forgotten to mention that the parents make frequent use of the discipline for the children. For the least thing it will be applied or only shown to them.

When a son is old enough to get married, his parents will give him a private instruction, and tell him to go and look for a good wife. If he knows already one that pleases him, he will inform them; if not, he will depart to look for one. Having found a person that pleases him, he tells her nothing about marrying, neither does he speak of it to her parents; but returns to his own parents, and informs them, and the matter will be settled between the parents of the bridegroom and bride; all the relations of both will be consulted; and at last, after they have given their consent, the marriage will take place.

When a Micmac takes sick, the chief will be informed of it in order to make it known to all. All his relations, and every Indian belonging to that place, though he may be far off, will come to see him. If the sickness is dangerous, the priest will be sent for. They are afraid of nothing more than to die without a priest. If they fear that he will die before the arrival of the priest, the sick person will take a crucifix, which is kept in every family for that purpose, into his hands, and having said, with the assistance of a catechist, all the prayers before confession, he confesses his sins publicly to the crucifix; which is called confession to Jesus. After that he says the prayers after confession. He continues frequently to repeat the act of contrition, with a desire to see the priest and confess to him. One of them had just expired when the priest from a far distance arrived. He had the crucifix in his hands, his eyes were turned towards the direction he expected the priest to come. The priest was told that he was asking continually for him: his last words were, that he was very sorry he could not see the priest.

In their books there are prayers to be said and psalm to be sung in the beginning and end of the sickness, during the agony, and after the patient has expired.

One of them is appointed to prepare the sick man for death. He says prayers for him and reads to him. The sick person will often recite short prayers. One which he repeats often is this: *My dear Jesus, to heaven I desire to go.* When he is in his agony, all will assemble around him; he is exhorted to pronounce in his heart Jesus, Mary, Joseph, St. Anne, while they are singing the prescribed prayers and psalms. They sprinkle him and the wigwam often with holy water in his sickness, and especially in his agony, and after he is *gone home*. Medals and the crucifix are often presented to him to kiss; and if he is not able to keep it himself in his hands, they apply the crucifix to

his lips to kiss it. They like also to give him into his hands, while in agony, a lighted blessed candle. But if the priest is present, they will perform none of their own ceremonies, but leave the whole over to him. They would not dare to do anything while he is present. I never saw any one who did not like to die, or who was afraid to die. They speak to you of heaven as of their home, and he will tell you with a cheerful countenance: *I wish to go home.*

It is astonishing what beautiful instructions a dying father or mother gives to his children. Last fall I visited several times an Indian at some distance from this. His last instructions to his wife and children would deserve to be written as an example.

After death, they wash the body. They prefer salt water for this purpose, if they can get it, and put some holy water in it. Prayers are said outside the wigwam, while the body is being washed inside in it. The object of those prayers is that, as the body is undergoing a washing, so the soul may be washed from everything that is preventing its entry into heaven.

A cross or a medal is put around his neck, and a pair of beads put into his joined hands. Then they will make a collection amongst themselves. Every one will give something, and if he has no money, he will put a basket, a handkerchief, a knife, etc., which will be turned into money. The amount of the collection is brought to the priest for masses. Day and night the body is surrounded by watches. Prayers are said, hymns and psalms are sung. The chief will bury him, if no priest is present. He uses his own ritual. It is a translation from an old French ritual. The ceremony for an adult is very long. He is brought in procession to the graveyard, the cross that is to be placed on his tomb precedes. When the coffin is in the grave, every one of them puts a handful of clay on it.

All that belonged to the departed, as his clothes, tools, etc., will be sold at public auction amongst themselves, and the amount is given for masses for his soul. If an infant should die or a child before it has attained the use of reason, the money obtained from the selling of his clothes, etc., will be given to have masses said for all the nearest relations of the child that may be in Purgatory. They will say to the priest: "This money belongs to that child; but he is with the Great Spirit, he does not want it. But he has relations who may be in Purgatory, and he will give it to them, that they may sooner see one another in heaven".

The relations of the departed will also during the year make several collections for masses for him. The children will ask for masses for their parents, though they are many years dead. Last year an Indian made an offering for masses for his father and mother who died fifteen years ago; and yesterday the same Indian returned to me on the same errand.

Besides the masses, they pray for the dead, give alms for them, they fast, take the discipline, receive the sacraments, etc. They never forget the dead. When they come to any place where one has been buried they will not pass by without paying him a visit and praying on his tomb. After the death of any one he will be mourned by his relations. The children mourn their parents one year. The mourning clothes will be put on them by the father or mother or nearest relation, and they will be taken off from them by the same after one year. They perform a ceremony on putting them on and taking them off.

The heart of the Micmac is filled with grief and sorrow at the death of a relation. A father related to me a few days ago the death of his daughter of two years, who died a few weeks ago. He was shedding tears, and was so moved that he could not continue his description of how she died. Sometimes they seem to be insensible, and any one who does not know their nature would consider them as having no feelings. But if you knew his language, then you could see what passes in his heart. At the death of any relation or friend, they are interiorly so much affected and moved that they seem exteriorly to be cold and without feelings. The only thing that consoles him is, that he will see soon in Heaven his dearly beloved ones.

IV.

There are no vices amongst the Micmacs, if we except a few they have contracted from the white man. Riches, and the desire to become rich, and to obtain honours, are the root of nearly all vices. The poor Indian possesses nothing, and has no desire for the goods of this world. He cares for nothing and looks for nothing but the *panem quotidianum*. And for that reason he is considered by those who do not know the nature of the wanderer of the forests, as being lazy and improvident. If he have plenty, he will divide it with his neighbours, and he lives well as long as it is lasting. If he have nothing, he is contented and cheerful. He will go to rest in the evening with an empty stomach, not knowing how to get his breakfast in the morning, as contented and cheerful as if he had a splendid supper. He can bear hunger and cold without complaining or being impatient. The word impatience is not even to be found in his language. Drunkenness, which they owe to the white man, was formerly for a time prevalent amongst them, but it has of late years so diminished amongst them, that there are at present but very few drunkards to be found; and that vice will soon disappear, since the association of temperance has been instituted amongst them, in which they renew their resolutions every year on St. Anne's Day. There are over forty families belonging to

Pomquette, and there are but two amongst them who take sometimes during the year a little too much, and it is done at the instigation of the white man.

Notwithstanding the great poverty of the Micmac, and the many occasions by which he is surrounded, he is sure to observe the seventh commandment. He says that it is an old commandment, and we must never break any of the old ones. If he breaks it, which is very seldom the case, it is always in a great necessity to support his body, and he takes only as much as to still his hunger, and he will leave some work, as baskets, etc., in the same place, to pay the owner. Some families arrived one evening near a potato field. They were very hungry, it was late, and the houses were far off. They did not know what to do. At last they decided to take some potatoes, and to leave the value of them in the field. They left several baskets in the field, and put stones in them that the wind might not carry them off. The owner on finding them was well pleased and admired the honesty of the Indians.

There is also a little jealousy amongst them if one is more esteemed by a priest or by some other person than the rest; and for this reason they have been accused by some as speaking too much one against another. If this occur some time or other, it is in general done with the good intention to correct him.

V.

The Micmacs are punctual in the observance of abstinence and fast days, notwithstanding their great poverty. None of them will eat meat on Friday. I saw many of them who had plenty of venison, but they did not touch it, though they had nothing at all but a few boiled potatoes from the preceding day, without bread or a bit of fish. Even while they are travelling, they will abstain from it except compelled by necessity, and then as soon as they can see a priest they will tell him of it. If on Fridays they get meat in Protestant houses, they will leave it on the plates and eat the other things. A great number of them abstain also from eating meat on every Saturday during the year. One of their Church commandments says: *Meat not eat two days before Sunday.* It is very difficult to convince them that they can now eat it. They will say it is not good to change the commandments. Many of them do not touch any meat during the whole Lent. I was often compelled to oblige mothers who had little children to eat meat on those days. This was quite lawful, for the mother having but miserable food, was suffering with her child. Those who abstain from meat during the whole Lent, are highly praised by the tribe. Young men and women, even the old people, and young boys and girls,

rival each other in this. Every one tries to imitate the others, and they receive in public praise on Palm Sunday, by being held up to others as an example to be imitated. He who has abstained from meat during the whole Lent, is invited to eat meat on Palm Sunday. This practice is contained in their book. Their fast is still more severe during the Holy Week. On Good Friday, called by them "the Great Friday", many of them abstain from eating anything until sunset, others eat nothing but a small piece of their own bread baked under the ashes about noon. On that day our Saviour's Passion is sung and read publicly, for they have it in two different ways.

They impose often upon themselves fasts during the year, if they have committed any fault, or to obtain some favour, either for themselves or for others, from heaven. Fasts are also imposed upon them by their parents or by the chief, if they have committed some public fault. Every Friday during the year they take the discipline in honour of our Saviour's scourging. They make use of a scourge composed of several small twigs tied together, which they call *nibisochen*.

The father will give the discipline to every child by striking his hands and his naked arms. Prayers are said while it is given. After the head of the family has given it to his wife and children, he will receive it from his wife. If the father is absent, the mother will give the discipline, and if there is no other woman in the camp, she will give it to herself. It is astonishing to see how little children of five and six years present their hands in order to receive it. The discipline is also made use of if any of the smaller children does any thing wrong. Tears came often in my eyes when I considered the abstinence, fasting, and discipline of these good simple children of the forests, considering that their whole life is a fasting on account of the poor food, and that they have often to fast from necessity.

They have a great desire to receive the holy sacraments. There is no necessity to admonish them to come to confession; on the contrary, the missionary has to prevent them, that they may not come too often. These innocent people experience the full effects of confession and communion. When some of them are living in my neighbourhood, they present themselves almost every week for confession; and when I tell them to come back next week, they will answer that they have offended God, and that they might die without having obtained forgiveness. If they have done anything that seems to them a great fault, they will come a distance of sixty or eighty miles to make their confession, and this during the coldest days of winter. I saw women walking through the snow, a distance of eighty miles, in order to have the happiness to confess in their own language. Many

of them come every year from the remotest parts of the country to confess in their own language. The greatest number of them know the prayers before and after confession and communion by heart; and those who do not know them make use of the book; and if they cannot read, another will assist them. They approach the sacraments with the greatest reverence and devotion. Any one who sees them going to communion is edified. You can see well by their exterior that they are going to receive Jesus Christ Himself. After communion they remain motionless on their knees, to ask, as they say in their own language, good things for the soul and for the body, for themselves and for others. And before taking anything after communion they will always take some cold water. The day of communion is spent in praying, reading, and receiving instruction.

The Micmac has a great love for the holy virtue of purity. Should anyone of them hear improper language, he will run at once to bring an accusation against the speaker. The chief and the parents will give the culprit a severe reprimand, and he will receive a public penance. Whoever behaves with impropriety has to appear before the priest, and the chief will impose a public penance on him. It is the greatest dishonour and shame for a Micmac to be accused of anything against holy purity. The children are taught from childhood by their parents to be modest. A young woman will not be permitted to leave the wigwam in the evening. She will not be permitted to go into the houses of the white people unless accompanied by others. Very few illegitimate children are in the tribe, and their fathers in general belong to the white people, by whom the poor women in many cases were seduced by force. There are about forty Micmac families in a settlement distant about ten miles from here. I know them over six years, and during that period there is but one illegitimate child. The poor girl had been violently seduced by a miserable young Protestant. I had to do all in my power to prevent her father from killing the oppressor. He considered it as the greatest dishonour that could befall his family. The poor girl took it so much at heart that she died of grief after the child was born. All the young women of the tribe then took the resolution to cut the fellow's ears off, for they knew that he was passing from time to time on a road leading through the woods. I prevented them also, and on asking why they intended to cut his ears off, that he may be known by all as a bad man, they answered.

An illegitimate child is considered low amongst them. It can never attain the rank of a Micmac. It can never be elected chief. They believe also that it is very hard for such a child to enter

heaven. They say some of the father's malice remains in him. There is something true in this, for such children in general are naturally not so innocent as the pure Micmac.

VI.

The Micmac is fond of singing, and every one of the tribe, men, women, and children, knows well how to sing. Their voices are good. It is remarkable that there is no other song in their language, if you except a few war songs, than ecclesiastical, pious songs. Their singing book contains the gradual, vesperal, processional, ritual, pious canticles, hymns, psalms, etc. They know no other songs but those contained in that book. They will never sing any of their war songs except when requested. They sing Mass and vespers on Sundays and festivals; they sing a great part of their morning and evening prayers; they sing in their wigwams, on their journeys, while they are working, in the woods: you may say, they sing wherever they are. You will hear them singing in the woods beautiful hymns and canticles in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne, St. Joseph, or hymns for Christmas and Easter. I know many children from seven to ten years, who sing, besides many other songs, mass and vespers. Having a good ear, and hearing the songs continually, they must learn it. It is really beautiful to hear them sing the *Canticum Trium Puerorum*, the Passion of Christ, His genealogy, etc.

They sing with feelings of devotion. I saw them shedding tears on hearing the singing of Christ's passion. All these holy pious songs make a deep impression on these innocent good hearts, who are not corrupted by any passion.

They make frequent use of the sign of the cross during the day, and in the night. They will never take any meal in their camps without crossing themselves and saying the prayers before and after. When they have public dinners, the prayers are longer, and a part of them is sung before and after. They sign themselves whenever they eat or drink even the least thing, as an apple, or a drink of water, or even medicine. When they receive any blessed object from any one, some also when they receive any food, sign themselves before receiving it. They cross themselves in the evening when they lie down, in the morning when they rise; before they commence any work whatsoever, and after it; when they go on a journey, when they come home; when they put on a dress or take it off; in all dangers of the body and of the soul, etc. As soon as the child is born, the mother will make the sign of the cross over him. When she lays her infant down, or takes it up, or before she suckles it, and after it, she will cross herself and also sign the infant. The

children are often requested by their parents during the day to cross themselves. In general they have a great veneration for that holy sign, and it is very often made by them.

The Micmac has a great love, respect, and attachment for everything that is blessed, as rosaries, medals, holy water, candles, etc. Every one knows that the Micmacs consider as the most beautiful neck ornament, a pair of beads, a medal, a cross. They kiss those blessed articles often and with devotion. Many of them say the prayer beads every day, others but a part of it, even on their journeys. They recite it while they are walking. All people who are unable to do anything repeat their beads several times during the day. I know one old Indian who says the whole rosary daily for several years. On Sundays and festivals, at the death of any one, and on some other occasions, they recite the beads in common. Holy water and blessed candles are often used by them. They take them also as a medicine when they are sick, and apply them to the sore part of the body. They keep them for such purposes for years. I saw pieces of wax candles amongst them which have been blessed by the Rev. Father Vincent. They consider blessed things of great value. I know some of them who were looking several days in the woods for a cross, or a medal, or a pair of beads they had lost. I saw others who went back over twenty miles, all the way they had come, in order to find a cross, or a medal, they had lost. A gentleman offered two pounds to an Indian for a silver cross, but he would not sell it for any price. I offered myself to another Indian ten dollars for a silver cross. I knew he stood in need of money, and I knew also that they do not like to refuse to a priest. "Father", he said, "I like that cross much, it has saved me from many dangers. If I take that money, in a few days it is gone; but I have always my cross". One of them lost a rosary in the woods. He was looking for it for three days, but could not find it. I gave him another pair. Afterwards he brought mine back, and told me he had found his after having made another search in the woods with the help of others. I asked him: "Why were you again looking for it? I gave you a better pair". "Father", he said, "I was very sorry that it was lying in the woods".

Before a father or a mother dies, they give their children the blessed articles they possess. The children prefer them to anything in this world. They would rather die than to part with the articles thus received. They are handed down to their great-grandchildren, and you will still find small silver crosses amongst them, which were given to them by the Rev. Father Maillard, who died in 1762. If any one dies they put a cross or a medal around his neck, and bury him with it.

Some of them wear also the scapular. Every one would like to wear it, but only those who prepare themselves for years will be admitted into that confraternity.

They have a great respect for their chapels, graveyards, and all things connected to them. The chapel is called by them the *Prayer house, the Creator His house*. They behave also in it and towards it as if it was the house of God. One of them is appointed to keep it clean and in order, and he has to inform the chief if any thing stands in need of repair. For that purpose one of the chiefs keeps some money taken from the collection made on great festivals. One of them keeps the keys of the church, and he considers that office as a high honour. They will not suffer anything outside of it that would not become the house of God. Last St. Anne's day a few young white fellows commenced to dance in the evening near the chapel. As soon as the Indians heard of it, all the men ran to that place, and the white fellows had a narrow escape. They were highly scandalized at the conduct of such Catholics, and they came to the priest and asked satisfaction for it.

In all their chapels the stations of the Way of the Cross are erected. I do not know whether it has ever been canonically erected. If they are living in the neighbourhood of the chapel, they will make on every Friday the *via crucis*.

There is a large cross erected in every graveyard. There is a pious practice amongst them to pray before it on every Friday during Lent. I know Indians who go there every Lent, though they are living several miles from it. No inclemency of weather can prevent them. That cross is called Mount Calvary. Crosses are erected on every tomb. They visit often their cemeteries, and pray on the graves of their departed relatives and friends. The sprinkle also, from time to time, holy water over the tombs.

Every one knows their esteem, obedience, love, and attachment to the priests. He is called the *Creator His servant; he who speaks to us in the name of the Great Spirit*. They call him *our father, or my father*. I never heard them speak disrespectfully of any Padlias, as they call them; on the contrary, they will always speak with the greatest respect of him amongst themselves and to others. The children are taught from childhood to respect them. In their catechism book there are several chapters on the respect, love, and obedience they owe to the priest. Anything he tells them to do, they will do it immediately. I have not the least doubt that if a priest were assaulted in their presence, they would defend him with their own lives. They often request the Padlias to say prayers for them.

The Indian is and will always remain childish in his disposition, and in his manner of acting. Happy are these children, for the *regnum coelorum* is promised to them.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW ON PENSIONS TO THE
IRISH CATHOLIC CLERGY.

A REMARKABLE article in the *Quarterly Review* for January addresses itself to the well-worn question, “*What shall we do for Ireland?*” The ability with which the subject is handled, the point of view from which it is approached, and the critical situation of Irish affairs at the present moment, contribute to give to this paper considerable importance. The writer speaks as one of the ruling class addressing his peers; and a singular parallelism may be traced between the teachings expressed in the *Quarterly* and some recent utterances of a distinguished member of the present government. It is probable, therefore, that these views are likely to colour and give their character to the remedial measures which Ireland and the empire expect from parliament during the coming session.

With the purely political side of the reviewer's remarks we have no concern in these pages. But his views on the question of the state endowment of the Irish Catholic clergy are such as to challenge the attention of all Catholics, and to demand in particular a few observations from us.

Before we set forth his views, it will be well to furnish our readers with an outline of the reviewer's method. On the threshold of his inquiry after the measures best calculated to remedy the evils under which Ireland suffers, he lays down a principle which, for him, is immutable, and an *articulus stantis vel cadentis reipublicae*. This principle he makes the touch-stone of all the plans that have been hitherto proposed to remedy Fenianism, emigration, the land agitation, and the agitation against the Established Church. Against this principle he measures repeal, occasional domestic parliaments, disendowment of the Church, and tenant-right, and as he judges them to agree with or to differ from his standard, he faithfully accepts or rejects them. Indeed, he rejects them all. The result of his investigation is, “that the idea of finding in legislation any speedy or complete remedy for the discontents of Ireland is a mere delusion”.

This is a hard saying. It is hard to hear that the misfortunes of the country are beyond the healing power of the state, and that the legislature must abdicate one of its essential qualities, its very reason for existing—the furthering of the common good. And what is this fundamental principle from which the reviewer starts, and which, according to him, forbids Ireland to hope anything of good from the legislature? Wise and good Irishmen long have toiled, and even now are toiling with infinite patience to build up in the people's hearts a peaceful fabric of

hope in constitutional means of redress. What manner of principle is this which, by a single touch, shatters their work to atoms? The reviewer thus announces it:

"The problem which Ireland presents is not one of abstract justice, but of political expediency, not what may be claimed as a right by those who deny us any right at all, but what is necessary if we would maintain the integrity of the British Empire and its present position among the powers of the world. The fundamental principle is, that under no conceivable circumstances would England be justified in entertaining for a single moment the idea of such a dismemberment of the empire as would be involved in the political separation of Ireland from Great Britain. This must underlie all our deliberations, and its violation, or a tendency to violate it, should be deemed by every good subject utterly fatal to any proposal for the satisfaction of Irish discontent. As tending towards such a separation, we reject the idea of a repeal of the legislative union; and as almost equivalent to the repeal of the legislature we reject the idea of governing Ireland by Irish opinion, and limiting the functions of English members of Parliament to affirming and recording whatever Irish members may agree upon, if indeed they can be induced to agree upon anything. Lastly, we consider that all demands that may be made for change must be viewed with reference to the feelings and wishes of those who hold Ireland fast to the British connection, and that, expedient as it is to conciliate our opponents, it is still more expedient not to alienate and disgust our friends".

Gathering up the ideas contained in these words, we find it held that Ireland is to be governed, not according to justice, but according to expediency; not for the good of her people, but for the good of England; and that all proposed changes must be viewed with reference not only to the interests, but even to the feelings and wishes of those who hold Ireland fast to England. And who are they? The reviewer plainly states (p. 263) that they are the Saxon and Protestant, rather than the Celtic and Catholic elements of the Irish population; and again (pag. 264) that the danger now is, not that England should trample on the Catholic, but that she should alienate the Protestant. In other words, all Irish questions are to be decided according to English interests; and no matter what amount of injustice be perpetrated thereby, the feelings and wishes of the Saxon and Protestant population of Ireland are to guide legislators in their choice of remedies for Irish sufferings.

It can be readily understood, that tested by such principles as these, the disendowment of the Establishment is pronounced by the reviewer to be impolitic. Of course, he takes no note of the remarkable document lately published by the upper classes among the laity against the Established Church. He also closes his ears to the sullen ground-swell of popular dissatisfaction deepening its

voice with the deepening of the despair of the masses. He confesses, however, that one thing is quite clear, that if there had been anything like unanimity in Ireland on the subject, the Established Church must have been swept away long ago. We take courage from this statement. For we see in being that unanimity which our reviewer refuses to see; we know that the Catholic clergy and the laity from the highest to the lowest are determined never to desist from their labours until the Establishment be overthrown. Such unanimity breeds in us a hope so strong that even our reviewer cannot gainsay it.

There is, however, one grievance which our reviewer admits it is in the power of government to redress, and the remedy he proposes is the special point to which we beg to call attention. The grievance is, that the Irish people are forced to defray out of their poverty and misery the expenses of their own clergy. The redress is, that the government should pay the Catholic clergy.

"If we want to do something really beneficial to Ireland, we must search until we find a practical grievance which it is in the power of government to redress, suffered by the people of Ireland, and not suffered by the people of England and Scotland, or not in the same degree. Such a grievance is not to be found in the tenure of land, nor in emigration, nor in the existence of an establishment devoted to the religion of a small minority. It exists nevertheless, and is capable of complete remedy. The great mass of the people of Ireland are much poorer than the people of England and Scotland, but they have to bear a burden from which the great mass of the people of England and Scotland are exempt. They are forced to defray, out of their poverty and misery, the expenses of their own clergy. Believing in a religion whose peculiarity it is above all other religions to interpose the priest between man and God—a religion which works entirely through sacerdotal agency, and which looks on the denial of the sacraments as the most fearful of spiritual privations—the Irish peasant, while the Episcopalian has his Established Church and the Presbyterian his Regium Donum, must bear, without aid from any quarter, the whole burden of his Church. It is not the aid given to the Church of Ireland, it is the aid withheld from the Roman Catholic Church, which is the real grievance of Ireland, the one complaint to which there is no answer, the one evil which we can and do not remedy. . . . No position can be more cruel or painful than that of a Roman Catholic priest in Ireland really anxious to do his duty to his flock as a good pastor, and to the state as a good citizen. He must live on their contributions, and therefore he must not point-blank oppose their convictions. He is endeared to them by the uniform law of human nature, which makes us love those whom we benefit, but at the same time he has forced upon him, together with his sacred functions, no little of the functions of a demagogue. He dare not appear as loyal or as peaceable as he really is. He is of

the people himself, and naturally even where he leads is also led by sympathy, by the desire of popularity, and, it must be admitted, by pecuniary interest. . . . When we reflect on the vast power possessed by the priest over the education of the young, over the opinions and conduct of the older, over the consciences of all, we cannot sufficiently regret that the government has allowed such a body of men to exist without making at least an effort to draw them within the circle of its legitimate influence. The real enemy that Ireland has to guard against is not Fenianism, with which the law and those whose duty it is to put it in force are quite able to deal, but the settled spirit of alienation and disaffection which, amid the foolish and distorted traditions of a state of prosperity, splendour, and happiness, that never existed in Ireland, and under the teaching of a priesthood which owes nothing to the English Government, grows up in her cabins and farm-houses. The Catholic priest, so long as the ancient faith exists, must always have at least sufficient influence over his flock. We cannot afford to artificially increase it by forcing upon them the duty of maintaining him side by side with the Episcopalian and Protestant Establishments, as a man proscribed and persecuted, and therefore all the dearer and more venerable".

Such a proposal, and so expressed, awakens some very important reflections.

1. The object of English statesmen in wishing to afford state aid to the Irish clergy stands here revealed in all its cynical deformity. It is not so much that they may do an act of tardy justice; it is not that they may undo ever so little the work of centuries of persecution; not that they may provide the Irish people with religious help and comfort; but simply that they may enslave the Church and make of her a political instrument to help the working out of their own designs. They cannot sufficiently regret that the government has allowed such a body to exist without making an effort to draw them within the sphere of their "legitimate influence". They cannot brook the idea of a priesthood existing which owes nothing to the English government. And, therefore, the Catholic clergy of Ireland must be chained in golden fetters to become the humble servants of the English crown. The great Italian poet has left it written how bitter it is, in any case, to eat the bread of a stranger,

" — quanto sa di sale
Il pane altrui".

How much more bitter would it be when he who eats knows that the morsel has been flung to him as a shameful bribe which is to rob him of his sacred liberty!

2. This plan of state aid to the clergy is proposed by those who start from the fundamental principle, that any change to be made in Ireland must be made in accordance with the feelings

and wishes of the Saxon and Protestant elements of the population, rather than of the Celtic and Catholic. Therefore, we may safely conclude, that state aid to the clergy is an engine likely to prove favourable to Protestant interests and injurious to those of Catholics.

3. The system of state aid thus recommended is precisely the system of *levelling up* which has found favour with some Catholics. The reviewer would retain the Protestant Establishment, but would place by its side a Catholic quasi-establishment. It is certainly not to the advantage of the system that it is the pet idea of those who would govern Ireland on the principles described.

4. The proposal means not merely to grant pensions to the Catholic clergy, but to grant them in such a way as to compel the clergy to receive them. "The salary", says our reviewer (pag. 281), "should be paid into a bank, and if a change in the law be required for that purpose, an act should be passed making the sum so paid in to their credit seizable in execution for debt. Care must be taken to make known to the peasantry of Ireland that the state has taken on itself to provide for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic clergy, both that the people may see an act of tardy justice has been at last done, and that knowing the priest to be otherwise provided for, they may be relieved from the impost they now bear". In other words, the state proposes to compel the Catholic clergy to submit to its "legitimate influence", and be brought into harmony with the feelings and wishes of the Saxon and Protestant elements of the population. To effect its purpose, it would first dry up the sources whence the clergy is at present supported by destroying the voluntary system. And here we have to notice a striking historical parallel. Ireland has, alas! so many points of resemblance to unhappy Poland, that there is no need of words to show how much alike have been the histories of both nations. Within the last month the Russian government has come forward with a scheme of state support for the Catholic clergy of Poland, and has made known to the Polish peasantry that it had charged itself with the maintenance of the Roman Catholic priests. It has gone farther. It has positively prohibited the voluntary system. It has made it a crime in a Catholic to contribute towards the support of his priest, and in a priest to receive alms from those to whose souls he gives spiritual blessing. It would appear, then, that England is anxious to imitate towards Ireland the crowning piece of ruthless tyranny which Russia has exercised towards Poland. The same end is sought to be gained by both powers, the same means are shaped to reach the end; the only difference is, that Russia is the honester, England the more crafty of the two.

5. The reviewer admits that at present the Irish Catholic clergy profess their unwillingness to accept money from the state. But he consoles himself by saying that this is not a fundamental article of faith, and that the decision need not be immutable! There was a time, he says, when the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland was regarded by them in a very different light. He quotes a letter from the Knight of Kerry to Sir Robert Peel, in which that gentleman states that in 1802 the bishops cheerfully acquiesced in the endowment of their Church. But we have published in this periodical the correspondence which took place, at the period referred to, between the Irish prelates and the Holy See, in which the Irish bishops are praised for the resolution they had come to of not accepting any pensions from the crown. The reviewer must, therefore, rest his hopes of a speedy endowment of the Irish clergy on some other grounds than these.

We have thus acquired fresh proof, if fresh proof were needed, that the scheme of pensioning the clergy is but a snare set for the liberty of the Church; that it is intended as a snare by the state, which would rigorously require the clergy to admit the yoke of its "legitimate influence"; that it is the darling idea of those who love Ireland little, and the Church of God less, to use it as a lever to cast out our Catholic priesthood from those faithful hearts to whom they are "all are dearer and more venerated" because they share with their flocks the crust earned by honest toil. Does not this justify the wisdom of the bishops at their late meeting, wherin they declared that beyond the pride of place and power, beyond the glitter of gold, beyond the smiles of the great, they loved the independence of the Church of God; and that above all earthly advantages they prized the fulfilment of the prayer they themselves so often address to their Master: *ut Ecclesia Tua, secura Tibi serviat libertate?*

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

We have received the following communications:

1. "You would contribute very much to the information of some of your readers by the publication of the instruction of Pius the Ninth; or at least an extract from it, on the subject of indulgences transferred (August 9th, 1852), for I find there exists a very general and erroneous impression that, although the festival and solemnity are often transferred, the indulgence annexed never can be transferred."

"Will you kindly state in the next number of the *Record* the

cases in which the indulgence is transferred along with the feast, and say if the indulgence of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December last, was among the cases".

The decree to which our correspondent refers runs as follows:

"Cum hac nostra praesertim aetate, maxime ob Ecclesiasticas Conventiones ab Apostolica Sede cum exteris nationibus initas, festorum legitimae translationes occurrant: et generatim cum per hujusmodi translationes ex justis causis debitatis tamen cum facultatibus factas (licet etiam pro sola externi cultus celebratione quin et una simul Officium cum Missa transferatur,) fidelium devotio excitetur ad laudandum Dominum in Sanctis ejus, huic fidelium pietati fovendae atque animarum saluti quam maxime interest ut etiam indulgentiae his festis adnexae transferantur. Quamvis autem alias tum a S. Rituum Congregatione, tum ab hac Sacra Congregatione, Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita quasitum fuerit, utrum in translatione festorum etiam translatae intelligentur adnexae indulgentiae et vel negativa intercesserit responsio, vel in singulis casibus recurrendum esse ad hanc S. Congregationem sancitum esset nec unquam generali decreto publice evulgato usquedum huic translationi indulgentiarum provisum fuerit: attamen Exi. Patres Generalibus Comitiis hujus Sacrae Congregationis, attentis actualibus temporum hujusmodi et peculiaribus locorum et Ecclesiarum et fidelium circumstantiis, atque etiam die 16 Februarii currentis anni pro concessione generali translationis indulgentiarum occasione translationis festorum supplicandum Sanctissimo unanimiter censuerunt. Sanctissimus itaque Dominus Noster Pius Papa IX. audita de his omnibus relatione per me infrascriptum Secretariae ejusdem S. Congregationis Substitutum in Audientia diei 9 Augusti 1852, facta, benigne mandavit ut omnes indulgentiae quae hucusque quibusdam festis concessae fuerunt ac in posterum concedentur, vel quae pro iisdem festis aliquibus Ecclesiis et publicis Oratoriis pariter concessae fuerunt et in posterum concedentur, vel etiam si libuerit de consensu Ordinarii illae concessae in Sacris Supplicationibus, aut in Novendaliibus vel Septenariis, sive Triduanis precibus ante vel post festum vel ejus Octavario perdurante; translatae intelligentur pro eodie quo festa hujusmodi vel quoad solemnitatem tantum et externam celebratioem (non tamen quoad Officium et Missam) in aliquibus locis, vel Ecclesiis, publicisque Oratoriis, sive in perpetuum, sive aliqua occasione, sive ad tempus, eoque durante, legitimate transferuntur. Cum vero transfertur tantum Officium cum Missa non autem Solemnitas et exterior celebratio festi, indulgentiarum nullam fieri translationem decrevit.

"Hanc autem Apostolicae benignitatis concessionem Eadem Sanctitas Sua, quibuscumque in contrarium non obstantibus, ac perpetuis futuri temporibus absque ulla Brevis expeditiones valiturnam, per hoc S. Congregationis Decretum typis impressum publicari voluit dummodo ceterae omnes alias conditions in particularibus

vel generalibus concessionibus praedictarum indulgentianum pro iis adipiscendis praescripto omnino serventur".

From this decree it is evident that indulgences are sometimes transferred, viz., in the case of feasts which are transferred *legitime, iuxta conventiones ab Apostolica Sede initas, or debitiss cum facultatibus.*

When only the office and mass of a festival are transferred, and not its solemnity and external celebration, then the indulgences are *not* transferred. But when the solemnity and external celebration of a festival are transferred, even although the mass and office be not transferred, (for *tamen* in the decree is equivalent to *licet*)¹ the indulgences *are* also transferred. Thus when the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary occurs on Good Friday or Holy Saturday, by a privilege altogether special to itself, it is transferred, together with its obligations, in the entire Church, to the feria secunda post Dominicam in Albis (*Dec. 11, March, 1690, n. 3055*). In such a case the indulgences are transferred together with the feast.

But if the translation of a festival should take place accidentally as it were, and on a special occasion only, or if, in some particular place on account of a perpetual hindrance, it should occur that a feast be perpetually transferred to another day according to the general rubrics, the indulgences are to be gained on the day *from which*, and not on the day *to which*, the feast has been removed.² The indulgences of the festival of the Immaculate Conception, 1867, were to be gained on Sunday the 8th December, and not on the Monday to which the mass and office were transferred.

2. "Is it necessary, in order to have the way of the cross canonically erected, to have the permission of the bishop of the diocese where the church or oratory is situated? Should the permission of the ordinary be in writing? If the priest about to erect the stations possess this written permission, can he then proceed to their erection, or must he besides have the special power to do so? Are the faithful who practise this devotion in a church or oratory where the above conditions have not been complied with, deprived of all the indulgences attached to the way of the cross?"

The following documents from Prinzivelli's *Decreta Authentica S. C. Indulg.*, bear upon this subject.

I. "Cum diversis non obstantibus regulis a S. C. Ind. SS. Reliq. preposita sub die 8 Aprilis, 1731, ex Brevi S. M. Clementis XII. die 16 Januarii ejusdem anni, et ex Brevi SS. D. N. die 8

¹ De Herdt, p. 4, n. 88, ix.

² De Herdt, l. c.

Augusti, 1741 . . . ad varia explananda dubia, circa modum erigendi Stationes quae Viae Crucis, seu Calvarii ut vocant, emanatis, non semel controversiae, ad ipsammet S. Congregationem delatae fuerint super subsistentia, vel nullitate erectionis Stationum hujusmodi, ex defectu licentiae vel consensus respective obtinendi, ut in praetextis Brevibus, clare precipitur. Eadem S. Congregatio ad quascumque in futurum eliminandas in hac re difficultates die 30 Julii 1748 censuit prescribendum esse quod in erigendis in posterum ejusmodi Stationibus, tam Sacerdotis erigentis deputatio ac Superioris localis consensus, quam respectivi Ordinarii, vel Antistitis, et Parochi, nec non Superiorum Ecclesiae, Monasterii, Hospitalis, et Soci Pii, ubi ejusmodi erectio fieri contigerit deputatio, consensus et licentia, ut prefertur, in scriptis et non aliter expediri, et quandocumque opus fuerit exhiberi debeant, sub poena nullitatis ipsiusmet erectionis ipso facto incurrandae. De quibus facta per me infra scriptum ipsius Sac. Congregationis Pro-Secretarium SS. D. N. die 3 Aug. relatione, Sanctitas Sua votum Sac. Congregationis benigne approbavit.

“Fr. J. CARD. PORTO-CARRERO, Pref.
“A. E. VICE-COMES, Pro. Sec.”

II. On the 28th August, 1752, the following question was proposed:

“An in hujusmodi erectionibus quae fiunt extra ambitum Conventuum FF. Ordinis S. Francisci tam de Observantia, quam Reformatorum et Recollectorum requiratur licentia Ordinariorum, nec non Parochorum, aliorumque respective Superiorum in consensus in scriptis? Respons. *Affirmative et transmittantur decreta*”.

III. “Vicarius Generalis Dioecesis Molinensis sequentia dubia Sac. Congregationi solvenda proposuit:

1º “Detecta nullitate alicujus erectionis Stationum Viae Crucis ob defectum executionis conditionum in Apostolico Rescripto, vel de jure praescriptarum, estne necesse, hujusmodi nullitate sanata iterum benedicere cruces, et pictas tabellas jam antea benedictas?

“S. Cong. respondit: Dummodo nullitas non cadat super cruces antea benedictas, minime necessarium est, alia nullitate sanata, iterum cruces benedicere.

2º “Petitiones pro hujusmodi erectionibus fieri ne debent cui de jure in scriptis sub poena nullitatis concessionis, vel sufficiat quod factae sint oretenus?

“S. Cong. respondit: Quamquam in scriptis, ac de consensu Ordinarii, et loci patroni optanda sit petitio, tamen si oretenus, sub poena nullitatis, negative.

3º “Si hujusmodi erectio nulla detegatur ob omissionem documenti in scriptis talis concessionis, sequutae executionis, poteritne hujusmodi defectus in posterum, atque etiam post longum tempus suppliri?

“S. Cong. respondit: Suppleatur documenti defectui per novas litteras Institutionis, seu confirmationis ab Ordinario conficiendas, dummodo constet aliunde de sequuta erectione.

4° "Estne tempus determinatum, et quale, pro confectione documenti sequutae erectionis Stationum Viae Crucis vigore Apostolici Indulti.

" 8. Cong. respondit: Negative, sed expedit, ut quam primum conficiatur documentum juxta Apostolicam concessionem, ne dubia in posterum orientur. Et ita ut supra ad supradicta dubia eadem Sacra Congregatio respondit et declaravit die 27 Januarii, 1838.

IV. "Vicarius Generalis Apamensis expostulat an pro validitate erectionis Viae Crucis, et ad lucrandas Indulgentias ipsi adnexas, sit absolute necessarius Processus Verbalis ab Episcopo vel ab ejus Vicario conficiendus, an sufficiat facultas a Sancta Sede per Rescriptum obtenta?

" Sac. Congregatio respondit: Circa erectionem Stationum Viae Crucis, impetratis antea ab Apostolica Sede necessariis et opportunis facultatibus, omnia et singula quae talem erectionem respiciunt, scripto fiant tam nempe postulatio, quam erectionis ejusdem concessio, quam instrumentum (quod) in Codicibus, seu in actis Episcopatus remaneat et testimonium saltem in Codicibus Paroeciae seu loci ubi fuerint erectae praefatae Stationes, inseratur. Die 25 Sept. 1841".

With these texts before us it becomes an easy task to reply to our correspondent's queries. Several points are to be considered, viz.:—1° the authorization from the Holy See; 2° the petition to the bishop; 3° the bishop's permission and that of the local superior; 4° the drawing up of a document stating the fact of the erection. As to the first, there can be no doubt that it is absolutely required. It may be received either directly, or, as is more commonly done, through the ordinary, who receives faculties *ad hoc* for his diocese. The petition to the bishop, properly, should be drawn up in writing, but if made by word of mouth the concession is not thereby rendered invalid. The bishop's permission, however, must be in writing, otherwise the concession is invalid, and the indulgences are not attached to the Stations. The consent of the parish priest or local superior should also be given in writing, *sub poena nullitatis*, as is distinctly stated in the decree of 28th Aug., 1752; "Praescribitur ut in saepedictis erectionibus faciendis extra Ecclesias Conventuum FF. dicti Ordinis (Minorum S. Francisci) necessario requiratur in scriptis et non aliter licentia Ordinariorum, nec non Parochorum, et aliorum superiorum consensus, in quorum iurisdictione Viam Crucis erigi contigerit sub poena nullitatis ipsiusmet erectionis ipso facto incurriendae". For the validity of the erection it is moreover required that there should be a document drawn up stating the fact of the erection itself (see *supra*, n. iv.) which should be placed in the hands of the ordinary, and a record of the same should be kept in the parish register. A formula for the purpose is supplied in the *Appendix*.

*ad Rituale Romanum.*¹ The case (probably not unfrequent) in which the bishop's permission, etc., have not been given in writing is considered in the third question by the Vicar-General of Moulins (*supra*, n. iii.). According to the answer of the Sacred Congregation the deficiency may be supplied even after a long period of time, by new letters of institution or confirmation, to be issued by the ordinary.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

Allocution of his Holiness Pope Pius IX, delivered in Secret Consistory 20th December, 1867.

VENERABILES FRATRES,

Dives in misericordia Deus, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra moestis iesibus iucunda permiscet, Venerabiles Fratres, ut in eo semper sperantes, nullisque deterriti difficultatibus pergamus alacriori usque animo iustitiae iter insistere, et Ecclesiae suae sanctae causam impavide propugnare, omnesque vires ad Apostolici ministerii Nostri partes explendas intendere. Omnes profecto vident, quanta divinae suae bonitatis argumenta praebere dignetur clementissimus Dominus inter gravissimas calamitates, quibus in hac tanta temporum iniuitate ubique afflictatur Ecclesia, et haec Apostolica Sedes premitur, atque inter maxima, quibus undique cingimur pericula. Et sane dum Satanas eiusque satellites, et filii horrendis quibusque modis contra divinam nostram religionem, contra Nos, et hanc Petri Cathedram furere, et saevire, ac infelicissimae Italiae populos, ex parte longe maxima Nobis devotissimos, divexare non cessant, misericore, ac miserator Dominus miris ostentis adest Ecclesiae suae, adest Nobis, et omnipotenti sua auxiliatur virtute. Enimvero, Venerabiles Fratres, omnes catholici orbis Sacrorum Antistites arctissimo fidei, caritatisque vinculo Nobis, et huic Sanctae Sedi in dies obstricti unanimes, et id ipsum sentientes, qua voce, qua scriptis rei catholicae causam defendere, et Nos, et hanc Apostolicam Sedem omni ope iuvare non desinunt. Atque etiam laici viri in magnis, publicisque per Europam congressibus suam attollunt vocem ad catholicae Ecclesiae, et huius Sanctae Sedis iura tutanda, et ad civilem Nostrum, eiusdemque Sedis Principatum vindicandum. Quae eiusdem civilis Principatus causa in Parisiensi praesertim Senatu, et in Collegio legibus ferendis nuper fuit unanimis prope suffragiis ac sententias splendide et magnifice propugnata, bonis omnibus plaudentibus et exultantibus. Catholici autem populi abominandam inimicorum nostrorum perfidiam, vehementer detestantes publicis, ac

¹ Appendix *ad Rituale Romanum*, etc. (W. B. Kelly, Dublin,) pag. 65.

splendidis significationibus filialem et venerationem declarare, et continuis largitionibus Nostras, eiusdemque Sedis angustias sublevare gaudent, atque utriusque sexus fideles, licet pauperes, suo aere Nobis opitulantur. Ac praesto sunt inter Ecclesiasticos, Laicosque Viros tum disertissimi oratores, qui suis sermonibus in publicis quoque conventibus veneranda, et inconcussa iustitiae, veritatis, et huius Apostolicae Sedis iura diligenter, sapienterque defendere, et adversariorum mendacia refellere summopere gloriantur. Quamplurimi autem viri nobilissimo etiam genere nati ex omnibus fere regionibus religionis causa excitati, propriis familiis, ac etiam uxoribus filisque relictis, ad hanc urbem certatim concurrunt, et omnibus despctis incommodis ac periculis, Nostrae militiae nomen dare, et pro Ecclesia, pro Nobis, ac pro civilis Nostris, jet huius Sanctae Sedis Principatus defensione vitam ipsam profundere non dubitant. Nec desunt catholici parentes, qui religionis spiritu incensi filios suos etiam unigenitos ad huius Sanctae Sedis causam tuendam mittunt, et illustre Machabaeorum matris aemulantes exemplum, illos pro hac causa sanguinem fudisse gloriantur et gaudent.

Accedit etiam, ut populi civili Nostrae ditioni subiecti, quamvis nefariis omnis generis insidiis, minis, damnisque a perditissimis hominibus exagitati, tamen stabiles et immoti in sua erga Nos, et Sanctam Sedem fide permaneant. Quos inter profecto eminent Romanus Populus Nobis penitus dilectus, summisque laudibus decordans, cum fere omnes cuiusque ordinis, gradus et conditionis huius Aliae Urbis cives singulari Nos affectu et obsequio prosequi ac civili Nostro et Sanctae huius Sedis Imperio obtemperare, Nobisque succurrere summopere gestiant. Nostis autem, Venerabiles Fratres, qua fidelitate Nostris milites omni certe laude dignissimi excellant, et qua admirabili virtute ipsi contra scelestissimorum hominum turmas depugnarunt, et quanta cum gloria in acie mortem pro Ecclesia occubuerent. Ac probe scitis, Serenissimum ac Potentissimum nobilis et generosae Gallicae Nationis Imperatorem gravissima Nostra considerantem pericula, strenuos suos misisse milites, qui cum praestantissimis eorum ducibus omni alacritate et studio in Nomentano praesertim, et Eretino certamine Nostris militibus auxilium dare, et cum ipsis fortiter dimicare, et pro hac Sancta Sede cum summa sui nominis laude mortem oppetere laetati sunt. Neque ignoratis quomodo in sacrarum praesertim expeditionum regionibus, Deo auxiliante, divina evangelii lux quotidie magis effulgeat, ac sanctissima nostra religio maiora incrementa suscipiat, et sedentes in tenebris, et umbra mortis, depulsa mentis caligine, ad sanctae matris Ecclesiae sinum confugiant, et quomodo ubique varia pia instituta quibusque christiana, civilisque societatis classibus et necessitatibus vel maxime utilia in dies augeantur.

Quae quidem omnia a Nobis breviter commemorata, ac multiplices impiorum hominum insidiae miro modo detectae, ac dissipatae luculenter ostendunt, quomodo omnipotens, et misericors Dominus, in cuius manu sunt hominum corda, Ecclesiam suam mirifice tueatur, defendat, et evidentissime confirmet, inferi portas nunquam adversus eam esse praevalituras, Ipsumque Nobiscum esse omnibus diebus

usque ad consummationem saeculi. Itaque Venerabiles Fratres, maximas, ac immortales clementissimo misericordiarum Patri pro tot acceptis beneficiis semper agamus gratias, omnemque spem, et fiduciam in Eo unice collocantes non desistamus ferventissimis precibus Ipsum exorare, ut per merita Unigeniti Filii sui Domini Nostri Iesu Christi perget Ecclesiam suam ab omnibus eripere calamitatibus, ac Nos liberare a Nostris, Suisque inimicis, eorumque impia consilia et desideria confundere, et dissipare. Atque etiam Eum deprecemur, ut eosdem inimicos atque etiam illos, qui contra Nos pugnantes in Nostrorum militum potestatem redacti, omnique caritate a Nobis tractati in sua pertinacia persistunt, ad salutarem poenitentiam, ac rectum iustitiae tramitem reducere dignetur. Quo vero facilius annuat Dei precibus nostris, deprecantes apud Eum indesinenter adhibeamus primum quidem Immaculatam Deiparam Virginem Mariam, quae omnium nostrum est amantissima mater, ac potentissimum christianorum auxilium, quaeque *quod queritur invenit, et frustrari non potest*; deinde Beatissimum Petrum Apostolorum Principem, et Coapostolum eius Paulum, omnesque Sanctos Caelites, qui cum Christo regnant in caelo. Antequam vero dicendi finem faciamus Nobis temperare non possumus, quin meritas, amplissimasque laudes tribuamus, et gratissimi animi Nostri sensus iis omnibus, et singulis profiteamur, qui Nostram, huius Sanctae Sede, Ecclesiaeque causam tum voce, tum scriptis, tum subsidiis, tum alia quavis opera, ac vel ipsius vitae discrimine tanta cum sui nominis gloria propugnare contendunt. Atque haud omissimus in omni oratione et obsecratione cum gratiarum actione Deum, a quo omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum descendit, humiliter enixque precari, ut istos omnes Ecclesiae suae filios Nobis carissimos, ac strenuissimos eiusdem Ecclesiae defensores uberrimis quibusque divinae suae gratiae donis, omnibusque caelestibus suis benedictionibus cumulare velit.

II.

Reply of Pope Pius IX. to the Address presented to his Holiness by the meeting held at Dublin 15th November, 1867.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Paulo S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Cullen,
Archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

PIUS PAPA IX.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.
Alacri ac libentissimo animo amantissimam et observantissimam Tuam accepimus Epistolam die 24 proximi mensis Novembris ad Nos scriptam, quae, Dilecte Fili Noster, Litteras nobis misisti ab istius Tuae Dioecesis Clero, Populoque fidi exaratas ad eorum sensus exprimendos in frequentissimo conventu istie die 15 ejusdem mensis Novembris habito palam publiceque declaratos. Equidem

verbis exprimere non possumus quanto solatio et consolationi Nobis fuerint ejusdem Cleri Populi Litterae inter gravissimas, quibus affligimur, acerbitates. Etenim ex eisdem litteris magis magisque novimus qua singulari fide et observantia idem Clerus, Populusque Tuæ curæ commissus Nos, et hanc Petri Cathedram prosecutatur, quantoque afficiatur dolore propter maximas Nostras angustias a deterrimis Dei hominumque hostibus excitatas, et quo spiritu sit animatus ad nostram, ac Sanctæ hujus Sedis defensionem et qua indignatione reprobet ac detestetur nefarios et sacrilegos impiorum hominum contra Nos, et hanc almannam nostram urbem ausus conatusque, et quo ardente studio fervidas Deo indeseinenter adhibeat preces, ut Ecclesiam suam sanetam a tantis eripiat calamitatibus, omnesque Ecclesiae inimicos humiliet, disperdat, ac de iniquitatis barathro ad rectum justitiae ac salutos tramitem reducat, infirmitatem nostram omnipotenti sua virtute adjuvet, roboret, defendat, et consoletur Nos in omni tribulatione nostra. Itaque, Dilecte Fili Noster, vel maxime optamus, ut isti Tuo Dublinensi Clero et Populo signifiques, gratissimas Nobis fuisse hujusmodi egregias filialis pietatis significaciones omni laude dignissimas, et omnes certiores facias de paterna Nostra in eos caritate, deque enixis precibus, quas Deo humiliter offerimus, ut eudem Dublinensem Clerum et Populum omnibus divinae suae gratiae donis replere velit. Denique fac Tibi persuadeas, praecipuum esse, qua, ob eximias Tuas virtutes Te in Domino complectiur, benevolentiam. Cujus quoque certissimum pignus esse volumus Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam ex intimo corde profectam Tibi ipsi, Dilecte Fili Noster, cunctisque Clericis, Laicisque fidelibus Tuæ vigilantiae concreditis peramanter impertimus. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die 16 Decembris anno 1867 Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo-secondo.

PIUS PP. IX.

NOTICE OF BOOK.

Catholic Education: Report of a Meeting of the Clergy of Dublin, held at Marlborough Street, 18th December, 1867.

This book gives in a permanent form the speeches delivered at the meeting of the clergy lately held in Dublin. It also contains, Appendix I.—Letter of the Irish Bishops to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, 18th March, 1860; II.—Resolutions of the Irish Bishops, adopted at their General Meeting in October, 1867.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD:

MARCH, 1868.

ST. FIECC'S POEM ON THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK.

1. THE invaluable record of the life of our apostle which we now publish dates back to the beginning of the sixth century. It is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College, a MS. so ancient that the late Dr. Petrie reckoned it to be about twelve hundred years old, and all are agreed that it cannot have been written later than the ninth or tenth century.¹ This poem is also given in the equally venerable copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* preserved in Rome,² and passages from it are found in

¹ Dr. Todd writes, "This beautiful MS., which cannot be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe". *Book of Hymns*, I. A. S., pag. 1.

² It is a curious fact that the *Liber Hymnorum* known to Ware and Ussher seems to have been the copy now preserved in Rome. Both these distinguished antiquaries eulogize it as a *vetusissimus codex*, and Ussher gives the following data for determining the MS. to which he refers: "in hymnorum, partim Latino partim Hibernico sermoni Scriptorum, codice vetustissimo, notatum reperi trium Episcoporum opera in Nicaena Synodo illud (symbolum Athanasianum) fuisse compositum, Eusebii et Dionysii et nomen tertii (sic enim ibi legitur) nescimus In eadem hymnorum collectione Nicetam Deum laudavisse legimus dicentem: *Laudate pueri Dominum. Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur etc.*, ista praeterea adjecta appendice: *Te Patrem adoramus aeternum, Te sempiternum Filium invocamus, Teque Spiritum Sanctum in una divinitatis substantia manentem confitemur: Tibi unum Deo in Trinitate debitas laudes et gratias referimus: ut Te incessabilis voce laudare mereamur per aeterna secula seculorum. Amen*". ('De Rom. Eo. Symbolo' epist. ad Vossium. Works, vol. 7, pag. 300). Now these statements are quite at variance with the T. C. D. Manuscript (Todd, loc. cit. pag 9), whilst they are found word for word in the Roman MS. Thus at p. 44 the Roman MS. presents the following Introduction to the Athanasian creed: "The synod of Nicea composed this profession of Catholic faith: and three bishops alone drew it up, i.e., Eusebius, Dionysius, et nomen tertii nescimus. But it was said that it was the whole synod did it since it was it that approved of it. In the city

some of the most ancient lives of St. Patrick.¹ In both the above MSS. St. Fiecc of Sletty is assigned as its author, and the best Celtic philologists, judging from its language alone, unhesitatingly refer it to the sixth century. Eugene O'Curry regards it as the oldest monument extant of Celtic hagiology (*Lectures*, pag. 342-3); and in one place he writes: "St. Fiecc of Sletty is the author of a biographical poem on the life of St. Patrick in the Gaedhlic language, a most ancient copy of which still exists and which bears internal evidence of a high degree of perfection in the language at the time at which it was composed; it is unquestionably in all respects a genuine and native production, quite untinctured with the Latin or any other foreign contemporary style or idiom" (*Ibid.*, pag. 4).

2. The introduction to the poem of St. Fiecc in the *Lib. Hym.* T. C. D. will be given hereafter. We will now present the introduction to it which is preserved in the Roman MS. which has some important variations from the Dublin text:

Fiecc rleipre doronai in molatru
do patraicc. in Fiac rin vana mac
erroe mic ercha, mic bregan, mac
vane baileairg otar oebairche, mac
cathairn mor, valta van in fiacrin
do Dubthach mac huilugair, arprofile
hepero erroe. in amprin loegaire mic
neill ocus patraicc do ponao oenre.
in dubthachrim astrapacht pia pat-
raicc i templaig iap na rao do loe-
gaire na jo eirgeo nech nem iap
tich, ocus ba capa do patraicc he
oem immach ocus nobairtre o
patraicc iaprin. luto van patraicc
rect co tech in Dubthach rin i Lais-
nib. separ iapum Dubthach failte
mori fui patraicc. Atbect pat-
raicc fui Dubthach "Cunning Dam-

Fiecc of Sletty it was that composed this eulogy of Patrick. Fiecc indeed was son of *Mac Erche*, son of *Bregan*, son of *Dare-Baileach* (from whom the *Ui-Bairche*) son of *Cathair-Mor*: and Fiecc was disciple of Dubthach Mac *Ui Lugair* chief poet of Ireland. In the time of Loegaire Mac Neill and Patrick it was composed. And it was that Dubthach who rose up in presence of Patrick after Loegaire had said that no one should arise before him in Tara. And he was beloved by Patrick from that day forth, and was baptized by Patrick afterwards. Moreover Patrick went one time to the house of that Dubthach in Leinster. Whereupon Dubthach gave great welcome to Patrick. Patrick

of Nicea it was done and that city was in Bithinia, a province that is in Asia Minor. To extirpate the heresy of Arius was the cause of its composition, for what he said was that the Father was greater than the Son, and the Son greater than the Holy Ghost. Moreover, the synod, that is, eighteen bishops above three hundred, was convened by Constantine at Nicea, and they prayed to be victorious over his eloquence, so that God vanquished him". At pag. 34 in the same MS. we have the *Introduction* to the "*Te Deum*": it is as follows: "Nicetas, successor (comorba) of St Peter, composed this hymn. In Rome, moreover, he composed it. Incertum vero quo tempore et ob quam causam factum, nisi Nicetam Dominum laudare voluisse diceremus, dicens: Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini. Te Deum laudamus", etc. At the close of the hymn is given the additional sentence word for word as cited above from Ussher. It was a puzzle to the learned Ussher to know who this *Nicetas* was who was thus assigned as the author of the *Te Deum*. To us it seems very clear that it refers to Pope *Anicetus* who was elected successor to St. Peter A.D. 167, and died in 175. Another proof of the Roman MS. being that which was consulted by Ware and Ussher, is found in the statement of Ware, that the *Liber Hymn.* which he used was then in Ussher's library, but had formerly belonged to the convent of Friars Minors in Donegal. This, too, is verified in the Roman MS.

¹ For instance in *Leabhar-Breac*, "Book of Hymns", by Dr. Todd, pag. 88.

ra", ol re, "fēn għarid rocenelac, roberaq, oenretche ocu oen mac oċai vin", "ceo ap a cunċiñu ġejn .i. fēn in chjotta ġin", ol Dubthach, "Via vui roġġavab" ol patraicc. "Fiacc ġin" ol Dubthach "ocur vo chiorriex pop cuajt i connactaib". In tan tħha batar fopp na bniathara if ant tamic fiāc ocu a cuajt leir. "ata fuu", ol Dubthach, "intip-impajorem". "Cia beit" ol patraicc, ber inba hawl vo quoo vixi-mur". "ventar tħall mo bejnha", ol Dubthach, "connacavas fiacc". Oħi connajpic tħaż-żiak ġin jaġi far-faxx "ceo tħalltan", ol re, "Dubthach vo bħaxxill ap reat", "erbach ġin", ap re, "ap ni fil in hejno filio aleħet", "notgħebha war a hem", ol patraicc, "iż-żi lugu mo erbaix a-h-ekino" ol sic "quam Dubthach". Tall tħha patraicc a uħċai vo fiac tunc ocu tamic jaħbi minn fajr iaprejse ġejn, ocu poleiġ innovo n-eclata cohuleġ īn-nien aroche u l-xiebux ut alii fejn, ocu co taqtaw għarid n-eprejx fajn ocu konihe if-arrerx-żor ħaqiġa ġiem il-le, ocu a chomxha vnae eif. Loc u no duma gobla f'ni plej-pete anta tħħażu; tempur umorja lu-għadha marie loegħiex ap re if he ba ja in hejno tunc. Cuċċa umorja ap molao vo patraicc, ocu if-żepp na ec vo jonno ut fejn qui qed-a auctor.

said to Dubthach: "Seek out for me", said he, "a man of orders, of good family, and good morals, of one wife, and one child only." "Why have you asked for him" said Dubthach, "that is for a man of that kind". Patrick replied, "To go under ecclesiastical degrees" (i.e. to be consecrated bishop). "Fiacc is that man", said Dubthach, "and he has gone on a visit to Connacht". When, however, they were thus dis couring, there came Fiacc and his visi tation with him. "There is the man", said Dubthach, "of whom we have spoken". "Whoever he is", said Patrick, "what we have said may not be pleasing to him". "Set about tonsuring me", said Dubthach, "that Fiacc may see it". In truth when Fiacc perceived it, he asked, "what", said he, "are you about to do?" "to tonsure Dubthach:" said they: "that is a loss" said he, "for there is not in all Erin such another poet as he". "You will be received in his place", said Patrick. "Less is my loss to Erin", said Fiacc, "than that of Dubthach". Patrick then cuts off the beard from Fiacc, and there came great grace on him after that; and (he learned) all the ecclesiastical order in one night, or in fifteen days as others say. And Patrick conferred on him the dignity of bishop; and he is archbishop of Leinster since then, and his successor after him. The place then was Duma Gobla to the north west of Sletty. The time was that of Lugdach Mac Loegaire, who was king of Ireland then: the occasion was to eulogize Patrick, and it was after his death it was composed as some authors say".

3. The close connection of St. Fiacc with our Apostle, which enhances so much the poem which we publish, is recorded in the most ancient documents of our early Church. When St. Patrick on Easter-day presented himself in the festive hall of Tara, in the midst of Laoghaire's court, "no one rose up at his approach except Dubthach Maccu Lugair alone, an admirable poet with whom at the time was present a certain youthful poet named Fiacc, who was at a later period an illustrious bishop, and his relics are venerated in the territory of Sletty. This Dubthach alone among the assembled multitude arose from his seat to pay honour to St. Patrick, and the saint blessed him; and he was the first who believed in God on that day, and (his deed) was counted unto him for righteousness".¹ Thus is this memorable

¹ "Nemo de omnibus ad adventum ejus surrexit praeter unum tantum, id est,

scene registered in the *Book of Armagh*, a MS. of the beginning of the ninth century, but copied from a much more ancient codex. The other *Lives* of our apostle repeat the same narrative, and they give us the additional particulars, that Dubthach was the *king's chief bard*, and that St. Fiecc was his foster-son and disciple.

4. We next meet with St. Fiecc when our apostle, a little before the foundation of Armagh (A.D. 445) after visiting *Magh Lífe*, the plain from which the river Liffey takes its name,¹ entered the territory of the tribe called *Laeghis* or *Leix*, now the Queen's County. Here St. Patrick visited *Dubhthach*, and the narrative of their interview, which corresponds with the *Introduction* to the Poem of St. Fiecc, is thus preserved in the Book of Armagh:

"Patrick went from Tara into the territory of Leinster, so that he and Dubhthach Maccu-Lugir met at *Domnach Mor Criathar* in Hy-Kinsellagh. Patrick requested Dubhthach about a 'materies' of a bishop of his disciples for the Lagenians, to wit, a man free, of good family, without stain, without blemish, who would not speak little or much of flattery; learned, hospitable, a man of one wife, for whom there was born but one child. Dubhthach answered, I know not of my people but *Fiac Finn* (i.e. the Fair) of the Lagenians, who went from me into the country of Connaught. As they were speaking, they saw Fiac Finn coming towards them. Dubhthach said to Patrick: come and tonsure me, for the man is found who will save me by taking the tonsure in my stead, for great is his piety.² Then Fiac Finn relieved Dubhthach, and Patrick tonsures and baptizes him".³

5. The introduction to our hymn informs us that St. Fiecc at his baptism received a copious abundance of the graces of Heaven and that "in one night, or as some attest in fifteen days, he learned the whole ecclesiastical order". The *Tripartite Life* adds: "St. Patrick baptized and tonsured Fiac who hitherto had been only a catechumen, and gave to him an alphabet written by the

Dubhthach Macculgil poetam optimum apud quem tunc temporis ibi erat quidam adolescens poeta nomine *Fecc* qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit cuius reliquiae venerantur in *Sleáthi*. Hic, ut dixi, Dubhthach solus ex gentibus in honorem Sancti Patricii surrexit et benedixit ei *Sanctus*: crediditque primus in illa die Deo et reputatum est ei ad justitiam." *Macutenus* in *Book of Armagh*, fol. 4. This passage is repeated with a few clerical variations in the *Life of St. Patrick* by Probus (*Trias Th.* pag. 51) where instead of *Fecc* the name of the youthful poet is written *Phiehg*.

¹ See Todd's *Mem. of St. Patrick*, pag. 11.

² Σούπε is clearly proved by Mr. Stokes to mean *piety* (*Goidilica*, pag. 104): we have therefore adopted his translation instead of that of O'Donovan, who gives this passage "for he is very near".

³ *Tirechan*, in *Book of Armagh*, fol. 18, ap. O'Donovan in *Ir. Gram. App.* 2nd pag. 486.

saint's own hand and a blessing, aided by which he learned the whole Psalter in one day. In a short time Fiacc, with the assistance of the grace of the Holy Ghost, made such progress in piety and knowledge that it seemed fit to his master not only to consecrate him the first bishop from among the Lagenians, but also to constitute him chief and supreme bishop of the whole province of Leinster" (iii. 21 ap. Colgan, *Trias*, pag. 154). It is not easy to determine to what the *alphabet* refers, which was on this occasion presented by our apostle to Fiecc. We cannot well suppose that the disciple of Dubhtach was at this time ignorant of the letters which constitute what we commonly call the alphabet: and hence the gift of our apostle *written by himself*, must either mean some compendium of Catholic faith such as the *alphabetical poem* which St. Augustine composed against the Donatists, or perhaps the *Apostle's Creed*, or the 118th psalm, which was known as the *alphabetical psalm*. This however is mere conjecture, and we will feel deeply indebted to any of our correspondents who may more fully illustrate the matter.

6. The *Book of Armagh* next commemorates the consecration of Fiecc by St. Patrick, and the foundation of the church of *Domnach-Fiecc*: "St. Patrick (it says) put the grade of a bishop upon him, so that he was the bishop who was first ordained with Leinstermen, and Patrick gave a case to Fiacc, to wit, a bell and a reliquary, and a crozier, and a book-satchel, and he left seven of his family with him, viz., Muchatocc of Inisfail, Augustin of Inisbecc, Tecan, Diarmuit, Nainnid, Paul, and Fedelmid. After this Fiacc set up in Domnach-Fiecc, and was there until sixty of his family (i.e. disciples) died there".¹ Thus *Domnach-Fiecc*, situated to the East of the Barrow in the county of Carlow, was the first monastery founded by St. Fiecc, and he must have continued to reside there for many years, as sixty of his holy disciples closed their earthly career there in the odour of sanctity before he chose Sletty for his abode. The companions who were left with him by our apostle to share his labours and imitate his virtues (*socios laborum actionumque imitatores*. Vit. Trip.) are all named as illustrious saints in the calendars of our early church. Muchatocc (the same as Cadoc) is honoured as an apostle in Wales and Brittany, as well as Ireland. Augustin was one of the first companions of Palladius. Tecan and Diarmit are commemorated on the 9th of September, and the 10th of January. Nainnid, the same as Nennidh, was surnamed the *pure-handed*, for it was his privilege to minister the holy Viaticum to our great Virgin Patron, St. Brigid. Paul, at a later period, chose a desert island for his hermitage, and was there visited by St. Brendan. Fed-

¹ 'Tirechan's Annotat. in Book of Armagh, in Stokes' *Goidilica*, pag. 104.

helim's feast is on the 9th of August, and he is venerated as Patron of Kilmore.

7. The foundation of the church of *Sletty* is the next fact which we meet with connected with St. Fiecc. The angel of God announced to him, says the *Book of Armagh*, "that it is across the river (Barrow) westward, in *Cuil Maige*, thy resurrection shall be: in the place in which they shall find the boar let it be there that they build their refectory, the place where they shall find the doe, let it be there that they build their church. Fiacc said to the angel that he would not go till Patrick should come to measure his place with him, and to consecrate it, so that it should be from him that he would receive his place. After this, Patrick went to Fiacc and measured his place with him and consecrated it and measured out his *forrach*¹ there; and Crimthan granted that place to Patrick, for it was Patrick that gave baptism to Crimthan, and it is in Sletty that Crimthan was buried" ("Tirechan' loc cit. Stokes *Goid.* p. 104). The territory of Sletty had originally belonged to the family of St. Fiecc; but through the animosity of Crimthan, king of the Hy-Kinsel-lagh, all the relatives of our saint, together with his father and four brothers, were banished from his states and compelled to seek a home in other parts of the island. From these exiles were derived the *Kinell Enna* in Munster: and by them were also founded two monasteries, one of which was in Ulster, and the other in the territory of Hy-Crimthainn. Hence St. Fiecc feared that it would be in vain for him to ask a site for a monastery from Crimthan. On the other hand the king held our apostle in the greatest veneration. It was at the hands of St. Patrick that he had a little while before been regenerated in the waters of baptism, and no fewer than *forty churches* are said to have been founded through the munificence of the monarch, at the request of our apostle. It was probably with a view to restore concord between Crimthan and the family of Fiecc, that St. Patrick wished to found the monastery of Sletty, and it is added that at his solicitation "not only was the site for a church granted to St. Fiecc, but also a grant was made to him of all the surrounding territory, comprising a fifth part of his paternal possessions with which he was enabled to endow that church which he made his episcopal see" (*Vit. Trip.* pag. 155). As the death of Crimthan took place in the year 483 according to the *Annals of Ulster*, the foundation of Sletty cannot have been later than about A.D. 480.

8. St. Fiecc is styled 'a wonderful bishop', *mirabilis Episcopus* by Probus: the other records of his life further inform us that he was remarkable for his penitential austerities. Thus we find

¹ O'Donovan translates *forrach* 'establishment'. Jocelyn says that the monastery of *Domnach Fiece* was at a place called *Forrach*. (*Vit. cap. 117.*)

it specially commemorated in a passage preserved by Ware, that "St. Patrick ordained in that country (Leinster) another bishop, a native of Leinster, named Fiach, a most religious man who at the command of the blessed Patrick converted and baptized the people of *Ceanselach* which is the largest and best part of Leinster. This Bishop Fiach with great patience subdued his fleshly appetites and concupiscence and finished a most holy course of life in his city of Sleibti, near the river Barrow in the *white Field*". (Ir. Writers, p. 6). In the ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, attributed to St. Evin, it is also said that Fiecc went on every *Shrove-Saturday*¹ to a cave on the hill of *Dromm Cobhai*.² He used to bring with him five loaves of bread; these sufficed for his food during the whole time of Lent, which was passed in the cave in silent prayer, and on Easter Sunday he returned to Sletty to celebrate with his brethren the joyous festival of Easter.³

9. There is one other fact connected with St. Fiecc's life which cannot be here omitted. We give the narrative from the ancient Irish Tripartite Life of our apostle, as translated by O'Curry:

"At a certain time *Sechnall* (i.e. Secundinus) went to Armagh, and Patrick was not at home; and he saw two chariot horses with Patrick's people before him, unyoked. And Sechnall said: It were proper to give those horses to the bishop, that is, to Fiacc. When Patrick returned this was told to him. He at once ordered the horses to be yoked to the chariot, and sent them without any one to guide them until they were in the desert with Mochta.⁴ They went southward the following day to *Domnach Sechnaill* (i.e. Dunshaughlin.) They went thence by the east to *Cill-Auxili*.⁵ After that they went to *Cill-Monach*,⁶ and thence to Fiacc in Sletty. . . . The cause

¹ This was the vigil of Lent, which formerly commenced on Quadragesima Sunday.

² This as we have seen was the name of the mountain near which St. Fiecc's monastery was founded.

³ Irish Trip. Life, ap. O'Curry *Lectures*, App. pag. 607, from *Egerton MS. 98*, in British Museum.

⁴ This was probably the modern Inishmot, barony of Slane, county Meath.

⁵ Perhaps the present *Killosoly* or *Killossory*, in the barony of Coolock, on the road from Drogheda to Dublin, ten miles from Swords. The *Four Masters* place another *Cill Usaille*, in *Liffe*. See *Four Masters*, A.D. 454; as also *Chron. Scotorum*, A.D. 874, where *Cill-Ausaille* is mentioned as belonging to *Leinster*. See also the curious record of the arrival in Ireland of St. Auxilius, *Chron. Scotorum*, A.D. 438. St. Auxilius was one of those who were ordained with our Apostle. "Auxilius, Iserminusque et caeteri inferioris gradus eodem die quo Sanctus Patricius ordinati sunt". *Book of Armagh*, fol. 2. His name is also mentioned in one of the Synods of St. Patrick, and his death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster in the year 459 (i.e. 460). He is commemorated in our martyrologies on the 30th of July, under the name *Cobhair*, which Irish word has the meaning of *aid, help*, and thus corresponds with the Latin *Auxilius*.

⁶ This is explained in the next extract as being the monastery of St. *Mangan*. It is now *Lemanaghan* (*Liath-Mancháin*) in the barony of *Garrycastle*, King's County. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note: "The town

of giving the chariot to Fiacc was that chafers had gnawed his leg so that death was near him" (Ap. O'Curry, loc. cit. pag. 607).

The *Book of Armagh* records the same fact: St. Patrick, it says, "sent the chariot to *Sechnall* without a charioteer in it, but it was the angels that directed it. Sechnall when it had spent three nights there with him, sent it to *Manchan*, and it remained three nights with him. He sent it to Fiacc. Fiacc refused to accept it. After that it went around the church three times, and the angel said to Fiacc: it is to you that this has been given by Patrick when he came to know your disease" (Tirechan, in *Book of Armagh*, loc. cit. and Stokes' *Goidilica*, pag. 104).

10. The date of Fiecc's demise is not registered in the Irish chronicles. As he was still a youth when St. Patrick first preached the truths of redemption to the court of Laoghaire, we may readily suppose that his holy life was not brought to a close till about the year 510. Not far from the Church of Sletty was the small monastery of *Minbeag*, and there St. Fiacc passed to his reward. His son *Fiachra*, who had been promoted to holy orders by our apostle (*Vit. Trip.* iii. 21), lived in the same monastery, and became eminent for sanctity. His name is entered in our ancient Calendars on the same day as St Fiecc, the 12th of October. Thus in the Martyrology of Donegal: "Fiacc, bishop of Sletty, in Leinster, of the race of Cathoir Mor Fiachraida his son, of the same church as Fiacc his father": in the martyrology of Tallaght it is thus: "Fiacc and with him his son Fiachra in Sletty": the Calendar of Cashel has "Fiachra son of Fiecc, and both rest in Minbeag, i.e., the wood which lies between *Cluainmor-Moedhog*, and *Achadh-Abhall*": the Martyrology of Maguire repeats the same, "Fiachra was the son of Fiecc, and he is with him in Minbeag, i.e. in the small cell which is in the wood between Cluainmor-Maodhoc, and Achadh-Abhall, where also St. Fiacc rests". In the extract already given from the Book of Armagh, it was said of St. Fiecc that his relics were venerated "in the district of Sletty", *cujus reliquiae venerantur hi Sletibe*: Probus, after mentioning his episcopal see (which by a clerical error is written *Themoria*), adds: "cujus reliquiae nunc venerantur ibidem": and the *Vita Tripartita* of St. Evin also says of St. Fiecc: "He now rests in the church of Sletty". We will only add the entry in the metrical calendar of Aenghus, with its glosses, on the 12th of October, as preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 49:

Ólom (a) fiacc agar fiachra,
Onme¹ moj in mainfín;

Proclaim *Fiach* and *Fiachra*,
On me great is the treasure;

whose name is Leth-Manchin, is in the same place, and it is a parish church; five miles from thence is Manchan's Well and penitential station".

¹ It has been suggested that o inne moj would be a more correct reading of

Mobni balec inbuarao r̄m,
inclarainech (b) can̄ r̄m.

Gloss.

(a) Dlom i. aīneis i. fiachra mac
viflach he agar comao vo i. om̄in
i. cill bec pl̄ itip̄ cluin mor moe-
voc agar achao naball iñ anorroe
ata fiacc beoƿ.

(b) Clarainech i. cen̄ r̄m leir̄
itip̄. Mobii clarainech marc beo-
an, marc b̄nefai, marc aigil, marc
tonai, marc achr̄ai, marc l̄gnat̄ tri-
nog, marc b̄neguibl̄, marc aigil
chuipp. hinc Mobii agar fintan
unam genealogiam habuerunt.³

Mobii clarainech o Glarnaideon
hi n-gallaib̄ agar berchan ainnm
mobii agar beoan ainnm a thap̄ agar
Uamind ingen findbairr̄ ainnm ama-
thap̄ agar hi cill mac Tharoḡ po-
comperio agar pucad̄, agar vo Cor-
coirthri vo lighne Connacht vo.
Ocuſ r̄mua mnaí maip̄ vo compere-
he. Clarainech v̄m he uam̄ po-
thaip̄no in uip̄ agaro cop̄ ba haench-
lap̄ ubi hi. pl̄.

Mobius great was the marvel—
That gentle flat-faced man.

Gloss.

(a) Dlom. i.e., proclaim: Fiachra was son of Fiach and is with him in Onme i.e., a little church which is between Cluin Mor Moedoc and Achadh-n-Abhall;¹ it is there Fiach is still commemorated. (b) Clarainech² (i.e., flat-faced) i.e., having no nose. Mobius the flat-faced man was the son of Bedain, son of Breasal, son of Aigil, son of Idna, son of Atra, son of Lug-na-tri-n-og, son of Bregdubl̄, son of Art Cuip̄. Hinc Mobius et Fintan unam genealogiam habuerunt. Mobius the flat-faced man from Glasnaidean in Gallaiib̄ and Berchan was the name of Mobius, and Beoan was his father's name, and Uamid the daughter of Findbarr̄, was his mother's name, and it was in Kill-mac-Taud̄ he was conceived and born, and he was of the (tribe of) Corcoirthri of the Lighne⁴ of Connacht, and it was from his dead mother he was born: he was therefore flat-faced, for he so pressed his face to the clay that it was all as one smooth board.

11. No trace now remains of the church and monastery of Sletty,⁵ founded by St. Patrick, hallowed by the penance and virtues of St. Fiecc, and enriched with his remains. The name indeed is still preserved in the corrupt form of *Slathe* or *Slatey*, and marks a churchyard and parish (now comprised in the parish of Killeshin) in the barony of Slievemargue, Queen's County, about a mile to the N.N.W. of the town of Carlow, on the banks of the Barrow. In the churchyard are two stone

this text. It would then mean *from Inne-mor is the treasure*. *Inne mor* or *Inde-mor* was situate in the south of county Kildare. See *Chron. Scotorum*, A.D. 500 for the battle of *Inde-mor* in Crich-Ui-Gabhl̄a. The word *Onme*, however, is clearly written in the *Leabhar Breac*.

¹ Now Aghold in the barony of Shillelagh, co. Wicklow.

² This word *Clarinenē clairenach* frequently occurs in the lives of the Irish saints. In the martyrology of Donegal it is explained as follows: "Clarenech, id est, natus cum tabulata facie sine loco oculorum". In the hymn of St. Brigid that she "blessed a clairenach and gave sight to both his eyes" (see *J. E. Record*, February, p. 230). Cogitosus describes the same miracle by the words "oculos coeci nati aperuit" (*Trias*. p. 520); and Animosus more fully explains it as referring to one who was "coecus a nativitate habens tabulatam faciem" (ib. p. 560). In the *Life of St. Maidoc* it is more fully explained: "Vir quidam in Britannia tabulatam habens faciem, id est, sine oculis et naribus ab utero natus" (Colgan, *Acta*, p. 210).

³ *Leabhar Breac*. fol. 49. In the margin is added, "Fortcern in hidrona Laigen," that is "The feast of St. Fortchner in Hydrone in Leinster".

⁴ Now Barony of Leyny, county Sligo.

⁵ The *Vita Trip.* explains the name as equivalent to *montes*: "venit ad locum qui Slepte vulgo, id est, montes, appellatur" (iii. 28).

crosses of remote antiquity, and not far from it are the ruins of a small church still called *Sliel-teach*, i.e. 'the house near the mountains', which probably is the *Minbeag* and *Onme*,¹ i.e. 'the small church' of the Calendars. The similarity of the names *Sliebhte* and *Sliebleach*, may account for the varying statements of the calendars, which place the repose of St. Fiecc in the 'small church', and of the lives of St. Patrick, which mention his repose at *Sleibhte*.

12. From a mistaken interpretation of some passages in St. Fiecc's poem, many learned writers have been led into a serious error regarding its date. Thus Dr. Todd writes: "it contains an allusion to the desolation of Tara, and consequently must have been written after the middle of the sixth century" (*St. Patrick*, etc., pag. 313). Indeed the desolation of Tara dates from the reign of Diermit, who became monarch of Ireland in the year 539, and died in 558: and Colgan, to explain the difficulty, styles this passage a prophetic announcement, *propeticum oraculum* ('Trias', pag. 6). For the same reason Lanigan very hesitatingly affirms that the whole poem was composed "probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century", (Ec. Hist., i. 58). O'Conor, too, in his 'Hib. Rer. Scriptores', deems it necessary to prolong St. Fiecc's life till at least A.D. 540.

Let us see, however, what grounds the poem presents for such theories. Twice reference is made to the desolation of Tara: the first time in the tenth strophe, where the druids announce to Laoghaire that the new doctrines of salvation would bring ruin on his kingdom, which idea is expressed by the metaphorical phrase 'the land of Tara will be a desert'. Such words, however, have neither the prestige of prophecy, nor the authority of history: they simply express the alarm of the druids at the approaching overthrow of their pagan superstition.

It is however on the second reference to the destruction of Tara that the above theories mainly rest. It occurs in the twenty-second strophe, which may be thus literally translated:

"In *Ardmagh* there is sovereignty,
Long since *Emain* has passed away,
A great church is *Dun-Lethglinse*,
I wish not that Tara be deserted".

Now, if this text be closely examined in the context in which it stands, it will be seen that it is not at all favourable to the theories which we have mentioned. Indeed, St. Fiecc neither announces in prophecy, nor commemorates as a fact the destruction

¹ In the gloss given above, *Onme* is called *Omin*, which has some affinity with *Min-beag*.

of Tara. He merely records in the present strophe the foundation of Armagh, and declares that our apostle assigned to this see the spiritual sovereignty: and then he adds that such a prerogative of this favoured city interfered not with the other boasted glories of Erin: it did not lessen the historic renown of Emain, or the privileges of the church of Down, rich with the treasure of our apostle's remains: neither did such a spiritual sovereignty diminish the civil prerogatives of the monarch, or imply that royal Tara should be a desert, as the druids had wickedly pretended. All this certainly does not suppose that Tara was *then deserted*, neither does it present a prophecy of its future desolation. It rather implies that Tara (*populosa Teamhir*) was thickly populated, and was still the seat of sovereignty: and hence this strophe should rather serve as a clear proof of the composition of our poem before the year 540.

13. The title *ardepscop*, commonly translated *archbishop*, which is given to St. Fiecc in the introduction to the poem, has been brought forward by the learned Bollandist, Byeus (Acta SS. Boll. ad 12. Oct. p. 98), to prove that the author of this introduction must have lived later than the twelfth century, the time when the title *archi-episcopus* began to be used in the Western Church. This conclusion, however, is wholly at variance with the age of the very MSS. which have preserved to us alike the poem and its introduction and scholia. The old Irish word *ardepscop* had not the definite meaning attached to the canonical title *Arch-Episopus* in the twelfth century. It was used to indicate a *chief bishop* (which is its literal meaning) precisely as in the oldest monuments of the Celtic language *ard-righ* indicates a *chief-king*: *ard-file*, a *chief poet*: *ard-anchoire*, a *chief anchorite*: and *ard-eagnaidhe*, a *chief sage*. Whether the Bishop who was honoured with this title enjoyed any special authority or jurisdiction, is a question wholly unconnected with our present matter, but of which we hope to treat at some future day. It is evident, however, that the theory of the learned Bollandist is entirely devoid of foundation; but we may pardon his error, as at the time when he wrote, the early monuments of our language and of our Church were almost unknown, and were for the most part sealed books, not only to continental scholars, but also to the natives of our island.

14. As regards the age of the introduction and scholia, Mr. O'Curry, judging from the peculiar idiomatic structure alone, was of opinion that they were not later than the eighth century. Being preserved in independent MSS. of the ninth or tenth century, in which the *Introduction* at least forms an integral part, they were certainly derived from more ancient sources, and hence a venerable antiquity must be assigned to them. One

incident which is narrated in the *Introduction* bears with it the impress of a very early date. It is the giving of the *tonsure* by cutting off not only a portion of the hair, but also the beard. This mention of the beard in regard to tonsure is not met with, that we know of, in any of the more recent documents of our Church. It is, however, expressly commemorated in one of the canons of our apostle, which enacts severe penalties against all ecclesiastics who neglect to tonsure *their hair and beard* according to the Roman usage: "more Romano capillos suos aut barbam tondere".

15. Besides the poem which we now publish, there are other compositions which have been by some very ancient writers attributed to St. Fiecc. Thus the Latin poem on St Brigid, which begins "Christus in nostra insula", published for the I.A.S. by Dr. Todd in the 'Book of Hymns', pag. 57, and generally attributed to St. Ultan of Ardbraccan, is said in the old Irish *Introduction* to have been by some referred to "St. Fiach of Slebte" (*ibid.* pag. 60). There is another short Irish prayer preserved in the two ancient MSS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, which may with more certainty be assigned to our saint. In the Dublin MS. it has the simple heading prefixed: "It was Ninian (i.e. Nennidh) the poet that made this prayer; or it was Fiecc of Sleddy". In the Roman MS. it has no distinct heading, but is given as forming the concluding part of the poem of St. Fiecc, being written by the original hand, and in the same characters as the text of the poem. Whether composed by Fiecc himself, or by St. Nennidh, it will serve to illustrate the sentiments of our saint; for Nennidh, as we have already remarked (§. 6), was his disciple, and thus in this sweet prayer we have a record at least of the school of St. Fiecc. We present it to our readers, together with its glosses from the Dublin MS.:

Ninine éciyr dojine innoptchainne
no piacc rleibte.

Δομινειμπατηρ ποεθ ρατραις
ρημαθταλ ιερην, αιρωνις α διημ
ναυαρηα βρεο βατρεγ γεντε, Cach-
αιρεσαρ φηι ιηνιος νυρχηροις
νεραις θιυμαρχου, λα ρονταχτ αη
ριαντ φινονιμε; ρονεαηη ιερενν
ιατμαιση μοη γειν: γιονομις οο
ρατραις ρημαθταλ, δοννειμπατ
ιμβραχ α ιηικημναχ, οο ιηιου-
θραχταβ ιεμνα νορχαρε, ιια
λεμ λα ιιιτε ρατραις ρημα-
ταλ.³

"It was Ninian the poet that made this prayer: or it was Fiacc of Sletty.

Let us put our trust in Patrick, chief apostle of Erin. A bright flame, honourable, illustrious his name. He baptized Gentiles: he battled with obdurate Druids. He overcame proud men by the aid of the king of bright heavens. He sanctified the fair plains of Erin. Great is the man to whom we pray. Let us pray to Patrick, chief apostle, to save us on the judgment-day from eternal condemnation, and from the evil designs of wicked demons. May God be with me, with the prayer of Patrick chief apostle".

¹ See *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, by Rev. P. F. Moran: Duffy, 1864. p. 306.

² See Stokes' 'Goidilica', pag. 95.

³ The following glosses are added in the *Lit. Hymn*:—*Aomuinemmai* .1.

16. St. Nennidh belonged to the royal race of Laoghaire, and was a near relation of St. Fortchern, and of the holy virgins, Ethnea and Fedhelia. He received his first lessons in virtue from our apostle, and was by him placed in the school of St. Fiecc. St. Brigid prophetically announced to him one day that when her death would be approaching, she "would receive at his hands the communion of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ" (Act. SS. Colgan, p. 112). Nennidh, on this account, wished to lead a life of solitude and penance in distant countries, hoping that thus St. Brigid's life would be prolonged for the benefit of Erin. He spent some time in Britain, then visited Rome, and subsequently built for himself a hermitage in the Scottish island of Mula, "in magna ciborum, in maxima vitiorum continentia". The origin of the epithet *Lamhglan*, i.e. *the pure-handed*, which is usually given to St. Nennidh, is thus explained in an ancient life of St. Brigid:

"Sanctus Nennidius volens manum suam mundissimam servare de qua Beatissima Brigida praedixit ut in die exitus sul divinum viaticum sumeret, fecit circa eam, aeneam arctam manicam cum sera et clavi ne illa corpus suum taugeret, neque de aliquo immundo tangetur : inde ipse agnomen habet, nam Scotica vocatur Nennidh Lamhghlan quod latine Nennidius manus—mundae sonat" (Acta SS. p. 112.)

The feast of St. Nennidh is thus marked on the 18th of January, in the "Martyrology of Donegal":

"Nennidh, bishop of Inis-Muighe-Samh, in Loch Erne, he was Nennidh Saebhruisc, who was of the race of Enda, son of Niall ; it was he who was usually called Nennidh-Laimhiodhan, to my knowledge. The Book of Hymns states that Nennidh, son of Eochaidh, was Nennidh Lamhiodhan" (I. A. S. pag. 21).

He was for some time disciple of St. Finian of Clonard, and amongst his companions in Inish-mac-Saint, in Loch Erne, is mentioned the great St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise. He is sometimes called bishop of Donach-mor, which was situated to the west on the main land not far from his island monastery of Inish-mac-Saint. He died about the year 540.

17. Before concluding these preliminary remarks, we must add that our readers are indebted for the present accurate edition of St. Fiecc's invaluable poem to the kind assistance of many esteemed friends, and in a special manner to the *O'Curry MSS.* in the Catholic University.

tiðgmaist inna muingin [i.e., let us put our trust in him.] өeoðaig .. alaino þoingertær [i.e., nobly he overcame.] өonenæig .. þoþunigertær .. vo þigne a þanecl .. a glanað [i.e., he washes, i.e., he did wash it, i.e., he cleansed it.] 1aþthmæge .. 1epano [i.e., a country.] 1oþ gæm .. if 1oþ in gæm þaþraic, no 1oþ gæm filem ocaðguwe .. gæna fæp neþennule [i.e., Patrick is an illustrious man, or great is the prayer (literally *the mouth*) that invokes him i.e., the prayer (lit. the mouths) of all the men of Erin.] 1onne ðermægt .. 1oneggræfæc .. vo gæna aþ terangðað .. aþmbriþthenmar brætha [i.e. to save us, i.e. that he would protect us, i.e. from eternal judgment.]

HYMN ON ST. PATRICK.

Fiac flesibte dovoronai in nimunra do patraicc. In fiac rin dana mac erioe mic Ercha mic Óregain mic Daire Óarrraig, otaid u Óairche, mic Cathair mor. Delca dana in fiac rin do Dubthach mac hui lugair, aro file heinen erioe. In amhrá Loegaire mic Neill. ocus ipe in Dubthach rin atphach nia patraicc hi Templaig iar nárad do loegaire na jo engeo nech nem ipe [cig] ocus ba cara do patraicc he ogen immach, ocus no baileas o patraicc hé iapprein. Lúir dana fecht co tech in Dubdeargin, i Laignib. Seoir iarum Dubthach failte mor fhi patraicc. Atbhent patraicc fhi Dubthach, cuinnis dama, ol re, fengfaid roscenelach roberach, oen etchi ocus oen mac occai vin. Cis ari a cùincheairi rem. fion in chrothairin, ol Dubthach; dia dul fo gneadair. Fiac rein ol Dubthach, ocus do chiorróis fion cuairt i connachtaib. In tan tra batan forgná brianthaibhre is ann tamic fiac [con]a chuaing leir. Aca fion, ol Dubthach, in ci no imairiarem. Ciabach, ol patraicc, ber ni ba hail do quois tiximur. Dentar crial [mo] beorthara, ol Dubthach, conaccadar fiac. Os chonnmairi tra fiac no iarrasg ceo ana trialtar, olre, Dubthach do banchall, ar i rí earrach rein orfe, ar ni fil in héinn filio a lethet. Not-gebtha dana heri, ol patraicc. Is luga mo ebaróra a héinn, ol fiac, quam Dubthach. Tall tra patraicc a ulcha do fiac tunc, ocus tamic path mor farr iapprein, cois leg innoró neclara uile in oen aroche, uel xu die-our ut alii ferunt, ocus covalas gnat nepricir farr; ocus comio hé i. Ardo eprcop lagas ogen ale, ocus a chomarba dia eir. Lec do Óama ngobla fhi flesibte amarthuath. Támpur, immórra, lugoach mic loegaire, ar ipe ba ri héinen tunc. Caúra, uero, ar molad patraic, ocus iar na ec do ionas, ut ferunt quodam.

1. Genairi Patraicc in nemthuri,¹ ires aofet hi fcelaib.
Macan fe m bliadan véc, in tan do brieth² fo ven-
aib.³
2. Succat⁴ a oinn i chubhras⁵, ceva atchair ba firri,⁶
Macc Alpuirin⁷ maic Octoe,⁸ hoa Deochain Odirri.⁹

¹ Nemthuri. i.e. cathair rem feil; i mbretnais tuorscirt. i.e. Ail cluade. Nem-thur, i.e., That is a city which is in North Britain, i.e., Ailcluade.

² dobreith. i.e. cuccao. Do Breith, i.e., He was brought.

³ fo venair. i.e. fo veane [i.e. fo bion na vorie]. Fo derair, i.e., under tears; i.e., under the affliction of bondage.

⁴ Succat. i.e. brecnair rem ocus veur bell i laten. Succat, i.e., This is British, and "Deus bell" in Latin.

(a) *Ercha.* In the 'genealogy of the saints of Ireland', copies of which are preserved in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lecan, Leabhar Breac, etc., Fiach is called "son of Erchad, son of Feic, son of Daire Banach, son of Cathair Mor".

(b) In the genealogy referred to in the preceding note, *Druim Gabhla* is given as another name for *Sleibhte*.

(c) Many have imagined that the name of St. Patrick's birthplace was *Nemthur*, from the Irish phrase in *Nemthuri*; however, Eugene Curry well remarked that the initial *n* in this case is euphonius and belongs to the preceding preposition, precisely as we find in the old MSS. in *Nepenn* for in *Erin*; in *Nalbann* for in

HYMN ON ST. PATRICK.

Fiach of Sleibhte (Sletty) that composed this hymn for Patrick. This Fiach was son of Mac Ercha (*a*), son of Bregan, son of Daire Barrach (*a quo* Uí Bairche), son of Cathair Mór. This Fiach, then, was foster-son to Dubhthach Mac Uí Lugair, who was chief poet of Erinn. In the time of Laeghaire Mac Neill . . . [a word effaced]; and it was this Dubhthach who rose up before Patrick in Tara, after Laeghaire had desired that no one should rise up before him in the [house]; and he was a friend of Patrick's from thenceforth; and he was afterwards baptized by Patrick. [Patrick] went one time to the house of this Dubhthach in Leinster, and Dubhthach indeed gave great welcome to Patrick. Patrick said to Dubhthach, "seek for me", said he, "a 'man of grade', of good family, of good morals, with one wife and one son". "Why seek you this, i.e. a man of that character?" asked Dubhthach. "To go into orders" [said Patrick]. "Fiach is he", replied Dubhthach, "and he went on a circuit into Connaught". Whilst they were thus speaking, Fiach came with [the tributes of] his circuit (or visitation). "Here is", said Dubhthach, "the person of whom we spoke". "Though he may be", said Patrick, "still he may not like what we have said". "Let a pretence be made of tonsuring me", said Dubhthach, "that Fiach may see". When Fiach saw, he asked, "Why do you seek to tonsure Dubhthach", said he, "for he is a loss to us, as there is not in Erinn a poet like him". "You shall be adopted in his stead", said Patrick. "My loss is less than Dubhthach's", said Fiach. Patrick then cut off Fiach's beard, and great grace came upon him afterwards, so that he read the whole *Ordo Ecclesiae* in one night, or in fifteen days as others say, and he received the degree of a bishop; and therefore it is that he is archbishop of all Lagenia, and his successor after him. The place [where the hymn was composed] is Duma Gobhla, (*b*) to the north-west of Sleibhte. The time, moreover, that of Lugaidh, son of Laeghaire, for he was king of Erinn then. The cause, also, to praise Patrick, and after his death it was composed, as some assert.

1. Patrick was born at Emptur;(*c*) this it is that history relates to us.

A child of sixteen years (was he) when he was taken into bondage.

2. *Succat* was his name, it is said: who was his father is thus told;

He was Son of *Calpurn*, son of *Otidus*, grandson of *Deochain Odissus*.(*d*)

^a ιερηβραδ . . . ιρεο πορπαρεο, νο αρετηγ. *Itubrad*, i.e., That is what they say, or what they used to say.

^b βαριζη . . . βα κοιη α φιη. *Ba Fissi*, i.e., it is known; i.e., It is right to know.

^c αλφραν. *Alpurn*, i.e., qui fuit sacerdos.

^d οτιοε . . . πρεπβετη. *Otide*, i.e., Presbyter.

^e ήοα ρεοχαιν ουιηγ. *Hoa Deocain Odissi*, i.e., presbyter.

Albania; in *Hernain* for in *Emania*, etc. The name of our Apostle's birth-place is more accurately given as follows in a very ancient Irish MS.: *A mbaisle vən bainm hurna ran mbneatam lath pe cataj̄ empten*. "In a village, the name of which is *Hurna*, in Britain, near the city of *Empter*", etc.

(*d*) The following notice of St. Patrick is given in MS. T.C.D. H. 2. 18, pag. 520:—*in purcen, in lappair, occur in lia logman, occur in locannam lannnepp̄-dai νο inopchare [i.e. no compoillig] iaptar in beta .i. rancut patricius. patricias vin, vi brecnab, silcluaroe a bunacor, Calpurno ainn a athar .i. uafal rancut, fortu ainn a senachap, reochon atacomnac .i. at comainn.* "The radiance, the blaze, and the bright sun, and the brilliant lamp

3. *Bai' re bliona i fognam,¹⁰ mai'ge¹¹ doine nírtom Leo,¹²
bátar i le Cothraige,¹³ cetharí tmebe via fogna.*
4. *Aibheit¹⁴ Nictor¹⁵ ríi gnuad¹⁶ mil,¹⁷ eontearr¹⁸ for ton-*
ná,¹⁹ foirneib a choir forgnino Leicc, marat aer²⁰ ni bionna.
5. *Oo fai²¹ tar elpa huile ve mai' ba amru mether²²
Conio farrgair la Germán, aner indeirciur letha.²³*
6. *In innrib mara Tórrian, ainir innib aorími,
Legair canoin la Germán, i réo aoríavat líni.*
7. *Oochuin netherenn doofetir,²⁴ Aingil Óe hí pithir;
Menicc atchithi²⁵ hí pírib, dofniče oíthirí.*

¹⁰ i fognam .i. pontamail na ubile bicce ebneorum. *Ifognam*, i.e., according to the little Jubilee of the Hebrews.

that illumined, i.e. gave light to, the western world, i.e. *Sanctus Patricius*. Patrick now was of the Britons, *Ailcluaide* was his native place, *Calpurn* was his father's name, i.e. a noble priest; *Fotid* was his grandfather's name; *Deochan* his family name, i.e. his surname".

In the forthcoming Lectures of Professor O'Curry on "The Manners and Customs of the People of Ancient Erin", vol. 1, p. 166-7, we find the following curious genealogy of our saint:-

Patracis, ab Eríenn uile,
mac Calphrainn, mic Potaroe,
mic Deisse, nai' doisg voluit,
mic Cormaic mor, mic Leibriuth,
mic Ota, mic Orric mait,
mic Moric, mic Leo inlán part,
mic Maximi, mai' gna flóinn?

mic Encretta airo alaino,
mic Pilistri fearn ar aig cat,
mic Fereni gan anfar,
mic Brittan do bhrá na mara,
o a taro bretan brútmara,

Cochmas a matar malla,
Nemthor a baile baga,
don Munain ni cael a céir,
no faor ar phubair patracis.

Patrick, Abbot of all Erinn,
Son of Calphrainn, son of Fotid,
Son of Deisse, not liable to reproach,
Son of Great Cormac, son of Leibriuth,
Son of Ota, son of Orric the good,
Son of Moric, son of Leo, full of prosperity,

Son of Maximus, why not name him?
Son of Encretta, the tall and comely,
Son of Philisti, the best of men,
Son of Fereni, of no mean repute,
Son of Brittan, from the brink of the sea,
From whom the passionate Britons descend.

Cochmas was his modest mother,
Nemthor was his native town;
Of Munster not small the portion
Which Patrick freed from sorrow.

The scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn in the Roman MS. *Lib. Hym.* gives a somewhat similar genealogical table, thus:-"Patrick Mic Calpurn, Mic Potit, Mic Odissi, Mic Gorend, Mic Mencriud, Mic Ota, Mic Muric, Mic Leo, Mic Maximi, Mic Heneriti, Mic Ferin, Mic Bruti, a quo sunt Bretani nominati".

3. He was six years in slavery; human food he ate it not:
Cothraige he was called, for as slave he served four families.
4. *Victor* said to Milcho's slave: "Go thou over the sea":
He placed his foot upon the *Leac* (stone): its trace remains,
it wears not away.
5. He sent him across all the Alps: over the sea marvellous
was his course,
Until he staid with *Germanus* in the south, in southern
Letha.(c)
6. In the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea he staid: therein he
meditated:
He read the canon with *Germanus*: it is this that history
relates.
7. To Ireland he was brought back in visions by the angels of
God:
Often was he in vision solicited to return thither again.

¹¹ *Mairfe* i. *biaþ* *match* *ocur* *etach*. *Maisse*, comforts, i.e., good food and clothes.

¹² *nifcomiled* i. *nif* *caisheo*. *Nis toimled*, i.e., he did not consume; i.e., he did not spend.

¹³ *Cotraige* i. *no lenaigear* in *taisn* ar *cotraig* i. *cethar* *aire* i. *an* in
n *vo* *gnith* *tribubuf* .iii. *Cotraige*, i.e., The name *Cotraig* attached to him; i.e., four families; i.e., because he used to do the work of four tribes.

¹⁴ *Aiberte* i. *acribairt*. *Asbert*, i.e., he said.

¹⁵ *victor* i. *angellus*. *Victor*, i.e., angelus; i. *fri^gnichio*, i.e., he spoke.

¹⁶ *Fri^gniau* i. *Fri^gn* in *mogaivo*. *Fri^gniau*, i.e., to the slave.

¹⁷ *Mil* i. *milio*. *Mil*, i.e., the hero. [In the St. Isidore MS. this word is written in full thus, *Milcon*, the genitive form of *Milcu*, i.e., *Milco*, to whom Patrick was slave when the angel Victor spoke to him].

¹⁸ *Conteffeo* i. *convicfret*. *Contessed*, i.e., that he should go.

¹⁹ *pop tonna* i. *pop muip rai^gn volegunn*. *For Tonna*, i.e., westwards over the sea to learn.

²⁰ *A er* i. *a polliucht*. *A es*, i.e., his track.

²¹ *Oo fado* i. *no faroestan* *ticeop* *patraicc* *vo* *pleib* *nelpa*. *Do Faid*, i.e., Victor sent Patrick over (i.e., beyond) the mountains of the Alps.

²² *Retha* i. *in puth ra*. *Retha*, i.e., this race (this journey).

²³ *Letha* i. *italia ubi fuit Germanus*. *Letha*, i.e., Italia ubi fuit *Germanus*.

²⁴ *Dodfetis* i. *vo befarf*. *Dodfetis*, i.e., they used to bear.

²⁵ *Ach^githi* i. *apcicir*. *Ach^githi*, i.e., used to be seen.

(e) In *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. iii. pag. 9, we proved that St. Patrick was disciple of St. *Germanus* in the North of Italy. The name *Letha* or *Latium* was applied by the early Irish writers to *Armorica* or *Brittany*, as well as to Italy (see O'Curry's Lectures, pag. 502; Todd's *Ir. Nennius*, pag. 69). Hence, "in Southern Letha" does not mean in the South of Italy, as some have erroneously supposed; but in *Italy*, all of which was called *Southern Letha*, to distinguish it from *Armorica*, which was *Northern Letha*.

8. Ro bo chobair uonu Θρίαν τίκτυ ράτηαις ρονοχλαο;
Ro clo²⁶ cian ῥον²⁷ α γαρμα, μαραινε Καίλι Φοχ.
λαο.²⁸
9. Γαναταρι σοτίγγαστινοεβ, αρανιμθίρεο λεθυ,
Δρυ τίνταριαστινοχλοεν, Τυαθα ήθιενν νο βεθυ.²⁹
10. Τυαθα ήθιενν ταιρχανταιρ νορ πιφεο ριθλαΐθ νυα,
Μεραιο κονε αιαρταιγε,³⁰ βεο φάρ Τηρ Τεμραχ τυα.³¹
11. Α θηιατο φηι Ιοεδαιη τίκτυ ράτηαις νι χειλλτιρ,
Ro φηιαστινο ατρινε ιννα φλαθα αρβειρτιρ.
12. Ba λειρ³² ράτηαις combeba,³³ ba ραβ³⁴ ινδαριβα cloen,
Ιρεο τυαρισαϊ α Ευα³⁵ γυαρ³⁶ νε ρεχτηρεβα νοινε.
13. Immuin³⁷ ουρι Abcolipr, να τηι coicat νορ canav,
Ρηνοχαστινο βατρεο αρηιγεν,³⁸ νε molao³⁹ Νε νι anav.
14. Μι congebevo uacht γηνι νο φειρι αιοche hi linnib,

²⁶ Ro clo^s i.e. ro hepin. *Ro-clos*, was heard i.e., through Erinn.²⁷ Son i.e. ῥονη. *Son*, i.e., a sound.²⁸ μαραινε Καίλι Φοχ. i.e. Crebre and *Lesru*, two daughters of *Lerenn* son of *Ua Enna*, dicentes, Hiberni omnes ad te clamant, veni Sancte Patrici f. n. s.²⁹ Δρυ τίνταριαστινοχλοεν. i.e. αρι α comthao. *Ara Tintarrad*, i.e., that he would turn them.³⁰ O chloen i.e. o αυραν ιοαλ. *O Chloen*, i.e., from the adoration of idols.³¹ Do bethu i.e. αν πινεμ Σηρτι. *Do Bethu*, i.e., ad fidem Cristi.³² Cove i.e. co brach. *Code*, i.e., for ever.³³ Tua i.e. cen ցլուր. *Tua*, i.e., without sound.³⁴ Ba leir i.e. σπαβω. *Ba Leir*, i.e., piety (pious).³⁵ Combeba i.e. co a bar. *Combeba*, i.e., to his death.³⁶ Ba rab i.e. βαρωναρτ. *Ba sab*, i.e., he was powerful.³⁷ A euia i.e. αμαθε. *A Eva*, i.e., his goodness (his honour).³⁸ Suas i.e. αν κοελυ. *Suas*, i.e., (upwards) ad coelum.³⁹ Immuin i.e. Αμβροσινο αυτοτε. *Immuin*, i.e., the hymn of Ambrose, or Audite.

8. Salvation to Ireland was the coming of Patrick to Fochlaidh; Altar was heard the sound of the call of the youths of Caill-Fochladh.
9. They prayed that the saint would come, that he would return from Letha,
To convert the people of Erin from error to life.
10. The "Tuatha" of Erin were prophesying that a new kingdom of faith would come,
That it would last for evermore: the land of Tara would be waste and silent.
11. The druids(*f*) of Loegaire concealed not from him the coming of Patrick:
Their prophecy was verified as to the kingdom of which they spoke.
12. Patrick walked in piety till his death: he was powerful in the extirpation of sin:
He raised his hands in blessing upon the tribes of men.
13. Hymns, and the Apocalypse, and the thrice fifty (Psalms) he was wont to sing.
He preached, baptized, and prayed; from the praise of God he ceased not.
14. The cold of the weather deterred him not from passing the night in ponds:

⁴⁰ Δρηγεο .ι. υο εκνιθ εμναγτε. *Arniged*, i.e., he prayed.

⁴¹ Τε μολαο .ι. απηγιζε. *De molad*, i.e., repentance (rather praise or prayer).

(*f*) The following gloss is added in the margin of the MS.:—
ιε α νηνιο .ι. lucru occur lucut mel occur ιρεο αρβεντιρ:—
τιφα ταλcenο ναρ μυη μεη cenο
α βρατ toll cenο, α σπανν ερομ-cenο
α μιαρ in iapchaisr a tige
fneigepat a muintir huile. amen. amen.

—Fol. 15. b. margin.

"Those were his druids, i.e. *Lucru* and *Lucut Mel*, and this is what they used to say:—

A *Taileann* will come over the raging sea,
With his perforated garment, his crook-headed staff,
With his table at the west end of his house,
And all his people will answer. Amen, amen".

In this gloss the altar is said to be at the *west*, i.e. *iapchaisr*. This word is written *apchaisr*, i.e. the *east*, in the Trip. Life of St. Patrick, and in other copies of this stanza, as may be seen in O'Curry's *Lect. on the M.S. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 397 and 624.

Foir nim consena⁴² a mige, ppirochairs fride⁴³ innib.⁴⁴

15. 1 Slán⁴⁵ tuath benna Íairche⁴⁶ nír gáibeo⁴⁷ taris na
lúa,
Canair cét palm⁴⁸ cech naiochi, do Rig Áingel fogn-
140.

16. Foaro⁴⁹ for Leicc lúim iapum,⁵⁰ ocus culche pliuch imbi,
ba coirthe ariudanair, ni leicc a chorr hi timmi.

17. Ppirochao porcelao vo cach, do gnit móri fearta illethu,⁵¹
leccao lúrcu⁵² la truicu,⁵³ tairb vorf riucar vo be-
thu.

18. Patraic ppirochais vo rcostaib, no chéir móri rech⁵⁴ ille-
chu;
1mmi contíppat⁵⁵ vo bphach in cach⁵⁶ vorf fuc vo bechu.⁵⁷

19. Meicc Emír, meicc Erimon, lotar huili la cípal,⁵⁸
Fomholaic in tapmchoral ióni moj chute nífel.⁵⁹

20. Conra tanic intaprtal⁶⁰ vo faith githe gáithe réni,
Ppirochais tri fichte bliadona, cnoich Críft vo Thua-
taib fene.⁶¹

21. For tuath hérann bai temel,⁶² tuatha awoirtair fri,⁶³

⁴² Consena. i.e. he entitled himself to.)
⁴³ Fri de .i. illo. Fri de, i.e. by day. [Fri de properly means the evening twilight. Fri de .i. cad naioce, i.e., every night; H. 2. 18. f. 58. b.]

⁴⁴ Innib .i. celchais. Innib, i.e., in places of congregations.

⁴⁵ Slán .i. nomen pontis. Slán, i.e., nomen pontis.

⁴⁶ Tuath benna Íairche, i.e., by Beanna Bairche on the North.

⁴⁷ Gáibeo .i. in cippa. Gáibeo, i.e., of the well.

⁴⁸ Cét palm .i. vi chaisair. Cét Salm, i.e., two fifties.

⁴⁹ Foaro .i. pochotlao. Foaro, i.e., he used to sleep.

⁵⁰ Iapum .i. iapprein. Iapum, id est, after that.

⁵¹ Illethu .i. in latitudine. Illethu, i.e., in latitudine.

⁵² Lúrcu .i. bacachu. Lúscu, i.e., cripples.

⁵³ La Truicu .i. la clamu. La Truscu, i.e., with lepers.

⁵⁴ Seth .i. jaethair. Seth, i.e., labour.

⁵⁵ Contíppat .i. negait. Contíssat, i.e., they will come (go.)

⁵⁶ In cach .i. cechoen. In cach, i.e., every one.

⁵⁷ Do bechu .i. ad proem. Do Bethu, i.e., ad fidem.

By Heaven his kingdom was protected: he preached by day on the hills.

15. In *Slan*,(g) in the territory of *Benna-Bairche*, hunger or thirst possessed him not.
Each night he sang a hundred psalms, to adore the King of Angels.
16. He slept on a bare stone then, and a wet sackcloth around him:
A bare rock was his pillow; he allowed not his body to be in warmth.
17. He preached the Gospel to all: he wrought great miracles in Letha;
He healed the lame and the lepers: the dead he restored to life.
18. Patrick preached to the Scoti: he endured great toil in Letha:
With him will come to judgment every one whom he brought to the life of faith.
19. The sons of Emer, the sons of Eremon, all went to Cisal,
To the abode of Satan; they were swallowed up in the deep abyss,
20. Until the Apostle came to them; he came despite the raging tempests:
He preached, for three-score years, the cross of Christ to the Tribes of Feni.
21. On the land of Erin there was darkness; the *Tuatha* adored the *Sidhi*;

⁶⁰ Cisal .i. la ail in chir .i. la vimon; aitriðe aña vuru. *Cisal*, i.e., with the rock the tribute, i.e., with the Demon, he is a rock in sternness.

⁶¹ Chute nírel .i. innífeann. *Cute Nisel*, i.e., in Hell.

⁶² Conda tanic in tapstal .i. qui missus fuit a domine ad predicandum. *Conda tanic in tapstal*, i.e., qui missus fuit a Domine ad predicandum.

⁶³ fene .i. o Fenius Farsaigh. *Fene*, i.e., from Fenius Farsaigh.

⁶⁴ Temel .i. aðaþtha n-rodal. *Temel*, i.e., the worship of idols.

⁶⁵ Sid .i. fithage no aðaterf. *Sid*, i.e., Fairies they used to adore.

(g) This gloss is added in the MS:—"Slan .i. ian min to ba flan [soap a her] in lobor van a tege [in turice] ocuf ic rabull aca . . . repleverunt ulaido [illum] propter molestiam tur[barum] exeuntium ad illum". "Slan, i.e. because the leper upon whom its [water] was put was cured by it, and at *Sabull* (Saul) it is . . . repleverunt Ulaidi [the people of Ulidia] illum propter molestiam tur[barum] exeuntium ad illum". The words in brackets are very obscure in MS.

11. cneisit rét in sírveacht, inna Trianóitse fíri.
22. In Árho Macha fil mige, iŋ cian do neachta Emain,
iŋ cell móir Dún lethglairfe, nímoil ceo thírhub
Temair.⁶⁴
23. Pátriaicc riambai⁶⁵ illobra⁶⁶ aoscobra dul vo mache;⁶⁷
Óo lúid aingel⁶⁸ agra chenn foiret immeon laithe.
24. Do fáith fáoré co Uictor, ba he ariu⁶⁹ rulastar,
Láffair in muine imbai, ar in ten⁷⁰ aoglaodastar.⁷¹
25. Arbhert⁷² orosan⁷³ vo Mache, vo Christ atlaigte buiue,
Óo chum níme moigedá,⁷⁴ no rathá ouit⁷⁵ vo gusue.
26. Immon torpnoeza itbuiu bho lúpeach viten vo cach,
Immut illaithiu in meippa neigat fír hēpenn vo bhrach.
27. Anair Tárrach viaer intan vo beirt comman oó,
Arbhert monicfeo⁷⁶ Pátriaicc, briathar Tárraig nír
bu⁷⁷ go.
28. Samairge⁷⁸ crích fír airoch, ari na caite lep occai,⁷⁹
Co cenn bliadna bai roillfe, ba he fír laithe⁸⁰ rotai.
- ⁶⁴ nímoil ceo thírhub temair .i. ní hinmáin lem temair cír fár. *Ním-dil cad dithrub Temair*, i.e., Teamhair it is not desirable to me that it be a desert [i.e., I do not wish that Teamhair should be a wilderness].
- ⁶⁵ Riambai [i.e. i crabull]. *Riambai*, when he was, i.e., at *Saball* (*Saul*).
- ⁶⁶ Illobra .i. innagalup. *Illobra*, i.e., in sickness.
- ⁶⁷ Dul vo Mache .i. arosaig commao ann no beth a efreng. *Dul de Mache*, (i.e., to go to Armagh), i.e., in order that it is there his resurrection should be.
- ⁶⁸ Aingel .i. Uictor. *Aingel*, i.e., Victor.
- ⁶⁹ Ariu rulastar .i. ariáde .i. cen dul oó vo Áromacha. *Arid rulastar*, i.e., that occurred; i.e., not to go to Armagh.
- ⁷⁰ Ar in ten i. ar in teneo. *As in Ten*, i.e., out of the fire.
- ⁷¹ Aoglaodastar .i. no aicillestar. *Adgladastar*, i.e., he spoke [to him].
- ⁷² Arbhert .i. Uictor. *Abert*, i.e., Victor [said].
- ⁷³ Orosan vo Machae .i. oó glór .i. tairpechar vo Áromacha amail no

They believed not in the true Deity of the true Trinity.

- 22. In *Ardmagh* there is sovereignty: it is long since *Emain* passed away;
A great church is *Dun-Lethglasses*; I wish not that Tara should be a desert.
- 23. Patrick, when he was in sickness, desired to go to Ardmagh: An angel went to meet him on the road in the middle of the day:
- 24. Patrick came southwards towards Victor; he it was that went to meet him:
The bush, in which Victor was, was in a blaze: from the flame he (the angel) spoke:
- 25. He said: Thy dignity (shall be) at *Armagh*: return thanks to Christ:
To Heaven thou shalt come; thy prayer is granted thee.
- 26. The hymn which thou chosest in life shall be a corselet of protection to all;
Around thee on the day of judgment the men of Erin will come for judgment.
- 27. *Tassach* remained after him (in *Sabhall*), having given the communion to him:
He said that *Patrick* would return: the word of *Tassach* was not false.
- 28. He (St. Patrick) put an end to night; light ceased not with him;
To a year's end there was radiance; it was a long day of peace.

bethe pein ann. *Orddan do Ardmacha*, i.e. (your), glory and your splendour will be in Ardmagh as if you yourself were there.

⁷⁴ *Mornrega* .i. immucha mega oochum nime. *Mosrega*, i.e., very (early) soon you shall go to heaven.

⁷⁵ *Ratha duit* .i. cech ni pocuingsir co wia do patat duit. *Ratha duit*, i.e., everything for which you have prayed to God has been granted to you.

⁷⁶ *Monicred* .i. raball iterum. *Monicred*, i.e., to *Saball* (Saul) iterum.

⁷⁷ *Nur bu go* .i. quia uenit patricius iterum co rabull. *Nur bu go*, i.e., quia uenit Patricius iterum to *Saball* (Saul).

⁷⁸ *Samaiger* .i. *Patraig*. *Samaighes*, i.e., Patrick (put).

⁷⁹ *Lef occai* .i. carnille. *Les occai*. This word is not very clear in MS., but Professor O'Curry thought it might be ca hille, which would mean wholly or totally.

⁸⁰ *Sith Laithe*, .i. Laithe in pich. *Sith Laithe*, i.e., the day of the peace (the days of the peace).

29. In cath fechta⁸¹ imbethion,⁸² fíri tuaití Canan la mac
Nuin,
Aiffoith⁸³ in grian fíri Gabon⁸⁴ i gheo aofeit⁸⁵ Líttci⁸⁶
dun.
30. Huairí aiffoith la hérai ingrian, fíri baor inna clóen,
Cíarú threibhach ba huirfe,⁸⁷ roillíri fíri eisreacht⁸⁸ na
noeb.
31. Clearch hæjenn vollofar, daíri Þatraighecc ar cech ret,
Son⁸⁹ in cetaill⁹⁰ fórmolaich,⁹¹ contuil cach uádib fóir
ret.
32. Áinn Þatraighecc fíria chomh, iñ 1ař retaib morgairas,
Áingil Dé icet aroche, ariúfetír cen anaú,
33. In tan conhualai⁹² Þatraig, as ella in Þatraighecc naile,⁹³
iñ malle connubcabhrat,⁹⁴ dochum níru meicc Maire.
34. Þatraighecc cen aifroe nuábar, bamóri ói mathi ñio menair,
beith ingeilliuí Meicc Maire, ba gen gairé ingenair.

Genair Þat.

⁸¹ fechta .i. factum. *Fechta*, i.e., factum.
⁸² bechion .i. nomen montis. *Beth-horon*, i.e., nomen montis.
⁸³ Aiffoith .i. oeur. *Assoith*, i.e., Dous “turned back the sun”.
⁸⁴ Gabon .i. nomen ciuitatis. *Gabaon*, i.e., nomen ciuitatis.
⁸⁵ Aofeit .i. inníper. *Ad/eit*, i.e., relate (or relates).
⁸⁶ Líttci .i. fcair libair iorua. *Lütri* [i.e., letters], i.e., the history contained in the Book of Joshua.
⁸⁷ Ba h-uirfe .i. ba cóiru. *Bo huisce*, i.e., It would be more just.
⁸⁸ fíri eisreacht .i. fíri hebiltin. *Fri eisrecht*, i.e., at the death of.
⁸⁹ Son .i. sonus. *Son*, i.e., sonus.
⁹⁰ In cetaill .i. in chual. *In cetaill*, i.e., of the music.
⁹¹ Fórmolaich .i. no partgertar inna ligu. *Fosrolaich*, i.e., they were lulled to sleep in their [respective] places.

29. At the battle fought around Beth-horon against the Canaanites by the son of Nun
 The sun stood still at Gabaon: this it is that the Scripture tells us.
30. The sun lasted with Josue, unto the death of the wicked:
 this indeed was befitting;
 It was more befitting that there should be radiance at the death of the saints.
31. The clergy of Erin went from every part to watch around Patrick,
 The sound of harmony fell upon them, so that they slept, enchanted on the way.
32. Patrick's body from his soul was severed after pains;
 The angels of God on the first night kept choir around it unceasingly.
33. When Patrick departed (from life), he went to visit the other Patrick;
 Together they ascended to Jesus Son of Mary.
34. Patrick without arrogance or pride, great was the good which he proposed to himself,
 To be in the service of Mary's Son: happy the hour in which Patrick was born.

Patrick was born, etc.

²² Conhualai i. po elai. *Conhualai*, i.e., he departed.

²³ patraic i. mac Calpuirn. *Patraic*, i.e., son of Calpurn.

²⁴ in Patraic naile i. pen patraic. *In Patraic naile*, i.e., Sen Patric.

²⁵ is malle connubcabit. i. ir reo no gell patraic mac Calpuirn vo pen phraenai commar immaille po neartair vo chum nime, ocar ipeo innifet copobas patraic otá .xii. [xui.] Kt. April co .ix. Kt. September apí immairg ocus aingil imme oc ipnaigte pen patraic. *Is malle connubcabit*, i.e., It is what Patrick the son of Calpurn promised to *Sén Patrick*, that together they would go to Heaven. And it is related that Patrick was from the .xii. [xui.] of the Kalends of April to the ninth of the Kalends of September upon the field and angels around him [awaiting] praying to *Sén Patrick*.

THE FAITH AND DEVOTION OF THE PONTIFICAL ZOUAVES.

THE following narrative of the virtues and bravery of the Pontifical Zouaves has been compiled by a writer in the *Etudes Religieuses, Historiques, et Litteraires* from sources for the authenticity of which, the high character of that excellent periodical is sufficient guarantee. They consist of the letters of Abbé Daniel, chaplain to the zouaves, many other letters from the zouaves themselves by their relatives at home, and communicated by them to the writer. We are truly happy in being allowed to present to our readers this picture of the crusaders of the nineteenth century:

When these young men, rich or poor as they might be, left their country and the joys of home to fly to the aid of the Sovereign Pontiff, it was because a voice from on high made itself heard in their heart: they did but obey the call of God. "You will have been informed", wrote one of them, now a captain, to his brother, "of my design to go to Rome to defend our Holy Father the Pope. I am at last about to carry it into execution. I took this resolution firmly and irrevocably on last Sunday, at the foot of the Blessed Virgin's altar, after having strengthened my soul in the Holy Communion. You would never have thought that I would become a soldier, nor did I myself ever dream of such a thing; but the danger which presses our common country and the best interests of society, creates soldiers. Now, may God protect us, and may His holy will be done! Last Sunday I began a novena to our Lady of Victory, to obtain from God all the graces and all the courage I shall have need of to bear the fatigue of my new life, and to do my duty even to the death, if it be necessary". He wrote again from Marseilles: "This morning I made my pilgrimage to Notre Dame de la Garde; I rely on her protection, and I hope to return victorious, safe and sound, content to have done a good work". A peasant, before setting out for Rome, said to one of his friends: "I am starting to help our Holy Father; I hope to see you once again, and to embrace once more my aged mother. But if I am to die, I know that it will be God's will, and I would not be sorry to give Him my life". Another peasant was anxious to go to Rome. He went to consult a man who was the father of two zouaves, who, far from encouraging him, set before him all the difficulty and the troubles of such a life. Full of thought he went to his own home, where every one did their best to dissuade him. When Sunday came, he said to his parents, just as he was setting out for Mass: "I am going to

pray to God, and to do whatever He will suggest to me". After remaining for a long space on his knees at the foot of the altar, he arose, and without going home, took at once the road to Marseilles. B—— was valet to a rich old man who had promised to bequeath to him an annuity of 500 francs if he would remain in his situation while his master lived. But B—— heard that the Pope had been spoiled of a portion of his states, and although without means, he renounced his place, and went to Rome, where he is since 1860.

John Seton, who was mortally wounded at Mentana, and who died at Rome of his wounds on the 18th November, belonged to a Christian family in the diocese of Angers, earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. He heard of the dangers which threatened the Vicar of Christ, and resolved to fly to his assistance. His mother, a woman of admirable piety, had a tender love for her son John; she hoped that he would be the stay of her declining years; but above all, she had taken care to bring him up for heaven. "My parents were poor", she used to say, "but they left us the best of legacies—faith in God—that is all I ask for my own children. If John wishes to go to fight for the Pope, I am quite willing; I hope that the good God will watch over him, and help him to walk in the good path". John left home in 1862, leaving the care of his future to Providence. "God will settle everything", said he; "He will have mercy on me; if I return, I have no fear for the future". Full of anxiety for the well-being of her son, the mother used to inquire from the chaplain whether he discharged his duties, attended to his religious exercises, and led the life of a good Christian. Every Sunday she went to the church at the moment when, according to her calculations, her zouave was assisting at the military Mass. "It consoles me", said she with tears in her eyes, "to think that I am at the feet of the good God at the same moment as my own John, and that God hears the prayers of us both together". How happy she must have been when she read in her son's letter: "Do not be uneasy about my welfare; I should be very much ashamed of myself if I came to where I am to forget my duty".

After having assisted at the celebration of the Centenary of St. Peter, Seton returned home; but he was determined to rejoin his regiment at the first approach of danger. His mother did not expect him. "I am glad to see him again", said she; "but I say to myself, so as not to trouble him, that I am sorry he abandoned our Holy Father! It is true he says he will go back once more if they attack the Pope. . . . No, no, most certainly, I will never hinder him". She kept her word, and her son, informed of Garibaldi's invasion in the beginning of Octo-

ber, went in haste to Audouin, his comrade in arms; both arrived in Rome on the 22nd of that month. They fell together at Mentana. Seton, seriously wounded *a la hauche*, made three attempts to rise, but failed in all, lamenting that he had not been able to fire his carabine. Perceiving Abbe Daniel the chaplain, he cried out: "Give me absolution; make haste . . . and now save yourself quickly, these brigands are taking aim at you". When carried to the hospital of St. John of God, he was the model of his companions in suffering by his piety and resignation. "I am proud of my wound", said he to those who visited him. "Probably I shall die of it; but at all events I shall have the consolation of having defended the noblest of causes, the Church and the Sovereign Pontiff". The Abbe Daniel, when sending word of his death to his poor mother, told her: "Your son is not only a martyr but also an apostle. Yesterday a soldier came to visit me. 'I am come', said he, 'in obedience to Seton. On his death bed he made me promise to go to confession every week. I will keep my word'". The poor mother was crushed by this blow; but her sublime faith raised her up. "We had only him to look to in our old days; but I would not have liked to see him come back any more to us . . . I was always uneasy about my poor John's salvation: God has given him the grace to die for His cause. May His holy will be done".

It was thus those heroes lived and died. In their minds to be a soldier of Pius the Ninth bound them to the perfect practice of Christian virtue.

Carlos d'Alcantare, a man worthy of the saint of that name who was his patron and his relative, wrote in June, 1867, to one of his former teachers: "For the last four months I am enrolled in this glorious service, and if I may venture to say it, I am proud to be called a Pontifical Zouave. The very name has for me an indescribable charm. I regard my uniform rather as a religious habit than as a military dress. I look on it as a sacred tunic which obliges me to support and to defend in all places and against all enemies our holy religion and our Holy Father. I no longer shrink from showing myself openly a Christian, even in the presence of the most obstinate foes. The name of Zouave stamps upon the soul something that gives you energy". At Mentana he fell mortally wounded. "He was an angel of piety", writes his captain, "I will never forget his deportment in church".

All the letters breathe sentiments similar to these. P—, who had formerly been a soldier, announces to his employers that he wishes to go to Rome. "That is all very fine", was the reply, "but if you lose an arm or a leg, how will you make out

a living for the rest of our life?" "The good God for whom I have lost them", replied the veteran, "will provide for me; he will never allow the people at home to let me want bread". Later on, he wrote: "I assure you, my beloved masters, that if I have left, it was because God called on me to make a stand. If I am a Christian, I ought to show that I am, and show it I will. What a fine sight to see us at our religious duties as we ought, and to see us at prayer without human respect". And in a letter to his parents, he writes: "You know that it is not to better *my temporalities* that I came here, but for my own *spiritualities*, and for yours. Do not, therefore, render my sacrifice of no avail; on the contrary unite yourselves with me to thank the good God for having given me a vocation so noble". After the battle of Mentana: "Thanks to our Lady of Victories! during the fight I thought I beheld a great many persons singing the praises of God, praying for us while we were driving back the enemies of God and of the Church. . . . I am not surprised that I got no wound; for I see clearly that all who were killed were better than I".

This language requires no gloss; the facts speak for themselves, and it is impossible not to see in them the action of Providence. It is Providence that raises up for the Holy Father valiant defenders in every country on the earth, and bestows upon those chosen ones with large liberality the graces which render them heroes and martyrs. As the mark of their vocation, God kindles in their souls a passionate love of Pius the Ninth. When they were wounded on the battle field, the only cry to be heard was, "I am wounded, but long live Pius the Ninth".

Sevilla, mortally injured, refuses the aid of his companions who wanted to carry him to the ambulance: "Go", said he, "and fight well. What matter if I die: but the Church for ever, and long live Pius the Ninth!" It was the dearest of all their delights to receive the blessing of their beloved Pontiff. A peasant from Beaupréau wrote to his family: "The greatest pleasure we now have is to see Pius the Ninth. I am well off in that respect: my barrack is beside St. Peter's. It was the Pope who had us placed there. He said: 'I wish to have my Zouaves near myself'. We were the lucky fellows who were sent here, and we are well off. To-day I am on guard at the barrack. Well, I have seen the Pope twice, and I have received his blessing both times. My beloved parents, I never get his blessing without sending it home". Another zouave, now a captain, wrote to his father: "A few days ago, I enjoyed one of the greatest pleasures of my life—that of assisting at the Holy Father's Mass, and of receiving communion from his hands.

You would be astonished at the simplicity with which Pius the Ninth says Mass. But, at certain moments, you will feel that he is more than a simple priest; you feel that he is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, especially when he is reciting the *Credo*, the *Pater*, and the *Agnus Dei*. He utters these prayers with such feeling, that he seems as if praying for the whole world, for the entire universe. I will never forget the *Agnus Dei* pronounced by the Holy Father. Of how many sins must that prayer procure the pardon! At the communion I have felt more deeply than ever the real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; at that moment the Holy Father was blotted from my mind, and I saw only my good God, who was coming to give Himself to me by the hand of the most worthy and the highest of His ministers. If you knew how I prayed for all our family, for all my friends, for France, for the Holy Father! I prayed with the confidence of one who asks, certain that his prayer will be heard".

In August, 1864, John Seton said to his parents: "I will tell you something about the Holy Father. I see him every day at Castel Gandolfo. He goes out every afternoon; I always manage to be where he goes, and when he is walking, I follow him with my comrades. . . . What joy I feel in those walks in which I accompany the Vicar of Jesus Christ! How delighted you would be to enjoy such a happiness! but if you cannot see him on earth, you will see him in heaven". In January, 1867, he wrote from Viterbo: "When I was in Rome, I spent my leisure in visiting the monuments, and in going to see the Holy Father. It is a great privation for me now, but my joy will be all the greater the first time I shall see him. Believe me, when one is away from his father, he is very glad to see him again".

When the hour of battle came, the officers had but to recall to their men the thought of Pius the Ninth, to raise the courage of all. When wounded, these Christian soldiers could not bear to see their relatives weep. "It is a great honour to me to be wounded", thus wrote to his sister Audoin, the hero of Mentana, "and I am rather astonished that a sensible person like you should go to cry at Nantes on account of a little scratch (he had been wounded in the left shoulder). It is always a glorious thing to suffer those little troubles for the sake of our Holy Father. You ought to sing, and not to weep. . . . If it had so pleased God, I would willingly have gone with Seton; but it was not His will". A letter addressed to Audoin's parish priest by Mgr. Martial de Cosquer, Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, relates how the old zouave (he was fifty years old) received his wound: "I learned from Captain d'Albousse the circumstances in which he was wounded. For more than seven years he has been the personal attendant of that officer, whom

he loves and serves as his own son. During the attack at Mentana, Audoin, seeing M. d'Albiousse expose himself with great daring to a shower of bullets which aimed at him, rushed between the enemy and his captain, and having received the fire in his breast, fell bathed in blood at the feet of him whom he had saved. Two days after, when the troops reentered Rome, M. d'Albiousse went to the hospital to look for the noble fellow to whom he owed his life, and having found him, expressed, not without tears, his gratitude for his goodness. 'All right, captain', was the reply, 'I am well pleased to have been struck instead of you'. What great souls, M. le Curé, has the Church found to serve her in her hour of need! And how proud ought their families and parishes be to have produced such men!'

Audoin received the gold medal for his bravery, but it gave him pain to hear that the Pope had granted him a pension. "I did not come to Rome", said he, "for money". He then added: "Well, at all events, I shall have more money to give to the St. Peter's Pence".

Our readers are already aware of the incomparable devotion of the Dutch nation towards the Pope's cause. Let us mention a few additional facts. In a village near Maestricht, a father being suddenly asked by his only son and heir to allow the latter to enter the zouaves, hesitated for a time. He thought that to be a Papal zouave was but a sorry vocation for the heir of a property so large as his. "Father", replied the son, "if I am admitted to serve the Pope, it will be a great honour for you; if I am wounded in battle against the enemies of the Holy See, it will be more glorious still; if I die, it will be a crowning glory, and the greatest grace that God can bestow on us both".

A young man had not wherewithal to pay his expenses to Rome. He found means to gain an audience of the king himself. His majesty was large-hearted enough not to refuse his request, and to his present of money added these words: "If I were in the Pope's position, I should like to find people coming to my aid". And this was said by a Protestant sovereign. Two other volunteers thought it becoming to ask the king's permission to leave their country. "Go, my friends", said the sovereign, "I will not hinder you. But if we should have any trouble here, and if I should have need of you, what shall I do?" "Telegraph for us, sire; we will run to defend you". "Good, you are brave fellows. You are like him whom I have here in my portfolio". And his Majesty drew out the portrait of Peter Yong, the Lutgebrook farmer, the hero of Monte-Libretto. Finally the king, charmed with the patriotism and bravery of the two young men, made them a present

of his own watch, and asked them to keep him in their memory.

It was natural, that in souls so noble as those of our zouaves, charity, the flower of Christian virtue, should grow and flourish luxuriantly. Apostles among their comrades, they acted as chaplains as well as nurses. Equally brave in presence of cholera, and in face of the enemy, they practised in a heroic degree all that love for their neighbour, and especially for the poor, could suggest. "We have passed through a very hard year", writes M. l'Abbe Daniel, "and our men have had much to suffer during long months from excessive heat. In the midst of terrible diseases, fever and cholera, they needed great courage to face with coolness the risk of contagion. We had to place guards at the doors of the cholera hospital to hinder the too frequent visits they made to the sick. But their charity found a thousand pretexts to elude our watchfulness, and make their way to the patients. At the bedside of the sick they acted as infirmarians, and even as chaplains. When in my rounds I came to Grossin, his lieutenant, M. Joubert had already prepared him for confession. 'I am not sorry to die', said he, 'I have settled all'. At the bed of young De Lepertierre, I found a zouave who was giving him a medal of the Blessed Virgin to kiss, and was exciting him to place all his confidence in God".

The same zeal was displayed on the field of battle to procure for the wounded the helps of religion: as soon as any one was struck, they sent word at once to the priest. Touched by these frank expressions of piety, the French soldiers who were wounded used to ask for the chaplain of the Pope's men.

At Albano, above all, the zouaves displayed the heroism of their Christian charity. When the cholera came to ravage that town in August, 1867, many of the inhabitants fled panic-stricken from their homes, leaving their friends dead or dying. A detachment of forty-two men arrived, under the command of a Belgian lieutenant, M. de Résemont. Many corpses were lying unburied for three days, spreading infection all around; on the first day of their arrival, they gave burial to eighty-six.

"What struck me most of all" was the spirit of faith displayed by them in burying the dead. First, they knelt at the foot of the bed where the body lay, and recited the usual prayers for his soul, then they lifted the body with great respect, and carried it on their shoulders to the hearse, and followed it silently and sorrowfully to the cemetery. One of them, a Fleming by birth, would not leave the hearse for four days; he was afraid, he said, lest others less religious might not perform that work of charity with suitable devotion. Whenever a fresh victim was added to the list, the terrified relatives gave

the key of their house to the first zouave they met, told him where the house was, and hurried away". M. de Charette, arrived at the cemetery at half-past eleven, when the sun was broiling hot. "Have you broken your fast?" he asked. "No, colonel", replied the zouaves there employed, "they are still bringing in the dead, and we must do what we can to bury them at once". Two of them sank under these excessive privations and labours: more than one envied the lot of these martyrs of charity.

These "consoling angels", as Cardinal Altieri used to call them, did not neglect the sick. As soon as a fresh case was reported, the lieutenant would say to those who were yet unoccupied: "Who will attend this new patient?" Immediately every hand was raised, and each one sought to obtain for himself this post of honour. Whoever was appointed, at once became an infirmary: he never quitted the sick person confided to his care, he rendered him every service, he sent for the priest, he recited the prayers for the dying, and when they died he carried them to the cemetery and buried them with his own hands. One of the number who could not procure a substitute, would not abandon his patient, and so remained eighteen hours without food. Nothing could be more touching, says the witness quoted above, than to see these young soldiers carrying through the streets their own rations for some poor family, thus depriving themselves of the nourishment of which they stood in so great need. We know the source whence they derived the superhuman energy. Often, when they quitted their post late in the night, worn out with the fatigues of the day, they went to throw themselves at the knee of the priest, and in the morning, after having received the bread of the strong, they were able to continue their life of sacrifice.

A prince of the Church was their model while he was their admirer. After exposing his life for his flock, Cardinal Altieri wished to pay a final testimony of respect to the heroism of his Zouaves. The evening before his death he wrote to the Pope: "If the angels were to come down from heaven to take care of my poor people, they would not do it with more charity and more zeal". And a few minutes before he breathed his last, he called some of them to his bedside. "I am dying", said he to them; "I recommend my people to you. . . . Continue to look after them. In heaven I will pray to God for you". Eight days after the Cardinal's death, another of the Zouaves lost his life in consequence of his zeal for the care of the sick.

When the number of cases had diminished, and the town had resources enough of its own to meet the wants of the inhabitants, an order came from Rome forbidding the soldiers to visit the

sick any more. This order was like a thunderbolt to the men. It was found necessary to exact from each of them his word of honour that he would obey the order of the Minister of Arms. No longer allowed to give their personal services to their adopted families, they consigned to the delegate a list of the poorest sufferers, and with it a considerable sum of money for their relief. "Since we cannot work for them any longer, let us try and help them out of our purses". Let it be borne in mind, that many of them had no other means beyond their scanty pay; but hearts that are truly Christian never stop to make calculations when they are dealing with God or His suffering members, the poor. "These brave fellows", writes the chaplain, "derived their devotion from its true and only source, which is faith, purity of heart, and the frequentation of the sacraments. When I arrived at Albano, I had to stay at home the first evening and receive them all one after the other. Next day at an early hour, they flocked round me to mass, and I gave them the Holy Communion, that true well-spring of Christian generosity".

Other battle fields, more brilliant, but not more glorious than that of Albano, witnessed on the part of the zouaves the same piety, and the same desire of strengthening themselves at the Eucharistic banquet. On the morning of the battle of Nerola, the Abbé Daniel said Mass at three o'clock, and the altar-rails were crowded with officers and soldiers. They prepared themselves for battle as the early Christians prepared for martyrdom. A superior officer, renowned for his chivalrous valour, had not been able to come to assist at the Holy Sacrifice; he met the Abbé Daniel: "Monsieur l'aumonier, I am looking for you in vain for the last two days; I desire to go to Holy Communion". The priest replied that he had the Blessed Sacrament with him, and would give him Communion whenever he was ready. The officer immediately knelt down, and received the Holy Eucharist. The bystanders remarked the two heavy tears that coursed down his manly face, as after some time spent in thanksgiving, he rose from his knees to lead his soldiers on to victory. At Monte-Libretti, before making the assault—an assault of heroic rashness—Guillemin encouraged his men by these simple words, "Come on, my friends, you have all been at confession this morning. Long live Pius the Ninth! Charge!"

After the battle of Mentana, the wounded thought themselves happy at having to suffer in defence of religion and of the Holy Father. Full of faith and resignation, they were the admiration of all who visited them. A Jesuit Father was going through the hospital, when he was called by a zouave whom he had known in France. "You here, my son, and wounded?" "Yes, Father; it is nothing. Long live Pius the Ninth. Look here..."

and uncovering his breast, he showed him his scapulars all bathed in blood. The bullet had glanced from his breast leaving a fragment of the lead buried in the flesh. "It was Mary who saved my life!" and turning to his comrades, he cried out: "Is it not true that Mary is full of kindness?" I asked a French zouave, writes the same father, whether he suffered much? "Unfortunately not, Father; I wish it was so; at least, I would have the comfort of offering my sufferings for the Holy Father; but, now, here I am nailed down, without power to do anything, or to fight against the Garibaldians". Another had his two fingers amputated. I expressed my compassion for him. "What! Father", said he smiling, "it is not worth talking about! I came here to sacrifice myself for the cause of the Holy Father; I was ready to give all my limbs, all my blood; and I have lost only two fingers!" Another Zouave, the sole representative of Peru in the army, had received five wounds, which seemed mortal, three balls and two bayonet-wounds. He said: "I shall be more like our Lord with His five wounds". He recovered. His patience was incredible in spite of his sharp sufferings. Pointing towards the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, near his bed, he said: "There is my strength and my joy". He went to communion every day. A wounded man refused to allow his leg to be amputated. To overcome his repugnance, they remarked that he had come to Rome to give himself legs and arms to the Holy Father. "It is true", he replied, and at once submitted to the painful operation.

Alfred Collingridge had but one trouble: to know whether he should do violence to himself, and desire to live, or let himself die. He consulted the Abbé Daniel, who told him that it would be best of all to leave himself in the hands of Providence. "Well then", said he, "I leave myself in the hands of Providence. Tell my parents that I love them dearly. . . . My Jesus, my dear Jesus, I offer you my life for the Roman Church, for the Pope, for my parents". When he had expired, his brother, who had witnessed his agony, embraced his lifeless body watering it with his tears, and retired saying: "I must go back to my post; I am on guard at the city gate". Dufournel was unwilling to live. "Since I am ready", said he to the chaplain, "why will you not allow me to wish to die?" Raoul Terrasse had but one regret, and that was the affliction which his death would cause his mother. "I am an only son", he said to the chaplain, "and my mother is a widow. What an affliction it will be to my mother to hear of my death. . . . Tell my mother that I am going to heaven, that it is to her I owe it, on account of the good principles she taught me". After a little, as if to encourage himself, he said: "After all, it is only separa-

tion for a short season: my mother, too, will come to heaven". Shortly before his death, some one remarked that he appeared better: "No", said he, "but I am ready. It is better for me to die; I should have to begin it all over again another time". A wounded zouave said to one of our Fathers: "Do not ask for my recovery; I am but too happy to die for the Church, for I am certain to go to heaven". And on the eve of death he said: "To-morrow, Father, I shall go; I shall be in heaven. When you, too, shall be at the point of death, I will ask from our Lord that I may come to see you and assist you. I will come".

Paul Doynel had but one anxiety after the amputation of his right arm. "Will the Pope keep me in his service? My left arm is capable of defending the cause of God". When his father told him that they were about to administer the Extreme Unction, he was quite surprised. "But I am not going to die", said he, and then on reflection, he added: "Yes, my good father, I am willing, and if God wishes to take me to Himself, I am prepared". The attachment felt by Paul Doynel for the Holy Father was a family tradition. When he wished to leave home for Rome, his father wrote: "I agree with him, and I feel that if I were free, I would be a zouave too, even at my age. I am not afraid of dangers for Paul; I never could understand why a man should hesitate from dread of danger, and I am convinced I shall never have to blush for him. I give him my consent... but make him understand that the life of a zouave is not all roses, that he will be surrounded by many temptations; that he will have to fight other enemies besides the revolutionists; that he ought to know that energy and dash will not be enough; that, besides, an exemplary conduct is necessary. I ask his word of honour that on his return he will embrace a profession". Paul promised to obey these sage counsels, and his exemplary life has been crowned by a glorious death.

Julius Hennequet bore with angelic sweetness for sixteen days the keenest pain, offering his life and blood for the triumph of the Church. His mother on hearing that her son was dangerously wounded wrote thus: "Why should I be sad? When I gave Julius leave to go to fight, I expected some day to hear that he was wounded or killed. Should he die, I hope he will go straight to heaven; should he come home wounded, his wound will remind him during his life that he had fought bravely for the Holy Father, and the recollection of this will preserve him in virtue".

Julius Watts Russel longed to shed his blood in defence of the Church. "I am one of the first English Zouaves", said he, "and I should like to be the first to die for the Holy Father". He went to bid good-bye to his brother Wilfrid, who was de-

tained at Rome by the fever, he recited with him a *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Salve Regina*, and then marched to Mentana, where he fell, struck by a bullet in the head. Julius' father appreciated thoroughly the frank and generous piety of his son, and wrote in his prayer book these simple and noble words:

“Massima per Giulio.
Anima mia, anima mia,
Ama Dio, e tira via”.

These traits, which we could easily multiply, prove what manner of heroes the spirit of devotion to Pius the Ninth has been able to create. Let us conclude by saying a few words concerning Peter Guerin. His brother James had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant a few days before Mentana, and on the battle field had no other mark of his new rank except that he carried an officer's sabre. As he rushed to the attack, he came upon the mangled body of a subaltern officer. He drew near, recognized his brother, embraced him, and dashed forward to where the fire was most deadly, saying: “My post is here”. God saved him from the dangers of the battle, and when it was over he wrote to his sister to tell her of the death of Peter, a letter which cannot be read without the liveliest emotion:

“We are victorious...that is all. My dear sister, you know that victory often costs dear; our regiment has seen many zouaves fall, but they have fallen like heroes—like martyrs. Apart from the passing sorrow of losing a son or a brother, how happy are the families who can say we have a martyr—a saint who is praying for us in heaven; after having sacrificed the best years of his life, he has bravely offered his blood on the battle field.....You understand me, my sister; the sorrow may be great, but God will give to those families faith and resignation enough to enable them to bear the sacrifice He has asked from them. Those brave hearts were already devoted to God, and we might have expected long ago what has now happened.....The zouaves fought, as they do everywhere, with enthusiasm and daring. For one instant I saw Peter by my side; seeing him take aim, I was sorry I had only my sabre with me; he was sergeant since the 1st of November. The bullets fell like hail on all sides; we were few, and the Garibaldians in great force. Many of the zouaves fell under the city walls, the firing being sustained from the windows. When it was all over, it was my melancholy duty to proceed to examine the wounded and the killed. I found one.....and it is you, my sister, who must announce his death; you must have courage.....I found him almost seated against a ditch, his arms crossed, his lips parted, his eyes fixed on heaven. He had been shot through the heart with a bullet. Not a single feature was contracted; not the least sign of suffering. ‘My dear friend’, said the chaplain who was with me, ‘he is happier than you’. He helped me

to carry him to a neighbouring chapel. I took a piece of his dress, a lock of his hair, and his scapulars; they are relics—relics of a martyr, who from heaven will protect his family; who will pray for me, and for you too. Do you not envy that family, my sister? but who knows if you will envy them long? You are courageous, are you not? and you shall be happy. The soldier whom I found dead, you know him, he is praying to God for you; give thanks to God, my dear sister, for you have a martyr in your family.....My good sister, courage. Peter has fallen like a brave man and a Christian, he is to be envied. Forgive me, if I tell the news to you before all others; but, could I tell it directly to my father or my mother?"

After this letter, which is a masterpiece inspired by the tenderness of a brother and the heroism of the Christian, what can we add to the feeling words of the soldier, who on the morrow of battle, with eyes full of tears and a torn heart, intones his hymn of thanksgiving, crowns with flowers the tomb where rest a martyr's remains, presses to his lips those dear and blood-stained relics, and to console his family bids them reflect upon the undying honour that shines upon them, upon the Holy Father's throne made strong by their magnanimous sacrifice, and above all upon that heaven where souls of the warriors immolated for Jesus Christ and for His Vicar reign for ever blessed and triumphant! Blessed be God who has raised up such heroes for the glory of the Christian name and for the confusion of our enemies! The device to be inscribed on the arms of these brave knights is *faith and devotedness*. They have merited it by their bravery and their virtues.

THE LAST STAGE OF THE TRADITIONALISTIC CONTROVERSY.

THE Catholic schools of Belgium for several years past have been divided on a question of very considerable importance, concerning the powers of the human reason. The controversy has now reached its close: *Roma loguta est, causa finita est.* In the times in which we live, when there is such an upheaving of philosophical foundations, the decision of the Holy See ought to be welcomed by all who are not so self-sufficient in their science as to imagine themselves no to stand in need of a lamp to their feet, or a light to their path. The full bearing of the decision itself, however, cannot be seen if it be read without a knowledge of the different phases through which the controversy has hitherto passed. We have on former occasions laid before our readers some of the documents which were issued in

the course of the dispute. We now propose to complete the collection, and, at the same time, to set forth a brief history of the points at issue between the parties.

In the beginning of this century the reaction which had set in against the Rationalistic school was so strong as to carry the defenders of revelation into extreme, and therefore erroneous, views. They met the rationalistic position: *reason is sufficient for itself, therefore revelation is superfluous*; with the other: *reason of itself is absolutely powerless, therefore revelation is necessary*. Hence, De Lamennais taught that the first act of the reason was of necessity an act of faith in the authority of the human race, which, according to his theory, constitutes the sole foundation and supreme criterion of certitude. Hence De Bonald's system, that all truths, especially such as are moral and religious, were revealed to our first parents, and, being transmitted by tradition, are offered to the human intellect by the instrumentality of teaching. The Abbé Bautain held that divine revelation was the only source of knowledge, as far at least as the truths of natural religion are concerned. But on 8th September, 1840, he and his disciples abandoned this theory and subscribed the propositions given below:

1. "Le raisonnement peut prouver avec certitude l'existence de Dieu et l'infinité de ses perfections. La foi, don du ciel suppose révélation ; elle ne peut donc pas convenablement être alléguée vis-à-vis d'un athée en preuve de l'existence de Dieu."
2. "La divinité de la révélation mosaïque se prouve avec certitude par la tradition orale et écrite de la synagogue et du christianisme."
3. "La preuve tirée des miracles de J. C., sensible et frappante pour les témoins oculaires, n'a point perdu sa force avec son éclat vis-à-vis des générations subsequentes. Nous trouvons cette preuve en toute certitude dans l'authenticité du N. T., dans la tradition orale et écrite de tous les chrétiens ; et c'est par cette double tradition que nous devons la démontrer à l'incredule qui la rejette, ou à ceux qui, sans l'admettre encore, la désirent."
4. "On n'a point le droit d'attendre d'un incredule qu'il admette la résurrection de notre divin Sauveur, avant de lui en avoir administré des preuves certaines ; et ces preuves sont déduites par le raisonnement."
5. "Sur ces questions diverses la raison précède la foi, et doit nous y conduire."
6. "Quelque faible et obscure que soit la raison par le péché original, il lui reste assez de clarté et de force pour nous guider avec certitude à l'existence de Dieu, à la révélation faite aux juifs par Moïse, aux chrétiens par notre adorable Homme-Dieu".

On July 12, 1855, M. Bonnetty, whose views resembled those of M. Bautain, subscribed these propositions approved of by the

Sacred Congregation of the Index, and confirmed by the authority of Pius the Ninth.

1. "Etsi fides sit supra rationem, nulla tamen vera dissensio, nullum dissidium inter ipsas inveniri unquam potest, cum ambae ab uno eodemque immutabili veritatis fonte, Deo Optimo Maximo, oriuntur, atque ita sibi mutuam opem ferant. (*Encycl. Pii PP. IX. 9 Nov. 1846.*)

2. "Ratiocinatio Dei existentiam, animae spiritualitatem, hominis libertatem, cum certitudine probare potest. Fides posterior est revelatione, proinde ad probandam Dei existentiam contra atheum, ad probandam animae rationalis spiritualitatem ac libertatem contra naturalismi et fatalismi sectatorem, allegari convenienter nequit. (*Prop. subscript. a D. Bautain, 8 Sept., 1840.*)

3. "Rationis usus fidem praecedit, et ad eam hominem ope revelationis et gratiae conduit. (*Prop. subscript. a D. Bautain, 8 Sept., 1840.*)

4. "Methodus, qua usi sunt D. Thomas, D. Bonaventura, et alii post ipsos scholastici, non ad rationalismum ducit, neque causa fuit cur apud scholas hodiernas philosophia in naturalismum et pantheismum impingeret. Proinde non licet in crimen doctoribus et magistris illis vertere quod methodum hanc, praesertim approbante, vel saltem tacente Ecclesia, usurpaverint. (*Prop. contradict. propositionibus passim ex D. Bonnetty desumptis*)".

These authoritative decisions had the effect of narrowing the controversy within more precise limits. It was no longer open to doubt that the use of reason precedes faith, and that reason can prove with certainty the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, and the existence of free will in man.

But a fresh inquiry was then opened up. It was this: Let it be admitted that by the full use of reason man is able to acquire a distinct knowledge of God and of moral truths; we ask, can he attain to this full use of his reason without an *external* intellectual help, or is he unable to attain to it of himself, without aid from without? This is, in substance, the question which has occupied the Belgian professors for so long a time. The following homely comparison has been sometimes employed to illustrate the case. The proposed question is as if one were to ask whether the egg-shell containing the fully hatched chicken is broken from within by the chicken itself, or from without by the mother hen, as the final act of the work of incubation.

The Louvain professors, to the question thus proposed, replied that the reason did stand in need of the external assistance. They did not, however, again open up the questions definitely settled in the cases of Bautain and Bonnetty; but while they avoided this, they seemed to many to have favoured, at least, in some measure, the long-explored errors of Luther, Calvin, and Bajus. This unfavourable judgment was soon expressed, and the Louvain

professors were too full of Catholic sentiments to be satisfied to rest, even for a moment, under the shadow of so grave a charge. In their own defence they did two things. They published, mainly in the *Revue Catholique* of Louvain (an. 1859, tome XVII.), a full exposition of their doctrine; and, besides, they appealed to the authority of Rome. "In a controversy such as this", said they, "mere reasoning is not enough. To guard against divisions, which are ever deplorable, it was necessary to cease disputing, and to carry the question before a supreme tribunal charged with the duty of watching over sound doctrine, and of which the competency and authority are acknowledged by all Catholic writers. These motives induced MM. Beelen and Le-fébvre, professors in the faculty of Theology, and MM. Ubaghs and Laforet, professors in that of Philosophy and Letters, to submit to the judgment of the S. Congregation of the Index the doctrines taught in their respective writings".

The document drawn up by these four able men is dated 1st February, 1860, and is addressed to Cardinal D'Andrea, then Prefect of the S. Congregation of the Index.

"EMINENTISSIME PRINCEPS,

"Quum viris catholicis nihil antiquius esse debeat quam ut ad mentem Sedis Apostolicae sententias suas exigant, nos infrascripti, in Universitate Catholica Lovaniensi Professores, controversiam, quae de rationis humanae vi nativa non sine aliquo animorum aestu in Belgio nostro nunc agitatur, ad arbitrium Sacrae Indicis Congregationis conferendam duximus; et foret nobis hoc sane quam-gratissimum, Eminentissime Princeps, si Sacra Congregatio responderet dignaretur ad nonnullas quae ad praesentem controversiam pertinent quaestiones. Quas antequam proponamus, pauca praeferi nobis liceat.

"Rationalistae, quod te non latet, Eminentissime Princeps, ut divinam revelationem radicitus evellant, magno conatu studioque id agunt, ut veritatum omnium, praesertim earum ex quibus constat religio naturalis, notitiam manare ostendant, veluti e suo fonte, ex absoluta et omnino independenti mentis humanae vi et, ut aiunt, spontaneitate. Itaque fingunt, primaevos homines principio quidem instar muti pecoris sylvestrem egiisse vitam, at sensim sensim, ope solius rationis sua sponte sese evolventis, et sermonem invenisse, et civilem societatem condidisse, denique et cultum quemdam religiosum excogitasse atque instituisse. Hanc porro primam religionem, utpote plane rudem atque imperfectam, non aliud quidem fuisse dicant nisi crassam quamdam, ut aiunt, fetichismi formam, quam deinceps tamen homines, sicut litteras, artes, scientias, aut quodvis aliud humanum inventum, cogitando et ratiocinando perfecerint. Hinc comminiscuntur, apud Indos, Ægyptios, Graecos, caeterosque populos antiquos varias apparuisse polytheismi formas, quae progressu temporis perpetuo perfectiores evaserint, ac totidem veluti gradus exti-

terint, per quos homo altiorem illam religionis formam, quae christiana vocatur, tandem fuerit assecutus. Atque ita sacratissimam nostram religionem pro nobiliore quodam humani ingenii foetu habent, ideoque et humanae rationis iudicio atque dominio eam subiiciunt, eamdemque huius unius rationis ope continuo quodam a necessario progressu in dies ulterius perficiendam esse declarant.

“Atque haec est, Eminentissime Princeps, theoria illa, quae sub specioso nomine *progressus continuus* in variis incredulorum scholis hodieum docetur; atque inde haec doctrina, tamquam teterima quaedam pestis, longe lateque serpit atque grassatur.

“In impia autem illa exitiosa doctrina refellenda plerique ex recentioribus inter catholicos apologetas iam statim illud negant, scilicet rationem humanam pollere absoluta illa ac penitus independenti vi sive spontaneitate, cui rationalistae religionis originem acceptam referunt; at docent e contra, variisque argumentis ab experientia ductis probant, hominem, ut nunc nascitur, praeter internam illam suae rationis vim nativam, indigere externo aliquo intellectuali auxilio, ut obtineat eum rationis usum, qui illi sufficiat ut ad distinctam Dei notitiam et veritatum moralium cognitionem ope unius suae rationis pervenire possit.

“Hanc vero de indigentia externi alicuius intellectualis auxilii sententiam, cui quam plurimi ex praestantissimis apologetis catholicis hodieum subscribunt, ad pravum sensum detorserunt nonnulli Galliae scriptores, quos traditionalistas appellant. Docent scilicet traditionalistae illi, nullam veritatum metaphysicarum et moralium ideam menti humanae a Deo inditam esse; ac mentem humanam habere videntur pro animi vi sive virtute mere passiva, docentes primam illarum veritatum ideam et cognitionem ex sola institutione externa, veluti ex unico fonte, in mentem influere, hominemque illarum veritatum notitiam eo fere modo acquirere, quo factum aliquod historicum ex aliorum testimonio discere solemus. Ex horum igitur sententia testimonium Dei revelantis, quod ope continuae traditionis servatum et in omnes populos propagatum sit, pro unico fonte et principio cognitionis veritatum religionis naturalis sit habendum. Et fuere quoque nonnulli qui assere non dubitarunt, fieri non posse ut homo illis ordinis naturalis veritibus, quales sunt existentia Dei et animae humanae immortalitas, cum certitudine assensum prabeat, nisi prius divinae revelationi fidem adhibuerit; et sententiam sententiae suae oppositam erroris insimularunt rationalistarum et semipelagianorum.

“Hanc vero traditionalistarum doctrinam professores Lovanienses, tum in suis preelectionibus, tum etiam in variis suis scriptis, tamquam falsam perpetuo improbarunt; et ad eam refellandum, inter alia, haec monere solent:

1° “Videri secundum illam traditionalistarum doctrinam, omnem veritatum ordinis naturalis cognitionem revocari ad actum fidei, atque ita tolli essentiali illam quae exstat inter fidem et rationem differentiam. Atqui, *rationis usus* (uti monuit Sacra Indicis Congregatio) *praecedit fidem, et ad eam hominem ope revelationis et gratiae conductus.*

“^{2º} Videri consequi ex eadem illa doctrina, humanae menti abnegandam esse vim naturalis luminis, quod ei sufficiat ut ad cognitionem veritatum moralium pervenire possit; ideoque et videri doctrinam hanc proprius accedere ad errores Baii, Calvini, etc., qui in statu naturae lapsae vires rationis, quod ad veritates merales attinet, penitus extinctas esse docuerunt; atqui ex S. Scriptura et communī SS. Patrum et theologorum consensu apertissime constare, hominem rationis usu fruentem naturali suae rationis lumine, absque ullo revelationis supernaturalis et gratiae auxilio, posse cognoscere atque etiam demonstrare plures veritates metaphysicas et morales, inter quas existentia Dei et immortalitas animae sint recensendae. Sedulo quoque monent hic professores Lovanienses, omnino tenendum esse, ut ne ipsa fides concutiat, extare quaedam fidei praecambula, eaque naturaliter cognosci; atque ibi recitant S. Congregationis Iudicis declarationem illam, qua dicitur: *Ratiocinatio Dei existentiam, animas spiritualitatem, hominis libertatem, cum certitudine probare potest. Fides posterior est revelatione, proindeque ad probandam Dei existentiam contra atheum, ad probandam animas spiritualitatem ac libertatem contra naturalismi ac fatationi sectatorem, allegari convenienter nequit.*

“^{3º} Videri porro consequi ex eadem illa doctrina, dicendum esse, ad cognitionem veritatum ordinis naturalis absolute necessarium fuisse revelationem supernaturalem; atqui hoc adversari communi theologorum sententiae, qui ibi non agnoscent nisi moralem istiusmodi revelationis necessitatem.

“Haec igitur, inter alia, Eminentissime Princeps, contra eam traditionalistarum doctrinam ore et scripto monemus, atque inde a primo eius ortu monimus.

“Quodsi ab una parte humanae rationis vires tuemur, ab altera tamen parte profitemur, sicut iam supra innuimus, nos in ea esse opinione, ut putemus non esse humanae menti tribuendam omnimodam illam spontaneitatem sive absolutam independentiam, quam rationalistae eidem tribuunt; sed de mente humana sic sentimus: Mens humana vi pollet interna sibique propria; per se et continuo actuosa est; attamen, ut homo hac mente praeditus perveniat ad expeditum usum rationis, opus habet externo aliquo intellectuali auxilio. Itaque opinamur, principia veritatum rationalium, metaphysicarum ac moralium, a Deo conditore humanae menti indita esse; at simul arbitramur, hanc esse mentis nostrae legem naturalem sive psychologicam, ut homo *indigeat institutione* aliqua *intellectuali* ad obtinendum eum rationis usum, qui illi sufficiat ut distinctam Dei et veritatum moralium cognitionem sibi comparare possit. Non negamus, humanae menti absque illa institutione inesse confusum quemdam harum veritatum sensum, et vagam quamdam apprehensionem; sed loquimur hic de vera cognitione, hoc est, de clara et certa illarum veritatum notitia acquirenda. *Institutionem* autem intelligimus externum quodvis intellectuale auxilium, sive de industria sive non data opera praestitum, idque sive voce, sive scripto, sive gestu, sive alio quovis modo, quem sociale commercium suppeditat. *Indigentiam* porro intelligimus *absolutam*; at non eo sensu, ut putemus, Deum non potuisse aliter condere hominem, sed eo sensu, ut putemus, esse eam

indigentiam omnibus hominibus, quales nunc nascuntur, communem. Hanc vero absolutam institutionis indigentiam extare affirmamus, si sermo sit de expedito rationis usu acquirendo; minime vero dicimus, quod e contra falsum putamus, singularum veritatum ordinis naturalis cognitionem ope institutionis esse comparandam: nam ubi homo iam usu sua rationis reapse fruitur, ipse sua sola ratione quamplurimas veritates detegere atque cognoscere potest. Praeterea notamus institutionem illam, quam dicimus ex nostra sententia non esse habendam tamquam *efficientem causam per quam* homo perveniat ad expeditum rationis suae usum, sed tamquam *meram conditionem sine qua* non possit ad expeditum illum usum pervenire; quemadmodum, verbi gratia, aëris, calor, humor requiruntur tamquam *conditio sine qua* non possit manifestari vita, quae in aliquo grano seminis reapse inest, sed involuta ac latens. Principia legis naturae *scripta* sunt in corde hominis; verum ea numquam distincte *legere* quis poterit, nisi postquam ope intellectualis illius, quod diximus, auxilii ad expeditum suae rationis usum pervenerit.

"Sententiam nostram sive doctrinam hactenus expositam, Eminentissime Princeps, probare solemus variis argumentis ab experientia et observatione psychologica petitis, quae huius loci non est expondere.

"Patet autem, hac doctrina rationalismi principium de nativa humanae rationis independentia et *absoluta*, ut aiunt, *spontaneitate* radicitus convelli; et tamen per eam nullatenus tolli, sed omnino integrum et salvam in ea permanere nativam vim omnem humanae rationis internam.

"Et possumus ex nostra doctrina contra rationalistas sic contendere: Si homo, ut rationalistae docent, primitus in hac terra in statu ignorantiae absolutae constitutus fuisse, numquam sola vi sua ex hoc ignorantiae statu exire potuisset, nec umquam (posita eadem naturae conditione, quae nunc est) sine Dei interventu, quocumque tandem modo iste interventus concipiatur, pervenire potuisset ad eum rationis usum, quo principia aut praecpta religionis naturalis cognovisset.

"Ceterum nostram hac de re sententiam adnumerandam esse arbitramur inter eas quaestiones, quae a philosophis catholicis libere disputantur. Verumtamen R. D. Lupus, canonicus Leodiensis, in opere quo inscribitur: *Le traditionalisme et le rationalisme examinés au point de vue de la philosophie et de la doctrine catholique*, nostram sententiam sive doctrinam *erroris theologici* insimulare non dubitat, et asseverare eam nexus induculo cohaerere cum perversis doctrinis Baii et Calvini, atque aperte repugnare doctrinae catholicae S. Scripturae, et communii Patrum et theologorum sententiae. Quas criminaciones in quadam epistola, nuper in Belgio longe lateque propagata, sua auctoritate approbare et firmare visus est R. P. Perrone.

"Norunt tamen illi scriptores sententiam, quae ab ipsis tam iniuriouse notatur, a multis auctoribus vere catholicis et doctis non tantum in Belgio, sed etiam in Gallia, in Germania, in Italia propugnari; sciunt eam ut veram haberi ab episcopis non paucis, et a pluribus theologis et philosophis, Sedi apostolicae ac sanis doctrinis addictissimis. Et

notum pariter est, eamdem sententiam in multis seminariis aliisque scholis catholicis cum assensu episcoporum tradi atque doceri.

“ Sed iam, post expositam nostram in controversia hac re sententiam, humiliter petimus ut nobis licet, Eminentissime Princeps, sequentes propositiones S. Indicis Congregationis subiicere iudicio :

“ 1º An licet auctoribus catholicis, in disquisitione mere philosophica de vi nativa rationis humanae, docere : Deum, si voluisset, potuisse quidem ita condere hominem, ut is ipsa sola suae rationis vi, et ope veritatum ordinis naturalis menti eius inscriptarum, nullo praeterea indigens quocumque tandem externo intellectuali auxilio, pervenisset ad expeditum usum rationis :—videri tamen potius dicendum, hominem nunc ita nasci, ut ad expeditum illum rationis usum obtinendum praeterea indigeat externo aliquo intellectuali auxilio, quod tamen non sit habendum tamquam *efficiens causa per quam* perveniat, sed tamquam mera *conditio sine qua non* possit pervenire ad eum rationis usum, qui illi sufficiat ut distinctam Dei et veritatum moralium cognitionem sibi comparare queat ?

“ 2º An licet auctoribus privatis, privata sua auctoritate, eam sententiam censura notare asserendo, illam cum perversis Bair et Calvin doctrinis cohaerere, atque S. Scripturae, unanimi Patrum et theologorum sententiae, definitionibus Ecclesiae, et Sacrae Indicis Congregationis propositionibus repugnare ?

“ 3º Num Calviniana habenda est interpretatio eorum qui docent, verba Apostoli (*Rom. i. 19–20*) accipienda esse de hominibus in vitae societatem inter se coniunctis, plenoque rationis usu fruentibus, ut ex tota contexta oratione confici videtur ?

“ 4º An licet reprehendere ac iniuriouse notare auctores catholicos qui asserunt, simili sensu, hoc est de hominibus pleno rationis usu fruentibus, intelligendam esse Sacrae Indicis Congregationis propositionem hanc : *Ratiocinatio Dei existentiam, animae spiritualitatem, hominis libertatem, cum certitudine probare potest* ?

“ Reliquum est, Eminentissime Princeps, ut optima quaeque Eminentiae Vestrae apprēcantes, scribendi finem faciamus cum humili voto, ut nos tui observantissimos benevolentia complecti digneris.

“ Datum Lovani, kalend. Februar. MDCCCLX.

“ J. Th. BEELEN, S. S. Pii IX. Cubicular. ad hon.,
“ S. Script. et ling. Orient. prof.

“ J. B. LEFEBVE, theol. dogm. prof.

“ G. C. UBAGHS, philos. prof.

“ N. J. LAFORET, philos. prof.”.

The reply of the Cardinal was dated 2nd March in the same year. It was to the effect that the doctrine, as explained in the letter of the four professors, did not clash with the four propositions published by the Cong. of the Index in 1855; that the question was an open one; and that, in consequence, the line of conduct prescribed in the Constitution *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict the Fourteenth was to be carefully adhered to. The letter was as follows:—

“Praestantissimi Clarissimique Professores,

“Acceptis litteris vestris, quas ad me dedistis kalendis Februarii huius anni, commisi doctis et eruditis quibusdam theologis Sacrae huius Congregationis Consultoribus, ut philosophicam de vi nativa rationis humanae doctrinam, quam iisdem litteris dilucide exponitis, atque in benemerita Universitate Lovaniensi tradi a Professoribus testamini, diligenter considerarent et expenderent. Qui quidem Theologi una cum R. P. a secretis, re sedulo antea accurateque perpensa, in consultationem acciti concordi nobiscum sententia censurunt.

“1º Memoratam doctrinam nullatenus adversari quatuor illis propositionibus, quae ab hac Sacra Congregatione circa nativam rationis humanae vim non ita pridem prodierunt.

“2º Recte adnumerandam esse inter eas quaestiones, quae a philosophis catholicis libere in utramque partem disputari possunt; adeoque.

“3º Ad eamdem doctrinam quod attinet, standum esse Constitutioni Benedicti XIV. P. M. quae incipit: *Sollicita et provida* § 23.

“Hanc sententiam vobis, Egregii Professores, libenter communico, atque vobis ex animo gratulor de sincerissimo vestro erga Apostolicam Sedem, columnnam videlicet et firmamentum veritatis, obsequio.

“Romae, postridie kalend. Martias, anno MLCCCLX.

“L. S. HIERONYMUS Card. DE ANDREA, S. I. C. Praefectus.

“Fr. Angelus Vincentius Modena, O. P.,

“S. Ind. Congreg. a secretis.”

Our readers will observe that this letter, although emanating from so high an authority, has not the weight of an authentic decision of the S. Congregation, and conveys merely the personal sanction of Cardinal D'Andrea. The opponents of the Louvain professors soon detected this, and declined to abandon the estimate they had formed of Traditionalism. On the 19th December, 1861, Pius the Ninth expressly declared that the letter of Card. D'Andrea, as not representing the judgment of the Congregation or of the Pope, was to be held as of no weight in the matter. It is well known that Cardinal D'Andrea, in consequence of this declaration of the Pope, resigned his position as Prefect of the Congregation of the Index, and that the occurrence had considerable influence upon his after conduct.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN CATHOLIC PERIODICALS.

I. *The Archivio dell' Ecclesiastico* is a Florentine periodical, published once a month, and devoted, as its title implies, to subjects of special interest to ecclesiastics. The number for January (Fascicolo 49, vol. ix.) contains a valuable paper by Mgr. Thomas Salzano, bishop of Tanes, on the necessity of studying the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas against ancient and modern errors, whether in philosophy or in theology. It was read in last

November before the younger portion of the priesthood of the diocese of Aversa, to inaugurate the three years' course of higher studies in philosophy and theology lately established by Mgr. Zelo, bishop of that diocese, with the view of encouraging those important studies among his clergy. The author shows that it was the work of St. Thomas to combat the philosophical errors of his day, and describes at some length how successfully the holy doctor discharged his office. He then traces the connection between the philosophical errors of the present time and those of the middle ages, and points out a close affinity between the doctrines current in both periods.

The Abbate Agostino Bertolini, in a dissertation on *Dante and the Preaching of the Gospel*, shows how the great poem is rich in the qualities which best become the Catholic preacher. To those whose ideas of Dante have been formed from English and other commentaries which ascribe to him the intention of teaching in his *Divina Commedia* any and every error, from Red Republicanism to Protestantism, this thesis will appear extravagant and strained. But we should bear in mind that for many years the poem was read and explained on festival days in the churches to crowded audiences, not only in Florence, in Santo Stefano, but also in other cities of Italy. And to this day the visitor to the Campo Santo of Pisa may see in Orcagna's frescoes of Death, Judgment, and Hell, how great was the religious influence exercised by the poet on the painter. The same influence is apparent in San Petronio of Bologna, where the nine circles of Hell are represented, also at Tolentino, in the Abbey of Friuli, and elsewhere throughout Italy. Recalling all this to mind, it is easy for us to follow the writer's reasoning. Dante's argument, in fact, is nothing else than the four last things which are among the proper subjects of a preacher. The justice of God, exhibited in rewards and punishments, is the motive of the poem; the form in which he develops his subject is that of supernatural vision, so familiar to the inspired prophets, from Isaias to St. John. Now, as Ozanam well says, from the earliest ages of Christianity the most eloquent preachers loved to clothe their thoughts in the language proper to this very style, as may be seen especially in St. Cyprian, St. Gregory, and St. Bonaventure. Not that the author would recommend the preacher to affect this style; he knows too well that it is not suited to ordinary discourses, or easily managed by ordinary preachers. But this does not alter the fact that Dante is a classic in this most sublime and difficult department of literature.

But it is his language, taking that word in its largest sense, that especially recommends Dante to the study of the preacher. It is perfumed throughout by the Bible. As the language of

Homer and of Virgil may be called mythological, so that of Dante may justly be styled eminently biblical. Besides this, it bears the impress of his long study of the Fathers. In addition, it has the terse vigour of the scholastics, with their doctrinal accuracy of expression. What better model for a preacher than a work like this? The author here proposes an objection drawn from the frequent use of mythological passages introduced by Dante, such as Pluto, Minos, Cerberus, Charon, and others. He meets it by replying that these are merely symbols under which he conveys ideas which are strictly and exactly theological. It is curious that Lord Macaulay in his critique on Dante goes out of his way to observe of Dante that, "his Minos, his Charon, his Pluto, are absolutely terrific. 'He has never assigned to his mythological characters any functions inconsistent with the teachings of the Catholic Church'. Our author, with perhaps too minute an analysis, thinks that he can even trace in the *Divina Commedia* models of the various kinds of sermons, the didactic, the parenetic, the laudatory, etc. Instead of following him into this part of his subject we shall quote, as a remarkable confirmation of his view, the substance of Lord Macaulay's remarks on Dante's style:

"The style of Dante is, if not his highest, his most peculiar excellence. I know nothing with which it can be compared. The noblest models of Greek composition must yield to it. His words are the fewest and the best which it is possible to use. The first expression in which he clothes his thoughts is always so energetic and comprehensive, that amplification would only injure the effect. There is probably no writer in any language who has presented so many strong pictures to the mind. Yet there is probably no writer equally concise. This perfection of style is the principal merit of the *Paradiso*, which, as I have already remarked, is by no means equal in other respects to the two preceding parts of the poem. The force and felicity of the diction, however, irresistibly attract the reader through the theological lectures and the sketches of ecclesiastical biography with which this division of the work too much abounds. Cf. especially the third canto of the *Inferno*, and the sixth of *Purgatorio*, as passages incomparable in their kind. The merit of the latter is, perhaps, rather oratorical than poetical; nor can I recollect anything in the great Athenian speeches which equals it in force of invective and bitterness of sarcasm. I have heard the most eloquent statesmen of the age remark that, next to Demosthenes, Dante is the writer who ought to be most attentively studied by every man who desires to attain oratorical eminence".

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1868.

HYMN OF ST. SANCTAIN.

ST. SANCTAIN was a native of Britain, and is supposed by some to be the same as St. Sannan, who was brother of our apostle, St. Patrick. The martyrologies, however, when commemorating St. Sanctain, are silent as to this fact; they are careful to mention that he was brother of the pilgrim, St. Matoc; and did any such exist, they would assuredly not have failed to refer to his relationship with our apostle. Their statements moreover as to his family and parentage are quite at variance with the ancient documents connected with St. Patrick's life. There is in Cornwall a small port town and parish named from *St. Sennan*, and tradition says that this saint went thither from Ireland, and having died there in his hermitage, a church was erected over his remains. Capgrave too, in his *Life of St. Wenefreda*, states that this holy virgin was interred there *prope Sanctum Sennanum*. It is not improbable that this was the Sanctain who composed the hymn which we now publish.

There can be no doubt that in the first ages of our faith the southern districts of England were a favourite resort of Irish saints, and Mr. Blight, in his description of the Cornish churches, writes, that "in the latter part of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, a numerous company of Irish saints, bishops, abbots, and sons and daughters of kings and noblemen, came into Cornwall, and landed at Pendinas, a peninsula and stony rock where now the town of St. Ives stands. Hence they diffused themselves over the western part of the county, and at their several stations erected chapels and hermitages. Their object was to advance the Christian faith. In this they were successful, and so greatly were they reverenced, that whilst the memory of their holy lives still lingered in the minds of the people, churches were built on or near the sites of

their chapels and oratories and dedicated to Almighty God in their honour. Thus have their names been handed down to us. Few of them are mentioned in the calendars or in the collections of the lives of saints, and what little is known of them has been chiefly derived from tradition".¹ He then mentions amongst the Irish saints whose memory is thus venerated there, St. *Buriana*, "a king's daughter, a holy woman of Ireland", St. *Livinus*, and our St. *Sennen*, "an Irish abbot, who accompanied St. *Buriana* into Cornwall", St. *Paul*, St. *Cheverne* (i.e. *Kieran*), St. *Breaca*, St. *Germoe*, and others.²

Colgan, speaking of St. Sanctain, says: "Sanctain, a bishop, by birth a Briton, is honoured on the 9th of May, in the church of Killdaleas, in Leinster, according to the Martyrology of Tallaght and the Festologies of Aengus and Marianus: Samuel, a king of Britain, was his father, and Drehura, daughter of Muiredhac Muinderg, king of Ulster, was his mother".³ The Martyrology of Aengus, preserved in the *Leabhar Breacc*, thus commemorates our saint at the 9th of May, Ḥƿƿuc Sanctain ḫochla, "Bishop Sanctain of good repute"; and the gloss adds:

".. . o. chill ῥa leir oo, ut Aengusur "i.e., he was of Kill-da-leis, as Aengus
vixit et nescio ubi erit Cell ῥa says: and I know not where Kill-da-leis
leir agur iꝝ leir ḫƿƿum laigille : is: and to him belongs Druimlaighille
T̄radraighe".⁴

Another gloss adds:—

".. . Ḥƿƿuc Sanctain mac oo Sa- "i.e., Bishop Sanctain was the son of
muel Chendisel. Dectir ingen Samuel Chendisel (*low-headed*): Dectir,
Muiredhac Muinderg mat̄er eiꝝ: daughter of Muiredach Muinderg (*red-
necked*), was his mother: as was proph-
esied:

ᬁƿƿuc Sanctain iꝝ mo chean
mac Samuel Chendisel,
Dectir a mat̄air cen meing
ingen Muiredhac Muinderg.

Bishop Sanctain is my beloved,
The son of Samuel Chendisel,
Dectir was his mother without stain,
The daughter of Muiredach Muind-
derg".

It is not easy to fix with certainty the site of the church of Kill da-leis. Colgan tells us that it was in Leinster; and probably it was the present parish of *Kildellig*, in the barony of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's County. In the MS. Visitation

¹ *Churches of West Cornwall*, by J. T. Blight, 1865, page 1.

² Several old monumental crosses not unlike those of Ireland are still preserved in Cornwall, as, for instance, St. *Breaga*'s cross, near Tregoning hill (formerly called Pencairn), St. *Buriana*'s cross, etc. *Ibid.*, page 72, seqq.

³ "Colitur S. Sanctanus Episcopus genere Britannus die 9^o Maii in Ecclesia de Killdaleas in Lagenia juxta Martyrol. Tamachtense Aengussium et Marianum in suis Festilogiis, sed quia Pater hujus legitur fuisse Samuel Rex Britanniae et Mater Drehura filia Muredacii Muinderg Regis Ultoniae non potest esse frater Sancti Patritii"—*Trias*, pag. 8, n. 13.

⁴ "Druimlaighille (pronounced *Drumlyle*), now Drumline, a parish in the deanery of Tradry, barony of Bunratty, county Clare".—Todd, *Obits and Martyr. of Christ's Church. Introd.*, pag. 1x.

Book of Dr. James Phelan, appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1669, is preserved a list of the Patrons of the Churches of the Diocese, and in the deanery of *Aghavoe* we meet with this parish church of *Kildelyg*, and its patron is marked “*Sanctus Ernanus seu Senanus, Abbas*”. This can be no other than our St. *Sannan*, or *Sanctain*. The memory of St. Sanctain is also cherished in the very ancient church, now commonly called “St. Anne’s”,¹ in the present parish of Rathfarnham: in the Register “*Crede mihi*” written in the thirteenth century, it is called *Killmesantan*:² and we learn from the *Repertorium Viride* that it retained the same name in 1532.³ In a valuation of 1547, it is called *Templesaunton*.

The introduction to the hymn in the *Liber Hymnorum* is as follows:

“Bishop Sanctain composed this hymn, and on his way from Cluain-Irard (Clonard) to Inis-Madoc he composed it. He was moreover a brother of Madoc, and both were Welshmen. Madoc came into Erin prior to bishop Sanctain. The cause of the composition of this poem was that he might be preserved from his enemies, and that his brother might admit him amongst his religious in the island. At that time he was ignorant of the Irish language (*Scoticam linguam usque ad hanc horam non habuit*), but God miraculously granted it to him. The time of its composition is uncertain”. (MS. *St. Isidore's*, pag. 41).

In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, the feast of St. Sanctain is thus registered on the 9th of May: “Sanctan son of Samuel Ceinnisel, bishop of Cill-da-les: Deichter, daughter of Muireadhach Muinderg, king of Uladh, was his mother, and the mother of Matoc the pilgrim”. On the feast of St. Matoc (25th of April)

¹ Dr. Kelly, in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, is of opinion that this church is the *Killdaleis* of the Martyrologies. There is no doubt it was dedicated to St. Sanctain, but I have not been able to discover any trace of the name Killdaleis connected with it.

² *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick*, by W. M. Mason, Appendix, pag. lxvi.

³ The following notice of this Church of Kilmesantan from the *Rep. Viride* (MS. T.C.D.) will be interesting to our readers:—“*Ecclesia de Kilmesantan* in montibus pertinentibus ad communem S. Patritii Dublinii ex dono Lucae Archiepiscopi: terra tamen inibi est membrum Manerii de Tavalagh unum de principibus inter [Hibernicos]. Quaere in Registro meo novo fol. 196, cap. 1, ubi patet quod praebenda facta est ex duabus Ecclesiis de communi et cum capella intermedia utriusque. *Ecclesia de Tachmeloge*: alia etiam Ecclesia spectans ad communem S. Patritii, ex praefati archiepiscopi largitione, ut supra, non tamquam parochialis Ecclesia sed annexa capella Ecclesiae de Kilmesantan extra Marchiam constracta, erecta autem infra le *Macre* (quia citra aquam de Doder fundatur) pro loco tutiori ad audienda divina regnante guerra, unde Hibernica lingua potius *Temple-Oyge* baptizatur quia nova. *Ecclesia de Kilbridge* etiam in montibus infra Cholaghe non longe a finibus de Brctage. Quod idcirco dixerim ad differentiam cuiusdam capellae dependentis a praescripta Ecclesia de Kilmesantan. Antiquitus vocatur villa *Kilbridge Ogadure* prope terram Hibernicorum *del Boly* et haec etiam unitur communi S. Patritii per patronatum Archiepiscopi”.

the same is repeated: "Matog, the pilgrim. Deichter.....was his mother, and the mother of bishop Sanctan".

The only other document connected with *bishop Sanctain* which we have been able to discover, is the following short poem in his honour, which is added in the Roman MS. of the "Liber Hymnorum" immediately after his hymn:

Ercop Sanctan roclā¹ ḡruthib²
 milio angell clothglañ gel
 juroeria mo copp fosi talmain
 jonceba³ manmain fosi niem.
 Rombith owoit leat a Maire
 iob ḡrocaire juinne vun
 aři guin aři Ȣuaract aři Ȣabuř
 a Čriſt coř vonaouo⁴ vun.
 Ateoch in ji roen ḡruthain
 oenginne⁵ ve diaři fechim
 jommain aři Ȣabthib Ȣeraib
 mac jo Ȣenaři imbethil.

Bishop Sanctan, illustrious among the ancients,

Angel-Soldier of pure, bright fame;

My body is enslaved on Earth,

May he receive my soul in Heaven.

Offer a prayer for me, O Mary!

May the mercy of the mystery be unto us;

Against wounding, against danger, against suffering,

O Christ! afford us thy protection.

I implore the noble, everlasting King;

May the Only-Begotten of God plead for us;

Against sharp torments may

The Son who was born in Bethlehem defend me.

The reader will not fail to remark the sweet invocation of the Blessed Virgin which occurs in the second verse just cited. We are happy to add this proof of the devotion of our fathers to the Holy Mother of God, to the many already given in the pages of the *I. E. Record*.

The *Book of Armagh*, the most venerable of our ancient monuments, gives us another proof of this special veneration, in

¹ The MS. has *ƿca* with the double sign of contraction: hence we have supposed it to stand for *roclā*, which is the characteristic epithet applied to our saint by Aengus.

² ḡruthib, abl. pl. of ḡruth. The Milan Psalter has *inna ḡruthē* as the gloss of *veterum*.

³ jonceba = *jo-n-ceba*, the *n* being the infixed personal pronoun, 3rd sing. In the next line we have *jombich* also for *jo-m-bich*, the *m* being the infixed pronoun 1st sing.

⁴ *vonaouo* for *vo Ȣnaouo*, the *v* being aspirated, and hence (as often occurs) omitted after the poss. pr. *vo*.

⁵ *oenginne* is manifestly derived from the Latin *unigenitus*.

its beautiful concluding prayer, which has never been published, and is as follows:

“ Te Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, ante saecula sine initio, per unigenitum Filium tuum nostrae salutis auctorem ac Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum ac per universum Hierusalem clerum coelestis :

“ Per praecipuos Patres nostros ;

“ Per Apostolos ;

“ Praecipue per Sanctam Mariam genitricem virginem Filii tui ac Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, nati, processi, passi, crucifixi, sepulti, ad inferos descendenteris, protoplastum nostrum in humeris deferenteris, in pascha resurgentis, Apostolis ostenteris, ad coelos ascendentis, in novissimis diebus ad judicium pervenientis, fideliter rogare praesumo,

“ Ut me vilissimum servulum tuum in temporali hac vita prospero cursu auxiliari digneris et per misericordiam tuam infinitam bonum finem in voluntate tua inveniam atque sapientiae meae minimae praeemia in caelesti gaudio invenire merear per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen”.

As regards the date of St. Sanctain's hymn, it cannot be fixed with accuracy, as we are ignorant of the year of the saint's demise. It seems however certain, that he flourished in the beginning of the sixth century. The title of *illustrious among the ancients*, given to him in the poem just cited, brings him back to the first fathers of our Church: the special archaic forms of his 'difficult hymn', as Mr. Stokes justly calls it, point to the same period, whilst his connection with St. Madog¹ cannot be verified in any other age. There are many saints indeed who bear a similar name in our calendar; but there is only one in whom the epithet of Madog *the pilgrim* is verified, viz., the *St. Cadoc*, who holds so distinguished a place among the saints of Wales. He, too, was the son of a British prince, whilst, as Colgan writes, “ he is justly reckoned among the Irish saints, as his mother, his instructors, and many of his relatives, were Irish, and he himself lived for some time in our island” (*Acta SS.* page 159). This distinguished antiquarian further tells us that he “ is the same as St. *Mo-chatoc*”, a disciple of SS. Patrick and Fiecc, as we have seen in the March number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Thus we have a clue to the *Inis-Madog*, in which St. Sanctain wished to take up his abode with his holy brother: for, St. Mochatoc, as we learn from his life, chose *Inis-fail* for his monastery, which no doubt was in after times from the name of this great founder styled by the religious *Inis-Madoc*.²

¹ Zeuss justly remarks that *Matoc*, *Matauc*, *Madowg*, and *Madog*, are merely different forms of the same name, *Gr. Celt.*, pag 15. The original name of the saint was *Doc* or *Docus*, which in the Welsh and Irish dialects assumed the form *Cadoc*, *Mo-cadoc*, and phonetically *Mudoc*.

² In the *Codex Priscianus* of St. Gall in Switzerland, at page 194, there is the marginal gloss: “*Oo inir Mafoooc ván .i. Meirre agur choimbhne, of Inis-madoc are we, that is myself and Cairpre*”. Dr. Graves, (*Proceedings of R. I. A.*,

ST. SANCTAIN'S HYMN.

Asteoch iug namra naingel
 uaipi ires ainn ar tressam
 via dom fium loig, via tuathum
 via domchenuf via neffam.

Via domchobair, noebsogairim
 ar cech gualacht noisguairim
 troicheit beatao bho ijjum
 bennacht ve atair uafum.

huafal trinot vonforgai
 vonach aighenn baif baile
 an friburut noebs nept nime
 Via Acair toir mac Maire.

Móri jí ritir ar fine
 fiaou huaf vonun villocht
 vommairain ar cech guallocht
 nimthairle venna vibocht

Via lim cechroeth¹ dojungba
 Crijt friburinle mo chefta
 abrtail immum cotribat
 domairle trinot tefta.

Dommair trinot tolam
 O Crijt nao cétla celar
 nimthairle éc naamori
 nimcair toirclar² na galor.

Nimthairle eichor amnar
 rech mac vé nevhar bovhar
 ainnriunn Crijt arcech nejinbar
 ar thein ar thriettan toibar.

Ar cech neiclinn bafejlinn
 domchurp conambthib³ huathaib
 vommair fiau cech trintha
 ar gaeth ar uircib luathaib.

vol. vi. p. 211), identifies Inis-Maddoc with *Inis-Maedhoc*, i.e., *Inis-Mogue*, an island in Templeport lake, county of Leitrim, but the names Maddoc and Maedhog (Mo-Aedh-cg) are not identical. If our conjecture that Inis-Maddoc and Inis-Fail are one and the same place, it follows from the *Tripl. Life of St. Patrick* that this island was in the county of Wexford. See Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 186.

¹ MS. cechreth i cech torrr.

² This seems borrowed from the Latin *mortalitas*.

³ Ambthib for anfthib, an-fethib dative pl. of anfeth, from the negative an and feth aura, as appears from a gloss in the Southampton Psalter. *Goidilica*, page 46.

ST. SANCTAIN'S HYMN.

I beseech the wonderful King of Angels,
For his is the name⁴ that is mightiest;
God be with me on my track,⁵ God on my left,
God before me, God on my right.

God to help me, O holy invocation!
Against every danger that I encounter;
Let there be a bridge of life under me,
The blessing of God the Father over me.

May the Noble Trinity awaken him,⁶
For whom a good death is not in store.
The Holy Spirit, the Strength of Heaven
God the Father, the great Son of Mary.

May the great King, who knows our crimes,⁷
God of the noble sinless world,
Be with my soul against every sin of falsity,
That the torment of demons may not touch me.⁸

May God repel every sadness from me;
May Christ relieve my sufferings;
May the Apostles be around me,
May the Trinity of witness⁹ come to me.

May a flood of mercy come from Christ,
Whose wounds are not hidden (from us):
Let not death touch me,
Nor¹⁰ bitterness,¹¹ nor plague, nor disease.

Let not a sharp cast touch me
Apart from God's Son, who gladdens and who mortifies:
Let Christ protect me against every iron-death,
Against fire, against the raging sea.

Against every death-pool that is dangerous
To my body, with awful storms,
May God at every hour¹² be with me,
Against the wind, against the swift waters.

⁴ Nomen quod est super omne nomen". Philem., ii. 6.

⁵ i.e., *behind me*. The gloss is ωρμει λεγε ωρμ-έτ-η. This sentence is very like the beautiful passage in St. Patrick's *lorica* :—

"Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in the fort,
Christ in the chariot-seat,
Christ in the poop".

Luathfe molthu maic Maire
 bager ap baga finna
 fprícepla via vulech
 Lupech ap baig mo thenga.

Oc rígoe ré ve nimib
 mo chorr pop rígoe poethpach
 ariaoisír iffearnan uaclac
 ateoche in rígs aroetach.
 At eoche.

i.e., Christ be with me when I am in the fort at home; Christ be with me when I am in the chariot-seat, travelling by land; and in the poop, when I am travelling by water (Todd, *Memoir*, page 428).

⁶ "Oonforcas .i. pothoroiruca abbar peccatio, i.e., "awaken [us] from a death of sin".

⁷ Arfne, .i. arpectha.

⁸ Nimthapple, .i. níromtaiblet.

⁹ "Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus". (I. Johan, v. 3.) Dr. Reeves, in his *Memoir of the Book of Armagh*, speaking of its text of the New Testament, says: "In the first epistle of St. John the famous passage concerning the witnesses, which in our Testaments is the seventh verse of the fifth chapter, is in this MS. entirely omitted, as it is also in the oldest copy of St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate. What is our eighth verse succeeds immediately to the sixth, and commences: 'for there are three which bear witness in earth', etc." (page 8). This statement of the learned antiquarian is not correct; the verse in the *Book of Armagh* is as follows: "Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt".

¹⁰ Amor; apparently borrowed from the Latin *amaror*.

¹¹ Tópbar, .i. tópner.

¹² The genitive of time: so in *Lib. Hym.* ed. Todd, p. 22, celebhar cech tracha (gl. sine intermissione orat), cache daorain (every Thursday), cache rachairn (every Saturday), ibid, p. 38; gacha maiore (every morning) gacha nona (every evening), O'Donov, gr. 381.

¹³ Mr. Stokes explains the *white battles by good causes*, *Goidil.*, pag. 94. This, however, is too generic. The phrase receives some light from a passage in the Irish sermon published from a Cambrai MS. of the eighth century by Zeuss, in which it is said: "There are three sorts of martyrdom, all of which give the crown of suffering to man: viz., white martyrdom, blue martyrdom, and red martyrdom; it is white martyrdom when man, through love of God, foregoes all the pleasures and enjoyments of life", etc. (*Gram. Celica*, pag. 1007). Thus *white battles* would seem to indicate "the spiritual combats of a religious life", in which the Christian soul triumphs, aided by the grace of Jesus Christ.

¹⁴ Lupech from Latin *lorica*, conf., "State ergo . . . induit loricam justitiae". Ephes, vi. 14.

¹⁵ Compare the following gloss from H. 3. 18 (T C.D.) p. 540, rígoe, .i. buan ut eit oc rígoe ve von (leg. ve nimib) mo corr pop rígoe raethpach, etc.

I will utter the praises of Mary's Son,
 Who battles our white battles,¹³
 May God of the elements answer;
 A corslet¹⁴ in battle shall be my prayer.

Whilst praying to God of the Heavens,
 Let my body be enduring¹⁵ penitent,
 That I may not go to awful Hell
 I beseech the King whom I have besought.
 I beseech, etc.

P.S. Since this article was printed we happily learned that the three strophes given at pag. 320, though not printed by Mr. Stokes, were in reality preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, T.C.D. As this MS. presents some very important readings, we here insert its text:

Erccop Sanctan rocta ḡruitch¹
 milio aingil cloth gel glan
 ḡrogoera² mo chopp fop talmain
 ḡonceba manmain fop nem.
 Rombith owoit let a Maipe
 ḡop ḡriocairi ḡinime vun
 ari guin ari gaifathc ari gabun
 a Christ fop vonausv vún.
 Ateoch iṇiug ḡoēt ḡuthain
 oenginne ve viaffethim
 ḡommain ari gaibthib ḡerai'b
 mac ḡenair imbethil. (fol. 19. b.)

Bishop Sanctain, illustrious father,
 Angel-soldier of bright, pure fame;
 My body being freed on earth,
 May he receive my soul in Heaven.

Offer a prayer for me, O Mary!
 That the heavenly n:ercy may be shown to us:
 Against wounding, against danger, against suffering,
 O Christ, afford us thy protection.

I implore the noble, everlasting king;
 May the Only-begotten of God plead for us;
 Against sharp torments, may
 The Son who was born in Bethlehem defend me.

¹ The word ḡruitch is here used in the nominative singular. It literally means *ancient*, but, as Mr. Curry in his MS. Glossary remarks, it is a title of honour involving the idea of superior dignity or learning, thus corresponding with our phrase *a Father of the Church*. In the *Leabhar Breace*, fol. 4. bb. Mr. Curry adds, "the term ḡruiche is applied to the bishops who met at a General (sic) Council in Rome in the year 283".

² The word ḡoēt *free* is quite the opposite of ḡoēp *enslaved*, which is made use of in the Roman MS.

GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO. VII.

In developing the modern theory of Geology, we have all along assumed that the Crust of the Earth has been subject to frequent disturbances from the earliest ages of the world. Again and again, in the course of our argument, we have talked of the bed of the sea being lifted up and converted into dry land; and then, on the other hand, of the dry land being submerged beneath the waters of the sea. Nay, we have not even hesitated to suppose that these two opposite movements of upheaval and submersion often took place by turns over the same area; and that, in fact, there is scarcely a region on the surface of the Globe which has not been several times submerged, and several times again upheaved.

Yet all this has not been taken for granted without proof. Our readers have seen what a long array of sober reasoning may be drawn out to show that the Stratified Rocks have been, for the most part, deposited *under water*;—first, from the nature and arrangement of the materials which compose them; secondly, from the character of the Organic Remains they contain: and since they are now *above water*, it is plain that either they have been lifted up or the ocean has subsided. Furthermore, when we find a stratum of rock abounding in the remains of aquatic animals, and, immediately underneath, another stratum of rock in which are preserved the trees of an ancient forest still standing, with their roots attached, we must conclude that when the trees first grew on this spot it was dry land; that afterwards it was submerged, and that a new stratum, in which were imbedded the marine remains, was spread out above the earlier vegetation; and that, last of all, it has been lifted up again, and become dry land once more. Finally, when a vertical section of the Earth's Crust exhibits a continued series of such strata alternating with each other, it affords a proof that this particular area must have been several times under water, and several times again dry land, in the long course of ages.

And this is, indeed, the universal belief of Geologists. They tell us that the Crust of the Earth is not that unyielding and immovable mass which men commonly take it to be, but that it has been from the beginning ever restless and in motion, rising here and subsiding there, sometimes with a convulsive shock capable of upturning, twisting, distorting hard and stubborn rocks as if they were but flimsy layers of pliant clay; sometimes with a gentle, undulating movement, which, while it uplifts islands and continents, leaves the general aspect of the surface unchanged, the arrangement of the strata undisturbed, and even

the most tender Fossil Remains unharmed. They tell us, moreover, that the giant power which thus rends asunder the massive rocks, and shakes the foundations of the mountains, is Heat; and that this power is still at work in our own times, and is still producing the same effects. In proof of an assertion so unexpected and so startling, they appeal to facts; and it is to these facts we are now about to invite the attention of our readers.

At the outset, however, it is important to set forth clearly the doctrine we propose to illustrate and to confirm. With the origin of the internal heat that prevails within the Crust of the Earth we have no concern. This is still an unsettled point among Geologists themselves. Some conjecture that our Globe, when first launched into space, was in a state of igneous fusion—that is to say, that all the solid matter of which it is composed was held in a molten condition by the action of intense heat; that, in course of time, as this heat passed off by radiation, the surface gradually cooled and grew hard; that an external shell of solid rock was thus formed, which has been ever growing thicker and thicker, in proportion as the Earth has been growing cooler; and that the actual condition of our planet is the result of this process continued down to the present day,—a fiery mass of seething mineral within, and a comparatively thin crust of consolidated rock without. Others suppose that the internal heat of the Globe is developed by the agency of chemical changes constantly going on in the depths of the Earth; and others, again, look for a cause to the action of electricity and magnetism. But these and such like speculations are still under discussion, and not one of them can be regarded as anything more, at best, than a satisfactory hypothesis. Any how, it is not about the causes of internal heat that we are just now interested, but about the fact of its existence, and the nature of its effects. Is it true that an intense heat prevails very generally beneath the superficial covering of the Globe? and is that heat capable of producing those stupendous changes which are ascribed to it in our theory of Geology? These are the questions we propose to consider in our present paper.

First, then, it is a very significant fact, that *the deeper we penetrate into the crust of the Earth, the hotter it is.* Of course this does not hold good *immediately* below the surface, where the influence of the sun's heat is felt. On the contrary, when we first begin to descend, we find it cooler below than above, because the sun has less power the farther we depart from the surface. But, after a little, we reach the limit beyond which the sun's heat is no longer sensibly felt; and when this point is passed—in our climate it is about fifty feet below the surface—

then the temperature begins to rise, and "the deeper you go the hotter the Earth is found to be". This broad and general fact has been established by experiments in every part of the world, and has been found true in all countries, in all climates, in all latitudes, whether in coal-pits, or mines, or deep subterranean caves. "In one and the same mine", says Sir John Herschel,¹ "each particular depth has its own particular degree of heat, which never varies: but the lower always the hotter; and that not by a trifling, but what may well be called an astonishingly rapid rate of increase,—about a degree of the thermometer additional warmth for every ninety feet of additional depth,² which is about 58° per mile!—so that, if we had a shaft sunk a mile deep, we should find in the rock a heat of 105°, which is much hotter than the hottest summer day ever experienced in England". Now if the temperature continue to increase at this rate towards the centre of the Earth, it is quite certain that, at no very great distance from the surface, the heat would be sufficiently intense to reduce the hardest granite and the most refractory metals to a state of igneous fusion.

Again, every one is familiar with the existence of hot springs, which come up from unknown depths in the Earth's Crust, and which, appearing as they do in almost all parts of the world, testify in unmistakable language to the existence of internal heat. At Bath, for instance, in England, the water comes up from the bowels of the Earth at a temperature of 117° Fahrenheit; and in the United States, on the Arkansas River, there is a spring at 180°—not much below the boiling point. This remarkable phenomenon, however, may be more closely investigated in the case of *Artesian Wells*, so called from the province of Artois, in France, where they first came into use. These wells are formed artificially, by boring down through the superficial strata of the Earth, sometimes to enormous depths, until water is reached. It has been found in every case that the water coming up from these great depths is always hot; and, furthermore, that the deeper the boring the hotter the water. A well of this kind was sunk in 1834 at Grenelle, in the suburbs of Paris, to a depth of more than 1800 English feet, and the water, which rushed up with surprising force, had a temperature of 82° Fahrenheit; whereas the mean temperature of the air in the cellars of the Paris Observatory is only 53°.³ The water has ever since continued to flow, and the temperature has never varied. At Salz-

¹ *Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects*: London, 1867.

² It would be perhaps more strictly correct to say that the exact *rate of increase* varies in different places, though the main fact, that the deeper we go the higher the temperature becomes, is everywhere the same. See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, p. 514: seventh edition; Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, pp. 224, 225.

³ Jukes, *Manual of Geology*, p. 225.

werth, in Germany, where the boring is still deeper, being 2,144 feet, the water which rises to the surface is 91° of our scale.

Then we have, in many countries, jets of steam which issue at a high temperature from crevices in the Earth, and which tell us of the existence of heated water below, as plainly as the steam that escapes from the funnel of a locomotive or from the spout of a tea-kettle. Such phenomena are very common in Italy, where they are sometimes exhibited at intervals along a line of country twenty miles in length. But in Iceland it is that they are displayed in the highest degree of their splendour and power. On the south-west side of that island, within a circuit of two miles, there are nearly a hundred hot springs, called *Geyzers*, from some of which, at intervals, immense volumes of steam and boiling water are violently projected into the air. The *Great Geyser* is a natural tube, ten feet wide, descending into the Earth to a depth of seventy feet, and opening out above into a broad basin, from fifty to sixty feet in diameter. This basin, as well as the tube which connects it with the interior of the Earth, is lined with a beautifully smooth and hard plaster of siliceous cement, and is generally filled to the brim with water of a clear azure colour, and having a temperature little below boiling point. The ordinary condition of the spring is one of comparative repose, the water rising slowly in the tube and trickling over the edge of the stony basin. But every few hours an eruption takes place. Subterranean explosions are first heard, like the firing of distant cannon; then a violent ebullition follows, clouds of steam are given out, and jets of boiling water are cast up into the air. After a little the disturbance ceases, and all is quiet again. Once a day, or thereabouts, these phenomena are exhibited on a scale of unusual grandeur: the explosions which announce beforehand the approaching display are more numerous and more violent; then such volumes of steam rush forth as to obscure the atmosphere for half a mile around; and, finally, a vast column of water is projected to a height of from one to two hundred feet, and continues for a quarter of an hour to play like an artificial fountain.

Such are the evident symptoms of internal heat,—hot springs, and jets of steam, and fountains of boiling water,—which issue forth unceasingly from the surface of the Earth in every quarter of the Globe. But it is sometimes given to us to behold, as it were, the subterranean fire itself, and to contemplate its power under a more striking and awful form. From time to time, in the fury of its rage, the fiery element bursts asunder the prison house in which it is confined, and rushes forth into the light of day; then flames are seen to issue from the surface of the Earth,

and yawning chasms begin to appear on every side, and the roaring of the furnaces is heard in the depths below, and clouds of red-hot cinders are ejected high into the air, and streams of incandescent liquid rock are poured forth from every crevice, and, rolling far away through smiling fields and peaceful villages, carry destruction and desolation in their track. These are the ordinary phenomena of an active Volcano during the period of eruption; and, even while we write, most of them may be witnessed actually taking place, for the hundredth time, on the historic ground of Mount Vesuvius. Our typical example, however, we shall take from the eruption of that mountain in the year 1779. It was not indeed especially remarkable for its violence or for the catastrophes by which it was attended; but it had the good fortune to be accurately recorded by an eyewitness, Sir William Hamilton, who at that time represented the English Government at the Court of Naples; and we are thus more minutely acquainted with all its various circumstances than with those of any other eruption of equal importance.

For two years before, the mountain had been in a state of excitement and disturbance. From time to time rumbling noises were heard underground, dense masses of smoke were emitted from the crater, liquid lava at a white heat bubbled up from crevices on the slopes of the volcano, and through these crevices a glimpse could be had here and there of the rocky caverns within all "red-hot like a heated oven". But in the month of August, 1779, the eruption reached its climax. About nine o'clock in the evening, on Sunday, the 8th of August, according to the graphic description of Sir William Hamilton, "there was a loud report, which shook the houses at Portici and its neighbourhood to such a degree, as to alarm the inhabitants and drive them out into the streets. Many windows were broken, and, as I have since seen, walls cracked, from the concussion of the air from that explosion. . . . In one instant, a fountain of liquid transparent fire began to rise, and, gradually increasing, arrived at so amazing a height, as to strike every one who beheld it with the most awful astonishment. I shall scarcely be credited when I assure you that, to the best of my judgment, the height of this stupendous column of fire could not be less than three times that of Vesuvius itself, which, you know, rises perpendicularly near 3,700 feet above the level of the sea. Puffs of smoke, as black as can possibly be imagined, succeeded one another hastily, and accompanied the red-hot, transparent, and liquid lava, interrupting its splendid brightness here and there by patches of the darkest hue. Within these puffs of smoke, at the very moment of their emission from the crater, I could perceive a bright but pale electrical light playing about in zigzag

lines. The liquid lava, mixed with scoriae and stones, after having mounted, I very believe, at least 10,000 feet, falling perpendicularly on Vesuvius, covered its whole cone, part of that of Somma, and the valley between them. The falling matter being nearly as vivid and inflamed as that which was continually issuing fresh from the crater, formed with it a complete body of fire, which could not be less than two miles and a half in breadth, and of the extraordinary height above mentioned, casting a heat to the distance of at least six miles around it. The brushwood of the mountain of Somma was soon in a flame, which, being of a different tint from the deep red of the matter thrown out from the volcano, and from the silvery blue of the electrical fire, still added to the contrast of this most extraordinary scene. After the column of fire had continued in full force for nearly half an hour, the eruption ceased at once, and Vesuvius remained sullen and silent".¹

The existence, then, of intense heat within the Crust of the Earth may be regarded as an established fact wherever an active Volcano appears at the surface. Now let us consider for a moment the very extensive scale on which these fiery engines of Nature are distributed over the face of the Globe. First on the great continent of America. The whole chain of the Andes—that stupendous ridge of mountains which stretches along the western coast of South America, from Tierra del Fuego on the south to the isthmus of Panama on the north,—is studded over with Volcanos, most of which have been seen in active eruption within the last 300 years. Passing the narrow isthmus of Panama, this line of Volcanos may still be traced through Guatemala to Mexico, and thence northwards even as far the mouth of the Columbia River. Here is a vast volcanic region fully 6,000 miles in length, and sending out its fiery veins we know not how far to the right and to the left. At Quito, just on the Equator, a branch shoots off towards the north-east, and, passing through New Granada and Venezuela, stretches away across the West India islands, taking in St Vincent, Dominica, Guadalupe, and many others: while, in the opposite direction, it is certain that the volcanic action extends westward, far away beneath the waters of the Pacific, though we have no definite means of ascertaining where its influence ceases to be felt. Another vast train of active Volcanos is that which skirts the eastern and southern coasts of Asia. Commencing on the shores of Russian America, it passes through the Aleutian islands to Kamtschatka, then, in a sort of undulating curve, it winds its course by the Kurile islands, the Japanese group, the Philippines, and the north-eastern extremity of the Celebes, to the Moluccas. At this point it

¹ See Sir John Herschel, *Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects*, pp. 26, 27.

divides into two branches; one going to the south-east by New Guinea, the Solomon islands, the Friendly islands, to New Zealand; the other to the north-west, through Java and Sumatra into the Bay of Bengal.

There is a third great line of volcanic fires which has been pretty well traced out by modern travellers, extending through China and Tartary to the Caucasus, and thence over the countries bordering the Black Sea to the Grecian Archipelago; then on to Naples, Sicily, the Lipari islands, the southern part of Spain and Portugal, and the Azores. Then there are numerous groups of Volcanos not apparently linked on to any regular Volcanic chain, nor reduced as yet by scientific men to any general system;—Mount Hecla, for instance, in Iceland, the Mountains of the Moon in central Africa, Owhyhee in the Sandwich islands, and many others rising up irregularly from the broad waters of the Pacific.

From this brief outline some idea may be formed of the magnificent scale on which volcanic agency is developed within the Crust of the Earth. It must be remembered, however, that any estimate based upon the enumeration we have given, would be, in all probability, far below the truth; for we have mentioned those volcanoes only which have attracted the notice of scientific men, or which have chanced to fall under the observation of travellers. Many others, doubtless, must exist in regions not yet explored, and in the profound depths of the seas and oceans, which cover nearly two-thirds of the area of our planet. Moreover, we have said nothing at all of *extinct* volcanoes—like those of Auvergne in France, and of the Rocky Mountains in America—which have not been in active operation within historical times, but in which, nevertheless, the hardened streams of lava, and the volcanic ashes, and the cone-shaped mountains terminating in hollow craters, tell the story of eruptions in bygone ages, not less clearly than the smouldering ruins, and the blackened walls, and the charred timbers of some stately buildings, testify to the passing wayfarer of the conflagration he has never seen.

The doctrine, then, of intense subterranean heat is not a wild conjecture, but is based on a solid groundwork of facts. First, there is presumptive evidence. In every deep mine, in every deep sinking of whatever kind, the heat of the earth increases rapidly as we descend; hot water comes from great depths, and never cold. Sometimes it is boiling; sometimes it has been converted into steam. All this is found to be the case universally, whenever an opportunity has occurred for making the trial; and it seems to afford a strong presumption that if one could go still deeper, the heat would be found yet more intense, and would at length be capable of reducing to a liquid state the solid material

of which the earth is composed. Next, there is direct evidence. A channel is opened from the depths below, and the flames are seen, and the red-hot cinders are cast up, and the molten rock is poured out over the surface of the Earth like a liquid stream of fire. This evidence, however, though direct and conclusive as far as it goes, is not universal. It proves that an intense white heat prevails within the Crust of the Earth, not everywhere, but at least in those numerous and extensive regions where active Volcanos exist. So stands the case, as it seems to us, for the doctrine of internal heat as far as regards *the fact of its existence*.

We have now to consider whether this great agent is capable of those effects which are ascribed to it in Geology;—of producing land where none before existed, of upheaving the solid Crust of the Earth, of driving the ocean from its bed, of dislocating and contorting solid masses of rock. The argument is again an appeal to facts. Such effects as these have been produced by the agency of internal heat, under actual observation, in the present age of the world; and it is not unreasonable to attribute to the same cause similar phenomena in ages gone by. For our own part we shall be content to state the facts; leaving it to our readers to estimate for themselves the value of the argument. There are three forms, more or less distinct, though closely associated, under which the subterranean fires have exerted their power in modern times, to disturb and modify the Physical Geography of the Globe;—(1) the Volcano, (2) the Earthquake, (3) the gentle Undulation of the Earth's Crust. Of these we shall speak in order.

In the case of Volcanos, as we have already sufficiently conveyed, the hidden furnaces of the Earth find a vent for their surplus energies; and when this vent is once established, that is to say, when the active Volcano has begun to exist, it seems probable that there is little further upheaval, properly so called, of the surface. Nevertheless, Volcanos contribute largely to the formation of land by the vast accumulation of ashes, mud, and lava which they vomit forth. The destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii is a case in point. For eight days successively, in the year 79, the ashes and pumice stone cast up from the crater of Vesuvius, fell down in one unceasing shower upon these devoted cities; while at the same time floods of water carried along the fine dust and light cinders, and sweeping down the sides of the mountain in torrents of mud, entered the houses and penetrated to the underground vaults, nay even filled the wine jars in the cellars. At the present moment the layers of

volcanic matter beneath which Pompeii has been slumbering for centuries, are from twelve to fourteen feet over the tops of the houses. Lostier still is the pile that overlies the buried Herculaneum. This city, situated nearer to the base of the Volcano, has been exposed to the effects of many successive eruptions: and accordingly, spread out over the mass of ashes and pumice by which it was first overwhelmed, in the time of Pliny, we now find alternate layers of lava, and volcanic mud, and new accumulations of ashes, to a height in many places of 112 feet, and nowhere less than 70. Nor was this ejected matter confined to these two populous town. It was scattered far and wide over the country around, and has contributed in no small degree to that extraordinary richness and fertility for which the soil of Naples is so justly famed. As regards the production of land where none before existed, here is one fact of singular significance. At the time of the eruption, in 79, Pompeii was a seaport town to which merchantmen were wont to resort, and a flight of steps, which still remains, led down to the water's edge; but it is now more than a mile distant from the coast, and the tract of land which intervenes is composed entirely of volcanic tuff and ashes.

Gladly would we linger over the reminiscences of these luxurious and ill-fated cities. Pompeii is now laid open to view by the removal of the ashes, over at least one-third of its extent; and a strange sight it is, this ancient Roman city thus risen as it were from the grave,—risen but yet lifeless,—with its silent streets, and its tenantless houses, and its empty Forum. Wherever we turn we have before us a curious and an interesting picture, ghastly though it is, of the social and political and domestic life of those ancient times, of the glory and the shame that hung around the last days of Pagan Rome;—in the theatres and the temples, in the shops and the private houses, in the graceful frescos, in the elaborate mosaics. and, not least, in the idle scribblings on the walls, which, with a sort of whimsical reverence, have been spared by the destroying hand of Time. Then again what a host of singular relics are there to be wondered at;—articles of domestic use and luxury, kitchen utensils and surgical instruments, female skeletons with the ornaments and vanities of the world, rings and bracelets and necklaces, still clinging to their charred remains, and, strangest perhaps of all, eighty-four loaves of bread, which were put into the oven to bake 1800 years ago, and were taken out only yesterday, with the stamp of the baker's elbow still freshly preserved in the centre of each. No subject could be more tempting to a writer, none more attractive to a reader. But our present purpose is to show the effects of Volcanos in elevating the level of the land;

and so we must turn our back on the buried cities, and crossing the Bay of Naples, seek for a new illustration in the formation of Monte Nuovo, a lofty hill overlooking the ancient town of Pozzuoli.

About one o'clock at night, on Sunday the 29th of September, 1538, flames of fire were seen to issue from the ground close to the waters of the beautiful bay of Baiae. After a little, a sound like thunder was heard, and the earth was rent asunder, and through the rent large stones, and red-hot cinders, and volcanic tuff and mud, and volumes of water, were furiously vomited forth, and covered the whole country around, reaching even as far as Naples and disfiguring its palaces and public buildings. The next morning it was found that a new mountain had been formed by the accumulation of ejected matter around the central opening. This mountain remains to the present day and is called the Monte Nuovo. In form it is a regular volcanic cone 440 feet high, and a mile and a-half in circumference at its base, with an open crater in the centre, which descends nearly to the level of the sea. An eye-witness who has left us a minute account of this eruption, relates that on the third day he went up with many people to the top of the new hill, and looking down into the crater, saw the stones that had fallen to the bottom "boiling up just as a caldron of water boils on the fire". The same writer informs us—and it is very much to our present purpose to note the fact—that immediately before the eruption began, the relative position of land and sea was materially changed, the coast was sensibly upraised, the waters retired about 200 paces, and multitudes of fish were raised high and dry upon the sand, a prey to the inhabitants of Pozzuoli.¹

The Monte Nuovo is but a type of its class. If we travel westward 8000 miles from Naples to the more stupendous Volcanos of the New World, we may witness the same phenomena on a still grander scale. In the province of Mexico there is an elevated and extensive plain called *Malpais*, where for many generations the cotton plant, the indigo, and the sugar-cane, flourished luxuriantly in a soil richly endowed by Nature, and carefully cultivated by its inhabitants. Everything was going on as usual in this smiling and prosperous region, and no one dreamed of danger, when suddenly in the month of June, 1759, subterranean sounds were heard attended with slight convulsions of the earth. These symptoms of internal commotion con-

¹ See the elaborate work of Sir William Hamilton, entitled *Campi Phlegraei*, in which he gives a full account of the formation of Monte Nuovo, accompanied with coloured plates. He has preserved two interesting narratives of the eruption written at the time by eye witnesses; also Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, pp. 608–616, 10th edition.

tinued until the month of September, when they gradually died away, and tranquillity seemed to be restored. But it was only the delusive lull that precedes the fury of the storm. On the night of the 28th of September the rumbling sounds were heard again more violent than before. The inhabitants fled in consternation to a neighbouring mountain, from the summit of which they looked out with wonder and dismay upon the utter annihilation of their homesteads and their farms. Flames broke out over an area half a square league in extent, the earth was burst open in many places, fragments of burning rock were thrown to prodigious heights in the air, torrents of boiling mud flowed over the plain, and thousands of little conical hills, called by the natives *hornitos* or *ovens*, rose up from the surface of the land; finally, a vast chasm was opened, and such quantities of ashes and fragmentary lava were ejected as to raise up six great mountain masses, which continued to increase during the five months that the eruption lasted. The least of these is 300 feet high, and the central one, now called Jorullo, which is still burning, is 1600 feet above the level of the plain. When Baron Humboldt visited this region just forty years after the eruption had ceased, the ground was still intensely hot, and "the hornitos were pouring forth columns of steam twenty or thirty feet high, with a rumbling noise like that of a steam boiler".¹ Since that time, however, the face of the country has once again become smiling and prosperous; the slopes of the newly formed hills are now clothed with vegetation, and the sugar-cane and the indigo again flourish luxuriantly in the fertile plains below.

On the opposite side of the Globe, 10,000 miles from Mexico, we have had, almost in our own time, an exhibition of volcanic phenomena not less wonderful than those we have been describing. The island of Sumbawa lies about 200 miles to the east of Java in the Indian Archipelago; and it belongs to that remarkable chain of Volcanos which we have already described as stretching, with little interruption, along the coast of Asia from Russian America to the Bay of Bengal. In the year 1815 this island was the scene of a most calamitous eruption, the effects of which were felt over the whole of the Moluccas, over Java, and a considerable portion of the Celebes, Sumatra, and Borneo. Indeed so extraordinary are the incidents of this eruption, that we might well hesitate to believe them, if they had not been collected on the spot with more than ordinary diligence, and recorded with an almost scrupulous care. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was at the time governor of Java, then a

¹ Sir John Herschel, *Familiar Lectures*, etc., p. 34; see also Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, chap. xxvii.; Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, pp. 872-4.

British possession, "required all the residents in the various districts under his authority to send in a statement of the circumstances which occurred within their own knowledge"; and from the accounts he received in this way, combined with other evidence, chiefly obtained from eye-witnesses, he drew up the narrative to which we are mainly indebted for the following facts.

The explosions which accompanied this eruption were heard in Sumatra at a distance of 970 geographical miles; and in the opposite direction at Ternate, a distance of 720 miles. In the neighbourhood of the Volcano itself, immense tracts of land were covered with burning lava, towns and villages were overwhelmed, all kinds of vegetation completely destroyed, and of 12,000 inhabitants in the province of Tomboro, only 26 survived. The ashes, which were ejected in great quantities, were carried like a vast cloud through the air, by the south-east monsoon, for 300 miles in the direction of Java; and, still farther to the west, we are told they formed a floating mass in the ocean, "two feet thick and several miles in extent, through which ships with difficulty forced their way". It is recorded, too, that they fell so thick on the island of Tombock, 100 miles away, as to cover all the land two feet deep, destroying every particle of vegetation, insomuch that 44,000 people perished of the famine that ensued. "I have seen it computed", writes Sir John Herschel, "that the quantity of ashes and lava vomited forth in this awful eruption would have formed three mountains the size of Mont Blanc, the highest of the Alps; and if spread over the surface of Germany, would have covered the whole of it two feet deep". Finally, it appears that this eruption was accompanied, like that of Monte Nuovo, by a permanent change in the level of the adjoining coast; in this case, however, it was a movement, not of upheaval, but of subsidence: the town of Tomboro sunk beneath the ocean, which is now eighteen feet deep where there was dry land before.

Once more we will ask our readers to take a rapid flight over the map of the world, passing this time from the Indian Archipelago to the island of Iceland,—that "wonderful land of frost and fire". Besides the famous Volcano of Hecla, there are five others scarcely less formidable, all of which have been in active eruption within modern times. Of these the most celebrated is that of *Skaptar Jokul*. In the year 1783 this volcano poured forth two streams of lava, which, when hardened, formed together one continuous layer of igneous rock, 90 miles in length, 100 feet in height, and from 7 to 15 miles in breadth. The phenomena which accompanied the eruption are thus vividly de-

scribed by Sir John Herschel:—"On the 10th of May innumerable fountains of fire were seen shooting up through the ice and snow which covered the mountain; and the principal river, called the Skapta, after rolling down a flood of foul and poisonous water, disappeared. Two days after, a torrent of lava poured down into the bed which the river had deserted. The river had run in a ravine, 600 feet deep and 200 broad. This the lava entirely filled; and not only so, but it overflowed the surrounding country, and ran into a great lake, from which it instantly expelled the water in an explosion of steam. When the lake was fairly filled, the lava again overflowed and divided into two streams, one of which covered some ancient lava fields; the other re-entered the bed of the Skapta lower down, and presented the astounding sight of a cataract of liquid fire pouring over what was formerly the waterfall of Stapafoess. This was the greatest eruption on record in Europe. It lasted in its violence till the end of August, and closed with a violent earthquake; but for nearly the whole year a canopy of cinder-laden cloud hung over the island; the Faroe islands, nay even Shetland and the Orkneys, were deluged with ashes; and volcanic dust and a preternatural smoke which obscured the sun, covered all Europe as far as the Alps, over which it could not rise..... The destruction of life in Iceland was frightful: 9,000 men, 11,000 cattle, 28,000 horses, and 190,000 sheep perished; mostly by suffocation. The lava ejected has been computed to amount in volume to more than 20 cubic miles".¹

With these very significant facts before us, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the great mountain mass of Etna, 11,000 feet high and 90 miles in circumference, is formed entirely of volcanic matter ejected during successive eruptions. For the whole mountain is nothing else than a series of concentric conical layers of ashes and lava, such as have been poured out more than once upon its existing surface in modern times. Just, then, as Monte Nuovo was produced by an outburst of volcanic power in a single night, and the far larger mountain of Jorullo in the course of a few months, so may we believe that the more stupendous Etna is the work of the same power operating through a period of many centuries. And applying this conclusion to many other mountains throughout the world of exactly the same structure, we come to form no very mean estimate of the permanent changes wrought on the physical geography of our Globe by the operations of volcanic agency.

We must remember, too, that volcanic eruptions are not confined to the land; they often break out in the bed of the sea. In such cases the waters are observed in a state of violent commo-

¹ *Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects*, pp. 81, 82.

tion, jets of steam and sulphurous vapour are emitted, light scoriaceous matter appears floating on the surface, and not unfrequently the volcanic cone itself slowly rises from the depths below, and continues to grow from day to day, until at length it becomes an island of no inconsiderable magnitude. Sometimes when the violence of the eruption has subsided, the new island, consisting chiefly of ashes and pumice-stone, is gradually washed away by the action of the waves; but in other cases, these lighter substances are compacted together by the injection of liquid lava, and being thus able to withstand the erosive power of the ocean, assume the importance of permanent volcanic islands. Many examples of the former kind are recorded within the last hundred years. In 1783 an island was thrown up in the North Atlantic ocean, about 30 miles to the south-west of Iceland. It was claimed by the King of Denmark, and called by him Nyöe or New Island: but before a year had elapsed, this portion of his Majesty's dominions disappeared again beneath the waves, and the sea resumed its ancient domain. In 1811 the island of Sabrina was thrown up among the Azores,—a volcanic cone, 300 feet high, with a crater in the centre,—and was quickly washed away again.

A more interesting example, because more minutely recorded, is the island which made its appearance in the Mediterranean, off the south-west coast of Sicily, in the year 1831. During its brief existence of three months, it received from contemporary writers seven different names; but the name of Graham Island seems to be the one by which it is most likely to be known to posterity. "About the 10th of July", writes Sir Charles Lyell, "John Corrao, the captain of a Sicilian vessel, reported that, as he passed near the place, he saw a column of water like a waterspout, sixty feet high, and eight hundred yards in circumference, rising from the sea, and soon afterwards a dense steam in its place, which ascended to the height of 1,800 feet. The same Corrao, on his return from Girgenti, on the 18th of July, found a small island, twelve feet high, with a crater in the centre, ejecting volcanic matter and immense columns of vapour; the sea around being covered with floating cinders and dead fish. The scoriae were of a chocolate colour, and the water, which boiled in the circular basin, was of a dingy red. The eruption continued with great violence to the end of the same month; at which time the island was visited by several persons, and amongst others by Captain Swinburne, R. N., and Mr. Hoffman the Prussian Geologist".¹ By the 4th of August the new island is said to have attained the height of 200 feet, and to have been three miles in circumference. Yet this was nothing more than the top of the volcanic

¹ *Principles of Geology*, chap. xxvii.

cone : for a few years before, Captain W. H. Smyth, in his survey, had found a depth of 600 feet at this very spot;¹ and therefore the total height from the base of the mountain must have been 800 feet. From the beginning of August it began to melt away ; and, at the commencement of the following year, nothing remained of Graham Island but a dangerous shoal.

But even of the islands that occupy a prominent place on the map of the world, there is not wanting evidence to show that a large number derive their origin from the action of volcanic power. Among these may be mentioned many of the Molucca and Philippine groups, also several of the Grecian Archipelago, and not a few of the Azores and the Canaries,—in particular, the lofty peak of Teneriffe, rising 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. In some cases, indeed, the actual process of their birth, and of their subsequent growth and development, has been minutely observed. A remarkable example occurs among the Aleutian Islands already referred to. In the year 1796 a column of smoke was seen to issue from the sea ; then a small black point appeared at the surface of the water ; then flames broke out, and other volcanic phenomena were also exhibited ; then the small black point grew into an island, and the island increased in size until it was at last several thousand feet high, and two or three miles in circumference. And such it still remains to the present day.

The neighbourhood of Santorin in the Grecian Archipelago has been noted from very remote times as the theatre of submarine eruptions. This island, which is itself to all appearance the crater of a vast Volcano, has the form of a crescent, and, with the aid of two smaller islands which stretch across between the horns of the crescent, encloses an almost circular bay. We learn from Pliny and other ancient authorities that, in the year 186 before Christ, within this bay an island rose up which was called *Hiera* or the *Sacred Isle*. This island was twice enlarged during the Christian era—once in 726, and again in 1427, and it still exists under the name of *Palaia Kameni*, that is to say, the *Old Burnt Island*. In 1573 a second island made its appearance, and received the name of the *Little Burnt Island*, *Mikra Kameni*. Again, in 1707 and 1709, a third island was thrown up, and was distinguished from the other two as *Nea Kameni*, the *New Burnt Island*. Lastly, in 1866 the hidden volcanic power became again active, and a fourth island arose from the sea, which in five days attained to a height of 150 feet. “The eruption began on January 31. A noise like volleys of artillery was heard, but without any earthquake. On the following day flames issued from the sea, in a part of the bay called *Vulkanes*, where the water is always discoloured and im-

¹ Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, chap. xxvii.

pregnant with sulphur from abundant springs at the bottom. On the fourth of February the eruptions became more violent, and the sea more disturbed. Gas forced itself up from the depths with terrific noise, resembling the bursting of a steam boiler; flames arose at intervals, and white smoke, rising steadily, formed an immense column, crowned with a curled capital of dark heavy clouds. The new island was visible next morning, increasing sensibly to the eye as it rose out of the sea at no great distance to the south of Nea Kameni. The heat of the sea rose from 62° Fahrenheit to 122°, as near the vicinity of volcanic action as it was safe to approach. The bottom of the sea all round Nca Kameni appears to have risen greatly. In one place, where the depth is marked on the Admiralty chart 100 fathoms, it was found to be now only 30; and at another, where it was 17, it is now only 3 fathoms".¹

(*To be continued.*)

WHY CATHOLICS CANNOT FAVOUR THE FREE-MASONS.¹

It would seem as if the days of danger to faith foretold by the Apostle to his disciple Timothy had at length risen upon us. It might be believed that we had reached one of those epochs of disaster to religion when sound doctrine becomes unbearable, and men's hearts and minds are closed against the truth. Are we therefore to despair of the preservation of the faith among us, and to fear lest the work of redemption should come to naught in our land? God forbid that we should entertain forebodings so gloomy, or that we should forget even for an instant all we owe to the fatherly mercy of God. Instead of allowing ourselves to indulge in a culpable discouragement, let us rather give hearty thanks to God that He has entrusted the government of His Church to a pastor whose watchful care in matters of doctrine has never been deceived, to a pilot who steers the Apostolic barque with a courage that no tempest however violent can shake, and with a calmness of soul that no danger can ever ruffle.

No matter how unforeseen the assaults against religion, no matter with what consummate art they may be directed, Pius the Ninth is never taken by surprise; his hands are never powerless to wield the spiritual arms given to him wherewith to

¹ *The Year Book of Facts*, 1867. pp. 260, 261.

¹ Pastoral Letter of his Eminence Cardinal De Ronald, Archbishop of Lyons.

defend the faith. With energetic promptitude he smites the teachings of impiety and of disorder, and against the sectaries who would spread them he repeats the anathemas issued by his predecessors. Of this just rigour his later encyclicals bear the impress. When these documents first appeared, the enemies of religion, well aware of their significance, pretended to read in them the condemnation of all the useful institutions which the age requires, and an attack upon all scientific and industrial progress, thus attempting to persuade us that the Roman Pontiff aimed at carrying us back to the gloomiest period of the middle ages. The object of these dishonest tactics was to bring odium upon the Pontifical authority. On the other hand, pusillanimous Christians, not bold enough openly to blame the acts of an authority so venerable, deplored them as inopportune. It was thus that the governor of Caesarea, when St. Paul was discoursing before him of justice, chastity, and the judgment to come, could not bear to listen to that stern teaching, and put off the apostle to a more opportune time. The Areopagus had already declared inopportune the truths which the teacher of the nations had uttered in the Athenian senate. The truth ever appears inopportune to those whose interests or whose passions it thwarts. Why should we leave such persons to slumber in their errors through a silence which is inexcusable, and which the welfare alike of Church and state calls upon us to break without human respect? This is the thought which has influenced the Vicar of Jesus Christ, when by a late act of authority he renewed the condemnation inflicted by his predecessors on secret societies. In presence of the Sacred College, assembled on the 23rd September, 1865, the Sovereign Pontiff solemnly renewed the sentence already pronounced by his predecessors against all secret societies, and in particular against the Freemasons, by Clement the Twelfth, Benedict the Fourteenth, Pius the Eighth, and Leo the Twelfth. He retains the penalty of excommunication pronounced by these Pontiffs against all who are affiliated to those sects, or who favour them in any manner whatsoever. The power of absolving from this excommunication is reserved to the Vicar of Jesus Christ unless the Holy See should grant such power to a priest at his special request.

Do you fully comprehend, beloved brethren, the weight of this punishment? The Freemason who will not break the ties that bind him to that society, is excluded from the communion of the Church, and has no longer any part in her prayers. If the excommunication has been formally intimated, his body after death cannot be admitted to ecclesiastical burial.

To stay your fears and to remove your scruples, you will

be told, beloved brethren, that the apostolic constitutions against Freemasonry have no force in countries where that society receives toleration from the civil authority. In reply to this, listen to the language of the Head of the Church: "Those who think that the apostolic constitutions which condemn under penalty of anathema, secret societies with their adepts and favourers, have no force in countries where these sects are tolerated by the civil authority, are of a surety greatly mistaken. As you, venerable brethren, are well aware, we have already censured this false and dangerous doctrine, and we now censure it and reject it again".

After this declaration, and to explain more fully its importance, the Pope adds: "Under these circumstances, venerable brethren, lest unwary persons, especially the young, should be led astray, and lest our silence shoull in any way help the spread of error, we have resolved to lift up our voice, and hereby confirming in your presence the constitutions of our predecessors of our apostolic authority, we reject and condemn the Masonic Society, and other such societies, which, although apparently differing, yet aim at achieving the same object, and conspire, either indirectly or openly, against the Church and lawful authority; and under the penalties before specified in the constitutions of our predecessors, we command all Christians of every condition, rank, and dignity, and of whatsoever country, to hold these societies as proscribed and condemned by us".

Is it necessary for us to say a word in defence of this Pontifical utterance which has been made a mark for so much unfair criticism? Can we not trace the hand of Freemasonry in all the events which disturb social order and undermine the holiest and most salutary institutions? Has even God Himself been spared from their sacrilegious attacks? On this point you may learn much from what occurred when its leaders were assembled to revise the Masonic rules. When the session opened, the question was put, should the existence of God be admitted or denied? To make an explicit act of faith in the existence of a Supreme Being seemed to one section of the members an exorbitant demand, and incompatible with the liberty that every man has to believe what he likes or to believe nothing at all. However, by a compromise worthy of the assembly, it was resolved to speak only of the *Great Architect of the Universe*. This phrase might be understood to mean God, or chance, or nature, and thus the Masonic Society was tied to no doctrine. Now, we ask you, beloved brethren, was it not to be expected that a society which hesitates to admit the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, should excite the vigilance and provoke

the severity of the Roman Pontiff, who is the supreme defender of faith upon the earth? And can a Christian, without abjuring the sacred character received at the baptismal font, become a member of a society which makes no account of God, and which, to use its own language, *lives in a higher sphere?*

Should you be inclined, beloved brethren, to consider as excessively rigorous the Pope's sentence against the Freemasons, listen to the report drawn up concerning the organization of that society: "Freemasonry", says the author of this report,¹ "has no articles of belief. A statement of principles affirming the existence of God, and at the same time authorizing unbelief in Him, implies no contradiction. Freemasonry does not imprison itself within these dogmas, nor narrow itself to the limits of a sect".

Do you not think that this impious language has called for the anathema hurled against the Masonic body? Read, in addition, the audacious words of the editor of the paper which is the organ of the Freemasons: "We deny and we reject without any hesitation the Christian definition of God, which, if it be once accepted, leads straight to the assertion of the supernatural, to belief in miracles, and to many other things besides. We look upon Atheism as a hundred times preferable to this definition".²

To this anti-Christian manifesto we add that of a committee of free-thinkers chosen from among the Freemasons. These men "protest against any dogmatic and revealed religion, as being the denial of conscience and of reason". After this you will not be astonished to learn that they "bind themselves to die without joining in any religious rites", that is to say, to die as the brutes die that have no reason,

You see clearly, therefore, beloved brethren, that it is not possible to unite principles like these with the faith which you have received in baptism, with the promises made at the sacred font, and consequently that it is not possible to be together a Catholic Christian and a Freemason. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that the Head of the Christian and Catholic Church should have anathematized from the Chair of the Apostles a society professing to reject that Gospel which has renewed the face of the earth, which has given to woman her dignity, broken the chains of slaves, which has taught the mighty ones of earth to use with moderation their power, and has inspired subjects with obedience and respect for authority. To reject revealed religion is to neglect Christianity with all its blessings, with all its divine teachings, with all its consolations; it is to throw

¹ B. Fauvety, *Rapport de Projet de Constitution.*

² *La Morale Indépendante*, 21 Jan., 1866.

humanity back into that state of degradation whence the Redeemer has rescued it. You have too correct an appreciation of your own dignity as Christians, God has given to you too clear a knowledge of the value of your own souls, ever to stoop your heads under the abject doctrines professed by Freemasonry.

One of the fundamental principles of Freemasonry is complete indifference in matters of religion. It throws open the doors of its temple to all forms of worship, to all beliefs, to all the superstitions of India, and to all the shameful practices of paganism. According to it, the truth exists equally in darkness as in the light. And yet Jesus Christ has said that we cannot serve two masters, nor worship both at Jerusalem and at Samaria. And men would wish that the successor of St. Peter, who has learned from St. Paul that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, should look with indifference upon a society which, in contempt of the Catholic faith, admits doctrines the most opposite one to the other, and adopts symbols which are the unhappy product of disordered imaginations, of corrupt hearts, and of unbridled wills! You, however, beloved brethren, will never believe this; for you are well aware that it is the duty of the Chief Pastor of the Church to warn his flock against the poisonous pasturage to which men would lead them, and consequently to condemn the teaching which Freemasonry would wish to impart.

Hear also how Pius the Ninth, in his encyclical of 9th March, 1846, stigmatises the system of indifference in religious matters:—"This is a horrible and hideous system: it is repugnant even to the light of natural reason; it tends to remove all difference between vice and virtue, between honour and baseness; and when it asserts that all religions are good, it is in contradiction with the nature of things—wishing to ally justice with injustice, Jesus Christ with Belial, light with darkness".

And if, beloved brethren, you would understand still better how wisely the Holy See has acted in thus condemning Freemasonry, do not forget that in the constitution of the society immoral practices are joined to impious doctrines. What else mean those oaths required from new members never to reveal, under terrible penalties, secrets which are never entrusted to them? What mean the mysterious discourses of which they speak? If the subject of their discourses be truth, why shun the light, whereas the truth ought to be preached from the house-top? We wish, they say, *to sow upon our path the seeds of civilization and of progress*. But this has been already done by the Gospel; and to sow the divine seeds of a civilization of which we have gathered the fruits, the Saviour of the world did not shroud Himself in darkness, nor dictate His law in secret assemblies.

He preached His heavenly doctrine in the towns, in the synagogues, and on the mountains; through His apostles He announced it to the ends of the earth, because truth, that sun of man's intelligence, ought to shine upon every man who cometh into the world.

We ask, is it lawful for a man to bind himself by an oath to observe commandments, of the nature of which he knows nothing, and to place his free will in the hands of an association which, making naught of God, may form projects utterly subversive of religion and of the state? Conscience, as well as good sense, condemns engagements such as these

To reassure you upon the lawfulness and the consequences of the oath required to reach certain grades in Freemasonry, you will, perhaps, be told by men like the editor of the *Morale Indépendante*, that "*Freemasonry is an association of moralists, who aim at the physical, the intellectual, and, finally, the moral progress of the human race, to secure thereby the perfection of the individual*". But can the soul attain to perfection—can the heart be purified in the school of moralists who place physical before intellectual and moral progress—who hold the flesh to be nobler than the spirit, and sensual material enjoyments than the delights of a pure conscience? These are the principles, and these the lessons which we find in the writings of Masonic moralists. But never do we find therein lessons of justice or lessons of chastity; such teachings form no part of the moral doctrine of that association.

To enhance the merit of Freemasonry, and to attract to it a larger number of members by removing their scruples, it is continually said that this society counts within its circle a great number of honourable men, distinguished in the world by their benevolence and losty principles. We are far from denying that there are in the Masonic body many men remarkable for their liberality to the poor and for the regularity of their own lives; but these men—these brothers, as they are styled—absorbed in their business, in the unflagging pursuit of wealth, by the duties of their employments, have never taken trouble to study their religion, nor the divine institution of the Church, nor her hierarchical ministry, nor that power of making laws which is inherent in the body of her pastors, united with their supreme head. They know well enough that there is at Rome one who is the head of the Catholic Church; but they are ignorant that the faithful are bound to obey his prescriptions, to condemn what he condemns in matters of religion, and to approve what he approves. They retain but a faint recollection of the religion which has Jesus Christ for its author. The little catechism which contains it has long since fallen from their hands. Not having

knowledge of the condemnation pronounced by the Church against Freemasonry, these estimable men have allowed themselves to become affiliated to this society. The reception they met with has charmed them. With delight they took their places at the banquets of the brotherhood; they believed themselves invited to the *agapae* of the early Christians. They joyfully took their part in all works of philanthropy, especially after having heard that Freemasonry since it had come into the world had sown along its track the seeds of civilization and of progress.

To render their adhesion still more certain, these deluded men were informed that the higher degrees were open *only to those who are free from prejudice, and who are able to accept the principles of philosophy*, by which they mean, those who have abjured the faith of Christ, and are willing to adopt principles opposed to all religion and morality.

These discourses, this arrangement, to the novices appeared as something sublime. Therein they discovered a religion which was sufficient for their purposes; the more so because Masonry declares itself to be a *holy and sacred religion*,¹ and then with a boundless confidence, allowing themselves to be taken in the toils of Masonry, they took an oath to do things the true character of which is kept carefully concealed from their sight. What kind of high principle is this, to take an oath to obey unknown behests? And yet such are the lofty principles of those respectable men, whose presence among the Freemasons is so often quoted in defence of the latter!

Do any doubts still linger in your minds, beloved brethren, that Masonry is hostile to Christianity? If you have any such doubts, open M. Ragon's book, called *Philosophical and Explanatory Course of Initiations, Ancient and Modern*, which has been printed by the authority of the Grand Orient². In this work there is an account of the admission to the grade of Chevalier Kadosch, which grade cannot be conferred except on one who has abjured every principle of religion. It appears that in certain lodges the cross is made an object of profanation. In the *Conservateur Belge* of 1828³, we read: "When the Chevalier Kadosch has pronounced the oath, a crucifix is placed at his feet, then the president says: *Trample under foot this image of superstition: break it into pieces.*

All these impious and immoral usages which we have just mentioned form the substance of the rules of the Freemasons, and, in a manner, their ritual. The author of the *General History of Freemasonry* alludes to this. "Freemasonry", says M.

¹ *Bulletin of the Grand Orient*, March 1848, p. 47.

² Paris, Bertand, 1848, 1 vbl. in 8vo.

³ Tome xix, p. 158-159.

Rebold, "in the course of a century has spread itself over the entire earth, sowing in its march the seeds of civilization and of progress. The amelioration which, during that space, has been produced in men's ideas¹, and manifested in their acts, is entirely due to the secret teaching of Freemasonry, and to the habits acquired within the lodges, and thence carried into the outer world by the masons".

As for you, the beloved faithful of this diocese, we know your attachment to religion too well not to be assured that the words of the head of the Church make on you an impression far other than that made by the Masonic phraseology about universal morality, progress, and philosophy. Your consciences condemn those oaths, the end and object of which are shrouded in secrecy. You reject religious indifferentism; you will never believe that error is to be placed on the same footing as truth; and if, in your charity, you love your fellow men, of whatever religion they may be, you abhor, nevertheless, the errors they profess; in your toleration there is no place for false and dangerous doctrines.

We cannot conclude without addressing a word to you, our dear fellow labourers, whom Jesus Christ has placed in His Church, that by prayer and preaching the word you may fight the enemies of His Gospel and His cross. Perhaps among those who look for guidance to your zeal and prudence, there are some who are tempted to engage in Freemasonry, and who, through ignorance and human respect, are on the point of yielding to the attempts that are being made to draw them into its snares. Strengthen their weak wills by your exhortations, repeat to them these words of Pius the Seventh and Leo the Twelfth on Freemasonry: "This is a society into which no one can enter without binding himself by execrable oaths, within which burns a hatred which seeks to cast down and break to pieces the throne of Jesus Christ in our churches". If those who seek your advice have not altogether lost their faith, the judgment passed by the Popes on these societies will produce in their hearts a deep impression, and the penalties which press upon those who obstinately continue members of the Masonic body, will fill them with a salutary fear which will lead them to break off all connection with a society condemned by the Church.

Occasions will sometimes present themselves in the discharge of your sacred functions, when you too must manifest your disapprobation of Freemasonry. At such seasons let there be no hesitation, but resolutely fulfil your duty, joining prudence with sacerdotal firmness. For example, you may be called upon

¹ *Histoire Générale de la Franc Maçonnerie*, par M. de Rebold, Paris, 1851.

to celebrate the obsequies of one of your flock who had had the misfortune of joining the Freemasons, but who, before his death, had repudiated their principles, deeds, and usages, and had made his peace with God. The funeral procession having reached the church, the friends of the deceased, to do what they suppose to be greater honour to his remains, may wish to place on the bier the Masonic insignia. As the management of the church is in your own hands, you will request, with due deference to their sorrow, the relations to remove those objects as being memorials of culpable engagements, the presence of which would forbid you to celebrate the sacred mysteries. Should this reasonable request be refused, you will quietly withdraw to the sacristy. On the morrow, you will offer the Holy Sacrifice for the soul of the deceased, who is not to be punished for the irreligious misconduct of his relatives.

Should you observe on the way to the cemetery, that Masonic emblems have been placed on the coffin, you will politely request those in charge of the procession, or the civil officer who represents them, to have them removed. The cross, the dying Christian's sole hope, ought alone to adorn his grave. Should this be refused to you, you will not carry out what the liturgy prescribes, since you cannot do so with propriety, and you will return in silence to the church, followed by the clergy. Should you be attended only by a clerk, you will take off your stole and surplice and take down the cross. You will be careful to avoid all discussion; and to those who blame your conduct, you will reply, that you are only carrying out the injunctions of your superiors. We are convinced, however, that the faithful of our diocese, who are so submissive to the laws of the Church, and who recognize the voice of Christ in the commands of the Sovereign Pontiff, will applaud the obedience shown by the priest who refuses to confound the Catholic ceremonies with the extravagant practices of a sect so often condemned.

Even if you should not be able, beloved brethren, to discover in Masonry all that impiety and immorality which its constitution implies; should you not be convinced, as we are, that it is dangerous to religion and society, the bare fact that it has been condemned by the Head of the Church ought to be enough to sever all the ties that bind you to it. Can we forget that the Pope is *the Teacher of all Christians*, to use the words of the Council of Florence, and that Jesus Christ has placed him upon earth to announce the truth to men and to point out the path that leads to salvation? Consequently we ought, with entire submission of mind and heart, listen to his teachings and receive his decisions, approving what he approves, condemning what

he condemns. "Through his mouth Peter speaks", say the Councils. "His word is the word of Jesus Christ", *Os Christi*, says St Ambrose. Therefore, when you hear the Sovereign Pontiff utter his anathema against the Freemasons, you ought to anathematize them with him. Should any one insult your faith as a Catholic by daring to invite you to join the condemned society, you ought to reject with horror the criminal proposal, and reply to your tempter: *the Pope has spoken, the matter is settled*. We cannot better conclude this pastoral letter than by quoting here the beautiful words addressed to Pius the Ninth by the bishops of France: "For us you are the teacher of sound doctrine; you are the centre of unity; you are the unfailing light prepared for the nations by the wisdom of God; you are the rock, you are the foundation of the Church itself, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. When you speak, it is Peter to whom we listen; when you command, it is Jesus Christ whom we obey".

THE LAST STAGE OF THE TRADITIONALISTIC CONTROVERSY.¹

AMONG those warmly opposed to the teaching of the Louvain professors, Mgr. Malou, bishop of Bruges, was specially eminent, both for his learning and for his position in the Church. After the publication of Cardinal d'Andrea's letter, he, with others of the same views as his own, appealed to the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Holy Father, in July, 1861, gave orders that the entire matter under dispute should be examined by the united Congregations of the Holy Office and of the Index. This is mentioned in Cardinal Patrizi's letter to the Belgian bishops, dated 11th October, 1864. In the meantime, after a brief truce, the dispute waxed warmer in Belgium; and any one who, like the writer of these lines, had an opportunity of visiting some of the Belgian seminaries at the time, will have remarked, with surprise and pain, the unbecoming dissensions that had arisen between school and school. This condition of affairs attracted the attention of the Holy Father himself, and led him to issue, on 19th December, 1861, a letter to the bishops of Belgium, in which he forbade all further controversy, and reserved to the Holy See its final judgment. The letter was as follows:

¹ Continued from *I. E. Record*, March, 1868, p. 308.

Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Ad plurimas gravissimasque amaritudines, quibus vel ab ipso supremi Nostri Pontificatus initio, et hisce asperrimis praesertim temporibus affligimur, accessit etiam dolor excitatus ex molestis quaestionibus istic exortis ob di-crepantes opiniones de quibusdam principiis adhibitis in tradenda philosophica ac theologica scientia in catholica Lovaniensi Universitate. Non levi autem consolatione affecti fuimus noscentes quomodo vos, Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, inhaerentes consilio Nostri et huius Apostolicae Sedis istic Nuntii, Mechliniae proximo mense Julio inunum congregati ad alia eiusdem Universitatis tractanda negotia, vestras quoque impenditis curas in aliquo suscipiendo consilio, quo huiusmodi controversiae plane amoverentur et extinguerentur. Quae nostra consolatio sumimopete crevit ubi intelleximus, has vestras curas locum habuisse in epistola, quam die 31 eiusdem mensis Iulii communi consensu ad Magnificum eiusdem Universitatis Rectorem deditis. Namque in eadem epistola elucet ac dominatur illud concordiae prudentiaeque studium tantopere necessarium ad pacem tuendam, atque ad removendum quidquid christiana paci, et publicae fidelium sedificationi obesse possit. Atque maiore etiam laetitia perfusi fuimus vix dum cognovimus, ipsius Lovaniensis Universitatis professores obsequenter excipientes consilia et regulas a vobis per eamdem epistolam expressas declarasse unanimiter, se eisdem consilio et regulis plene adhaerescere sine ulla exceptione. Verum dum vehementer laetabamur hoc modo controversiam finem habuisse, summo certe animi Nostri moerore novimus per articulos publicis ephemericibus insertos, aliaque scripta recens vulgata operam datam esse, ut controversia ipsa revivisceret, et in hunc finem invocatas fuisse decisiones a Nostris Congregationibus editas, et a Nobis probatas, quae minime existunt. Atque id evenit, propterea quod nonnulli cuidam documento illud pondus attribuere voluerunt, quo documentum idem plane caret, cum illius contextus et verba omnem de Congregationis decisione ideam evidenter excludant, nec ullum indicium praebeant, Pontificiam Nostram interpositam fuisse auctoratem, quae reapse interposita non fuit. Itaque optime pree oculis habentes innumeritas maximasque utilitates, quae ex mutua animorum concordia derivant, sine qua religio et scientia prosperos exitus consequi numquam possunt, Nobis summopere cordi est, Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, omnem occasionem omnino de medio tolli et eliminari, quae concordiam ipsam quovis modo vel leviter turbet et imminuat. Quocirca nullam prosus proferentes sententiam de doctrinarum merito, quæ præsentem excitarunt controversiam, et quārum definitivum examen et iudicium ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem unice pertinet, volumus atque mandamus, ut earumdem doctrinarum tum fautores tum oppugnatores, donec definitivum de ipsis doctrinis iudicium haec Sancta Sedes proferre existimaverit, se omnino abstineant sive docendo, sive cuiusque generis scriptis vel in lucem typis edendis, vel alia quavis ratione vulgandis, distribuendis, tam cum auctoris nomine, quam sine nomine auctoris,

ac sive factis sive consiliis, aliquam ex predictis philosophicis ac theologicis doctrinam exhibere ac tueri veluti unicam, veram et solam admittendam, ac veluti catholicae Universitati propriam. Insuper praecipimus, ut sub quovis praetextu se abstineant novas de hac re iterum excitare quaestiones, quae christianaे caritati et animarum saluti vel maxime adversantur. Vestrum autem erit, Dilecte Fili ac Venerabiles Fratres, istis fidelibus curae vestrae commissis hanc Nostram Pontificiam ordinationem voluntatemque significare, quae, uti confidimus, ad exoptatam animorum tranquillitatem et concordiam servandam ac fovendam, Deo bene iuvante, maxime conduceat. Certi vero sumus, vos pro eximia vestra pastorali sollicitudine omnes curas cogitationesque ad eundem assequendum finem esse collatueros, ac summa vigilantia, ubi opus fuerit, opportuna consilia communī vestrum omnium consensu provide sapienterque esse suscepturos quoad docendi rationem in Lovaniensi Universitate, et unumquemque vestrum idem omni studio in propria dioecesi esse curaturum. In eam profecto spem erigimur, fore ut Belgii clerus ob egregiam illam, qua semper eminuit erga Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem observantiam et venerationem, omni docilitate et obsequio hanc Nostram ordinationem sit excepturus, quam propter gravissimas causas, et peculiaria rerum ac temporum adjuncta dandam esse censimus ad maiorem sanctissimae nostrae religionis utilitatem in isto regno procurandam. Denique hac etiam occasione libentissime utinam ut iterum testemur et confirmemus praecipuum Nostram erga vos benevolentiam. Cuius quoque certissimum pignus esse volumus apostolicam benedictionem, quam ex intimo corde profectam, et cum omnis vere felicitatis voto coiunctam, vobis ipsis, Dilecte Fili ac Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque clericis laicisque fidelibus cuiusque vestrum vigilantiae concreditis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 19 decembris anno 1861. Pontificatus Nostri anno decimosexto.

PIVS PP. IX.

The four professors whose statement had elicited Cardinal d'Andrea's letter, took no part in the dispute after the publication of that document. But when the contents of the Pope's letter to the bishops was made known to them, they broke through their silence, and in the *Revue Catholique*¹ published their sentiments: "This discussion has given pain to Pope Pius the Ninth; it has increased the manifold sorrows which, in the inscrutable designs of Providence, have fallen upon his glorious Pontificate. We feel the need of expressing thus publicly our regret at having contributed by our share in this deplorable controversy to the affliction of the Holy Pontiff who now governs with a wise and firm hand the Church of Jesus Christ. Had we foreseen that this discussion would have afflicted our beloved father, Pius the Ninth, our love for him would have given us the courage to bear in silence the serious charges that have been brought against our

¹ An. 1862, pag. 66.

writings and our teaching. May the venerable Head of the universal Church find consolation in seeing his precepts and advice rigorously and exactly observed at all times, but especially now when all authority is assailed and the Chair of St. Peter is violently shaken, it is the duty of every Catholic to listen with respectful and entire submission to the voice of him whom the Divine Founder of the Church has made the infallible judge of doctrine and the sovereign guide of conscience".

Notwithstanding this letter of Pius the Ninth, men's minds were so heated, that the controversy was once more re-opened; not, indeed, on the main questions, for this would have been a flagrant violation of the Pontiff's commands, but on some incidental questions of *fact* which were connected with the previous discussions. Therefore the Pope by a second letter still more explicitly enjoined silence. The Cardinal of Malines had written to his Holiness a letter, in which he set forth the many advantages that had been conferred upon Belgium by the University of Louvain. The Pope answered as follows:

Dilecto Filio Nostro Engelberto S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Sterckx, Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Libentissimo certe animo tuas accepimus litteras, Dilecte Fili Noster, quas die 12 huius mensis ad Nos dedisti, ut certiores nos faceres de catholicæ Lovaniensis Universitatis statu. Atque etiam libenter novimus quae significasti tum de studio, quo eiusdem Universitatis Rector et professores animati sunt ad proprium fungendum munus, tum de studiosæ iuventutis frequentia, ac de utilitatibus quae ex ipsa Universitate in catholicam Ecclesiam et civilem societatem redundant.

Te minime latet, Dilecte Fili Noster, quae fuerint semper Nostræ de eadem Universitate curæ; ac pergratum Nobis est, nunc denuo tibi testari, præcipuum esse Nostram erga tam utile Institutum benevolentiam: namque ea profecto fiducia nitimur fore, ut Institutum ipsum, Deo bene iuvante, nunquam declinet a salutari fine, ob quem a felicis recordationis Gregorio XVI decessore Nostro fuit erectum et approbatum. Ut autem huiusmodi finis quotidie magis possit obtineri, oportet omnino ut cuncti Venerabiles Fratres Belgii episcopi, tui collegæ, a quibus universitas ipsa pendet, suas omnes curas cogitationesque in id assidue ac sedulo conferant. Quocirca maxime interest, ut iidem episcopi, ubi opus fuerit, una tecum inter se conveniant, et accurate examinent quidquid pertineat ad rectam studiorum rationem, ad professorum electionem et confirmationem, atque ad alias res omnes, quibus Universitas ipsa prospere feliciterque vigere et efflorescere queat. Cum autem, Dilecte Fili Noster, mentionem feceris de ultimis controversiis in Belgio excitatis propter

quasdam doctrinas a nonnullis Universitatis professoribus traditas, dissimulare non possumus, magno Nos dolore affectos fuisse, ubi per recentes ephemeredum promulgationes intelleximus, haud fuisse, ut omnino par erat, plane observata, ut executioni mandata quae in encyclica Nostra epistola die 19 decembris anno superiore ad te, omnesque Belgii episcopos data mandavimus atque praescripsimus. Etsi enim recentes, de quibus loquimur, promulgationes minime essent intentae ad commemoratas praesertim discutiendas doctrinas tamen poterant aditum ad novas excitandas controversias patescere, atque ita de medio tollere illam omnem utilitatem, quam prae oculis habuimus in edendis perspicuis illis prescriptionibus, quae eadem Nostra encyclica epistola continentur.

Itaque hac etiam occasione renovantes quae a Nobis in eadem encyclica fuere prescripta circa modum, formam et limites, quibus memoratae doctrinae a Lovaniensibus doctoribus erunt tradendae, denuo omnibus tum ecclesiasticis tum laicis viris praecipimus atque mandamus, ut plane se abstineant ab excitandis quovis modo etiam indirecto, et sub quovis praetextu declarandi ac diluendi facta, quaestionibus et controversiis, quae caritatem laedant, conscientias turbent, et imminuant reverentiam debitam omnibus aliqua ecclesiastica cuiusque gradus dignitate insignitis, et in contraria studia, Belgii clerum scindant qui semper singulare in Ecclesiam Catholicam amore et studio ac pari in hanc Apostolicam Sedem fide et observantia praestitit.

Optamus autem vehementer, ut hae nostrae prescriptio*n* iis omnibus quos respiciunt iterum manifestentur, sive ipsi ad Lovaniensem Universitatem pertineant, sive ad eam minime spectent. Ea porro spe sustentamur fore, ut indefessae tuae et omnium in Belgio episcoporum curae ac sollicitudines efficiant, ut pax et tranquillitas in posterum nunquam turbetur novis et importunis cuiusque naturae ac generis hac super re promulgationibus. Denique tibi persuade, praecipuam esse, qua te in Domino complectimur, benevolentiam; cuius quoque certissimum pignus esse volumus apostolicam benedictionem, quam intimo cordis affectu tibi ipsi, Dilecte Fili Noster, et gregi tuae curae commisso peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 16 iunii anno 1862. Pontificatus Nostri anno decimosexto.

PIVS PP. IX.

This letter produced the desired effect, and silence was observed by the parties on both sides.

Meantime at Rome, the Congregations of the Index and of the Holy Office were engaged in examining the question. To guide them in their labours, they set before themselves the resolutions issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Index as far back as 1843 and 1844, on occasion of the examination of the works of Professor Ubachs, and especially of his *Logio* and *Theodicea*. These resolutions have been given in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i. pag. 344, and regard the correction of

certain doctrines concerning the origin of our knowledge of truths both in the metaphysical and in the moral orders, and particularly of the existence of God. By another document in 1844, the Sacred Congregation ordered Professor Ubachs to append to his *Theodicea* certain explanations to clear his meaning. Having considered these resolutions, the Cardinals proceeded to investigate whether the editions of Professor Ubachs' works later than 1844, had been corrected in obedience to the decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Index. They discovered that no change had been made. In the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (vol. i pag 594), will be found a letter from Professor Ubachs to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, in which he shows that he was not to blame for this apparent disobedience. The cardinals in the meeting of 21st September, 1864, decreed that the emendations proposed by the Congregation of the Index should be at once carried out; they declared, however, that this implied no approbation of the other doctrines contained in the later editions of the *Logic* and of the *Theodicea*. This decision was communicated to the bishops of Belgium, in a letter dated 11th October, 1864, from Cardinal Patrizi to Cardinal Sterckx, which may be found in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i. p. 193.

Having thus disposed of the errors to be found in the editions earlier than 1844, the cardinals proceeded to discuss the errors which occur in the editions published after that year. They declare that in those editions are to be found doctrines quite similar to some of the seven propositions condemned by the Holy Office on 18th September, 1861. The seven propositions may usefully be transcribed here:

1. *Immediata Dei cognitio, habitualis saltem, intellectui humano essentialis est, ita ut sine ea nihil cognoscere possit: siquidem est ipsum lumen intellectuale.*
2. *Esse illud, quod in omnibus et sine quo nihil intelligimus est Esse Divinum.*
3. *Universalia a parte rei considerata, a Deo realiter non distinguuntur.*
4. *Congenita Dei tanquam Entis simpliciter notitia omnem aliam cognitionem eminenti modo involvit, ita ut per eam omne ens, sub quocumque respectu cognoscibile est implicite cognitum habeamus.*
5. *Omnes aliae ideae non sunt nisi modificationes ideae, qua Deus tanquam ens simpliciter intelligitur.*
6. *Res creatae sunt in Deo tanquam pars in toto; non quidem in toto formalis, sed in toto infinito, simplicissimo; quod sive quasi partes absque ulla sui divisione et diminutione extra se porrigit.*
7. *Creatio sic explicari potest: Deus ipso actu speciali quo se intelligit et vult tanquam distinctum a determinata creature, homine v.g., creaturam producit.*

The cardinals also touch upon some doctrines concerning Traducianism and the vital principle, which they declare to stand in need of correction. They conclude by declaring that in Professor Ubaghs' works, particularly in the *Logio* and *Theodicea*, *inveniri doctrinas seu opiniones quae ABSQUE PERICULO TRADI NON POSSUNT*. This decision was communicated to the Belgian bishops in a letter from Cardinal Patrizi, 2nd March, 1866, which appears in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. iii. page 38. This letter prescribes that Ubaghs' books should be withdrawn from the University and from all schools.

The bishops of Belgium having made known this decision to the rector and professors of Louvain, the latter at once professed their filial obedience to the Holy See. Some doubts, however, still survived in the minds of Professors Beelen and Lefebvre. They thought that the exposition of doctrine set forth by the four professors, 1st February, 1860, was not involved in the condemnation. They requested, therefore, that further inquiry should be made at Rome to clear up this point. This was done, and the following letter was received in reply:

Eminentissime ac Reverendissime Domine Observandissime,

Accepi binas literas ab Eminentia Tua proxime ad me datas, quibus adiunctae erant epistolae ad Professores Universitatis Lovaniensis ab Episcopis istius ecclesiasticae provinciae in unum collectis missae, et responsiones datae tum a Rectori illius Universitatis Magnifico, tum a viro cl. G. C. Ubaghs. Istarum epistolarum omnium notitiam habuerunt Emi. Patres una cum Inquisitores generales: quibus opportunum, imo necessarium visum est, ut nendum haec documenta, verum etiam alia, quae, sicut ad me scribis in manu Tua sunt, caetui Episcoporum subiiciantur: tum vel magis quod memoratae Universitatis professores aliqui et ii praesertim, qui notatis opinionibus adhaerent, postremam S. Sedis resolutionem non ita interpretantur et explicant, ut par esset, et uti menti utriusque S. Congregationis S. Officii et Indicis apprime responderet. Fac igitur quaeso, ut Episcopi suffraganei Tui quam primum apud Te convenient, hac de re agant et efficiant, ut professores, notatis opinionibus iam adhaerentes resolutioni S. Sedis plene, perfecte absoluteque se submitant. Non dubitat S. Congregatio, quin hoc negotium in omni patientia ad exitum ducere velis et omnia referre quae collatis consiliis cum Episcopis suffraganeis Tuis statuta fuerint et executioni tradita Interim Eminentiae Tuae manus humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Tuae Humill. devmus. Servus verus,

C. CARD. PATRIZI.

Romae, die 3 Junii, 1866.
Dno. Card. Archiep. Mechliniens.

Notwithstanding this letter the professors still persevered. They declared their opinion that their views were condemned

not *doctrinaliter* but *disciplinariter*, and that they were bound, therefore, merely to abstain from teaching them. The letter is as follows:—

Eme. Princeps, Praesules Ilmi. Revmi.

In consessu Episcoporum Belgii hesterno die habito. placuit Vobis communicare nobiscum epistolam. quam die 3 Junii ad Emum. Cardinalem Archiepiscopum Mechlinensem dederat Emus. Cardinalis Patrizi. Ibi aliquot e venerabili vestro caetu Episcopi nobis manifestarunt se quidem in ea versari sententia. ut putent, ex illa epistola, attentis decretis S. Sedis circa scripta D. Ubaghs, constare nostram de evolutione humanae rationis opinionem a S. Sede doctrinaliter fuisse damnatam. Ipsi non tum hac de re a Venerabili vestro caetu interrogati. respondimus; velle nos lubentissime nos abstinere ab illa opinione sive ore sive scripto docenda; attamen non esse nobis hactenus plenissime persuasum praedictam opinionem fuisse a S. Sede doctrinaliter damnatum, quum haec damnatio nobis videretur confici non posse neque ex decretis S. Sedis neque ex rationibus, quae hanc in rem nonnulli venerabili vestro coetui attulerunt.

Grato animo hic recordamur quod, postquam nos dicentes benigne audissetis, uno ore de nobis testati estis omnes, Eme. Princeps, Praesules Ilmi., Revmi., certo vos scire nos ita esse animo comparatos ut plene, perfecte absoluteque stare velimus omni S. Sedis decreto eidemque, statim ac nobis innotuerit, nos submittere.

Itaque Venerabili Vestro coetui placuit petere a nobis ut opinionem nostram distincte exponeremus, a Vobis deinde iudicio S. Sedis subiiciendam, cui petitioni lubenti animo satisfacientes haec declaramus.

Primo. Plenissime nobis esse persuasum, hominem, post lapsum Adami posse per se, hoc est solis suae naturae viribus ipsi insitis absque ulla revelationis supernaturalis et gratiae subsidio, cognoscere atque demonstrare existentiam Dei et alias quasdam veritates metaphysicas externas. Sentimus, veritates illas externas ex principiis rationis et contemplatione rerum creatarum certissima deductione demonstrari posse. Videmur autem nobis per hanc declarationem reiicere omnia illa, quae in utroque decreto 23 Junii 1843, et 8 Augusti 1844, S. Congregationis Indicis a S. Sede in scriptis D. Ubaghs fuere notata, una cum falso principio, cui haec innituntur.

Secundo. Plenissime nobis esse persuasum, hominem, cuius quidem ratio sit sufficienter evoluta, posse ad earum veritatum, quos diximus, iis mediis quæ diximus, cognitionem pervenire etiamsi nulla earum veritatum illi ope cuiusvis institutionis trndita fuerit. Consequitur ex hac declaratione nos pariter sentire, esse ad cognoscenda ea quae de Deo naturaliter sciri possunt, revelationem necessariam non absolute et physice, sed moraliter, tantum.

“Tertio. Declaramus nos subscribere sequentibus R. P. Perronii verbis quæ professoribus philosophiae commendavit concilium provinciae Rhemensis in civitate Ambianensi anno 1853 habitum et a Sede Apostolica approbatum. “Cum loquimur de facultate, qua pollet humana ratio, Deum cognoscendi eiusque existentiam demonstrandi, eam

significamus satis exercitam atque evolutam, quod fit ope societatis atque administrorum quae in societate reperiuntur, quaeque certe sibi comparare haud potest, qui extra caeterorum consortium enutritur et adolescit".

Quarto. De protoparente nostro Adamo, quum non fuerit creatus in statu infantiae, sed hominis quoad corpus et quoad animam perfecti, declaramus sentire nos, eum potuisse sine ulla institutione externa, et sine ulla revelatione ad eum rationis usum pervenire, que distinctam acquisivisset notionem existentiae Dei et aliarum veritatum ordinis naturalis.

Pergratum nobis erit a Sede Apostolica edoceri utrum ea, quae hic a nobis sunt exposita, ab ipsa theologiae fuerint damnata, ideoque a quovis catholico prorsus sint reicienda.

I. TH. BEKKEN, SS. PI^I IX Cubicul. ad hon. S. Script.
et ling. Or. prof.

I. B. LEFEBV^E, theol. dogm. prof. Leodii 1 Augusti 1866.

The bishops once more had recourse to Rome, and set forth this fresh petition of the professors. They said:—

Beatissime Pater.

Summa intellectus et cordis submissione accepimus litteras et mandata Beatitudinis Vestrae circa difficultates doctrinae in Universitate Catholica Lovaniensi, maximasque agimus gratias Sanctitati vestrae, quod definitivum illud iudicium edere dignata sit.

Quum ad nos pervenissent dictae nomine Emi. D. Cardinalis Patrizi signatae die 2 Martii currentis anni, mox convenimus Mechliniam, ut collatis consiliis praceptorum Sedis Apostolicae urgeremus executionem. Die 21 eiusdem mensis Martii litteras dedimus ad Rectorem magnificentium istius Universitatis, et alteras ad viros ecclesiasticos in illa professores, hisco additas, quibus rescriptum Sedis Apostolica cum illis communicavimus, obedientiam promptam commendantes. Imo documentum filialis obedientiae, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae deponendum, petivimus a professoribus illis, qui notatis doctrinis adhaeserunt. Libenti animo hoc documentum nobis trididerunt et illi et alii quoque ecclesiastici professores. Cl. G. Ubaghs nobis hortantibus, statim cathedrae suae renuntiavit, et iam otio usus operibus suis corrigendis dat operam.

Postea singuli in diœcesi sua professoribus seminarii decisiones S. Sedis tradidimus, eos hortantes ad sanctam submissionem. Non mediocri sane gaudio testamur, omnes seminariorum professores summa veneratione verissimoque mentis et cordis assensu desideriis nostris satisfecisse.

Sed quum ita exultaremus in Domino tristis ad nos pervenit rumor de interpretatione nova decisionis apostolicae. Disciplinulis est, aiebant, non doctrinalis, docere non possumus ea, quae sunt reprobata, sed corde servare licet ea quae publice docebamus; alii dicebant, singulares cl. viri Ubaghs opinione de vi nativa mentis humanae improbatae sunt sed minime attinguntur ea, quae professores Lovanienses quatuor exponebant in suis litteris die 1 Februarii, 1860.

Qui rumor dum spargetur, cl. doctor Lefebvre, unus e quatuor

illis professoribus, ad Rmum. Episcopum Namurcensem scripsit, suam esse hanc interpretationem. Rector autem Universitatis cl. Laforet, repetitis litteris ad eundem Episcopum datis, dixit hanc explicationem, cui adhaerebat cl. Beelen, non esse suam, sed a se ut probabilem et licitam haberi. Rmus Episcopus Namurcensis et alii duo Episcopi epistolam D. Lefebve miserunt ad S. Sedem.

Talis erat rerum status, dum Leodium, ad hanc aliasque tractandas convenimus die Julii currentis anni.

In prima congregatione die illa 30 Julii, Emus Cardinalis Archiepiscopus litteras Eminentissimi Cardinalis Patrizi diei 3 Junii praelegit, quibus declaratum vidimus, necesse esse, nos convenire de hac re agere et efficere ut professores notatis opinionibus iam adhaerentes resolutioni Sanctae Sedis plene, perfecte absoluteque se submittant.

Mox advocabimus in coetum nostrum duos professores supra citatos, qui mentem suam aperirent. Die sequenti adfuerunt, et ad longum sensa sua exposuerunt, praesertim dicentes, se toto corde amplecti omnes S. Sedis decisiones, sed ex litteris an. 1864 et 3 Junii eiusdem anni sibi non liquere expositionem doctrinalem a quatuor professoribus factam anno 1860 attingi. Nos autem indicamus in hoc solo punto totam hodie dum quaestionem versari. Ipsi vero nobis potentibus sequenti die adiectum documentum exhibuerunt.

Igitur ad pedis Sanctitatis Vestre provoluti supplicamus, ut in hisce rerum adiunctis dignetur Sanctitas Vestra declarare, an dicta Expositio an. 1860 recipia sit reprobata nec ne in declarationibus supradictis.

Benedictionem Apostolicam Nobis et fidelibus curae nostra commissis enixe efflagitamus.

Sanctitatis Vestrae humillimi, obedientissimi, et devotissimi famuli,

✠ ENGELBERTUS Card. Arch. Mech.,
✠ GASPAR Jos. Ep. Tornacen,
✠ THEODORUS Episc. Leodien,
✠ J. J. Episcop. Brugen,
✠ HENR. Episcop. Gandaven.
✠ VICT. AUG. Ep. Namurcen.

Leodii, 1 Augustii, 1866.

Cardinal Patrizi replied:

Eme et Rme Domine Obme,

In litteris ab Eminentia Tua tuisque suffraganeis Episcopis die prima huius mensis Augusti ad SSimum. Dominum nostrum Pium PP. IX. datis, iudicium petitur ab Apostolica Sede super dubiis quibusdam excitatis a J. Th. Beelen et J. B. Lefebve in catholica Lovaniensi Universitate professoribus circa responsiones Sacrarum Congregationum S. Officii et Indicis tum anno 1864, tum hoc anno 1866, Summi Pontificis auctoritate sancitas. At non ea sunt ista dubia, quae novam rei iam definitae interpretationem ac declarationem requirant: iis enim penitus diluendis per ipsas Sacrarum Congrega-

tionum responsiones fit abunde satis. Imo non sine admiratione auditum est huiusmodi dubitationes fuisse propositas. Omnia profecto ad quaestionem Lovanii agitatum spectantia, ideoque etiam doctrinae expositio a quatuor Lovaniensibus professoribus die 1 Februarii anno 1860 subscripta, ad examen fuerunt revocata et prae oculis habita, dum per memoratas responsiones quaestio definiretur. Porro viri catholici, multo vero magis ecclesiastici, id muneres habent ut decretis S. Sedis plene, perfecte, absoluteque se subiiciant, e medio sublati contentionibus, quae sinceritati assensus officerent.

Haec sunt, quae nomine SSmi. Patris a me significanda erant Eminentiae Tuae, ut ea cum Episcopis suffraganeis communicare velis, et una cum eis predictos professores, aliosque idem sentientes, moneas in Domino, et magis ac magis cohortaris ut sententiae Apostolicae Sedis ex animo, sicut eos decet, acquiescant.

Interim Eminentiae Tuae manus humillime deosculor.

Romae, die 30 augusti 1866.

C. Card. PATRIZI.

And in a letter of Cardinal Patrizi to the Nuncio at Brussels, 1st December, 1866, we read:

Liquet profecto expositionem doctrinae a quatuor professoribus subscriptam, et die 1 Februarii, 1860 ad Eminentissimum Cardinalem Praefectum S. Congregationis Indicis transmissum, comprehendendi in resolutione utriusque S. Congregationis S. Officii et Indicis die 2 martii hujus anni edita.

All doubts having been thus cleared away, the bishops of Belgium addressed the following letter to the Louvain professors:—

Magnifice Domine Rector, professores clarissimi ecclesiastici almae Univ. cath. Lovaniens.

Mense martio currentis anni ad vos misimus litteras Eminentissimi Cardinalis Patrizi circa difficultates doctrinales Lovanii motas, et petivimus documentum filialis obedientiae decretis S. Sedis Apostolicae. Accepimus sinceras declarationes, quas ea de re ad nos misistis; sed mox rumor sparsus est, sensum et et vim responsionum Romanarum a quibusdam professoribus non intelligi ut par esset, et reipsa cl. Domini professores Beelen et Lefebvre hunc rumorem veritate nisi nobis declararunt, suumque desiderium ulterioris explicationis a S. Sede obtinendae nobis manifestarunt, dicentes expositionem suae doctrinae factam die prima Februarii 1860 non esse reprobatam. Nos autem puritatem doctrinae et simul animorum tranquillitatem cordi habentes, denuo ausi fuimus ad Sanctissimum Dominum supplices accedere, humillime rogantes per litteras diei primae Augusti, ut dignaretur dubia exorta novo lumine dissipare. Pater optimus, benigne vota nostra excipiens, ad nos mitti mandavit litteras, quarum transumptum hic iuxta mandatum apostolicum inserimus.

Porro ex aliis litteris eiusdem E.mi Cardinalis liquet, praefatam expositionem doctrinae 1^a Februarii 1860 comprehendi in resolutione

utriusque Congregationis S. S. Officii et Indicis die 2 martii huius anni edita.

Hae decisiones adeo clarae et luculentae sunt, ut causa tamquam definitive decisa habenda sit. Scimus autem firmissinam Sanctissimi Domini voluntatem esse ut, erroribus sublati, omnes idem sentiant. Itaque, ut in perpetuum omnes dissensiones extinctae permaneant, et in quaestione diu agitata iamque definita nihil optandum expetendumque supersit, mittimus formulam litterarum subscribendam ab omnibus, qui vel doctrinas reprobatas tradiderunt, vel eisdem aliquo modo adhaeserunt.

Has litteras quam primum recipere gratissimum erit nobis, ut quantocius in manibus Sanctissimi Domini deponantur, et cordie eius hisce temporibus tam dire vexato levamen adferant,

Quaecumque bona, quaecumque salutaria vobis a Deo, omnis boni auctore, precamur.

Addictissimi in Christo

Mechlinae, 17 Decembris 1866.

- ✠ ENGELBERTUS, Card. Arch Mechliniensis.
- ✠ GASPARD Jos. Episc. Tornacensis.
- ✠ THEODORUS, Episc. Leodiensis.
- ✠ J. J. Episc, Brugensis.
- ✠ HENRICUS Episc. Gandavensis.
- ✠ VICTOR AUG. Episc. Namurcensis.

In obedience to this letter the rector and professors subscribed the following formula:—

Eminentissime Princeps, Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Antistites.

Obsequens mandatis vestris hocce documentum filialis obedientiae vobis exhibere festino, humillime rogans ut per manus vestras ad pedes SS.mi Domini Pii PP. IX. deponatur.

Decisionibus S. Sedis Apostolicae die 2 Martii et 30 Augusti huius anni, plene, perfecte absoluteque me subiicio, et ex animo acquiesco. Ideoque ex corde reprobo et reiicio quamcumque doctrinam oppositionis, nominatim expositionem doctrinae a quatuor professoribus subscriptam et die prima Februarii 1860 ad E.mum Cardinalem Praefectum S. Congregationis Indicis transmissam, aliaque ad quaestionem Lovanii agitatam spectantia, quae S. Sedes apostolica reprobavit.

Profunda veneratione, et omnimodo subiectione permaneo.

Eminentissime Princeps, Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Antistites, Lovanii etc.

Humill. et obed. famulus.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

Letter of Most Rev. Dr. Curtis, Archbishop of Armagh, to Sir John Sinclair, on a projected scheme of Catholic emancipation.

The agitation that preceded Catholic Emancipation was in many respects similar to the ferment which now prevails in the Orange lodges of this island. Noisy declaimers announced their resolve to die martyrs to the cause of Protestant ascendancy, rather than that any concession should be made to the Catholics of Ireland. An endless civil war was foretold by these prophets of bigotry as the result of Emancipation. Nevertheless Emancipation was granted, and its concession was not followed by any of those sad scenes which had been so ominously prophesied. The same will again be verified, now that as we hope justice will be done to Ireland, and our country be freed from the incubus of the Established Church, which, for three hundred years, has exhausted all the energies of this island.

The scheme of emancipation to which the following letter refers was one of those middle courses which some wise English noblemen devised as best suited to satisfy, at the same time, the demands of Catholics and the clamours of the Orange faction. Its folly is clearly pointed out by the Archbishop of Armagh, the calmness and tranquil dignity of whose letter, like the Episcopal documents of our own day, present a pleasing contrast with the intemperate declamation of those who impugned the Catholic claims :

"Drogheda, 27th November, 1828.

"**MY DEAR SIR.**

"I am honoured with your very friendly letter of the 19th instant, enclosing and recommending a printed copy of your new circular or plan for settling the Catholic question, which you hope may serve to conciliate all parties, by granting Emancipation to the Catholics for one year, at first, as it were on an experimental trial, to be received from year to year, and not to be made absolute until time should fully prove (as you justly anticipate would soon be the case) that no such fatal consequences would follow from that measure, as its opponents seem at present to apprehend.

"The proposal must be allowed, and even applauded by all, as being very simple, clear, and easy to be carried into speedy execution : it has, besides, the advantage of coming from you, as the result of your profound reflections : but I fear that but few of either party will adopt or take it into serious consideration ; while the great majority of both will raise many objections, on opposite grounds, against it. For the aggrieved party will naturally ask, if such proposal be made by order, or founded on any certain authority or insinuation from government, or is it even known that

the legislature or government are disposed to accede to any such terms of concession, or wish they should be made. In my former letter, I mentioned this same necessary question to you, but I found no sort of reply to it in your last, and, without some such basis, all similar projects are generally considered as mere conversation or vague and idle schemes for building castles in the air. This must be still more the case at present, as during the last month we are assailed in all the public papers with threats that no emancipation will be granted, or offered, unaccompanied with a tail of wings, securities, and conditions, little suited to your naked plan, or to the expectations and resolves of the Irish Catholics. These will also say that one year would be quite too short a period, and that five or seven years at least would be required for the mortentious experiment proposed by you—nay, they will certainly add, there can be no just reason why the boon of emancipation should not at once be made absolute, as the same sovereign power that might grant, could, by a subsequent act, repeal or limit it, if, after a fair and sufficient trial, it should unhappily be found that such restraint was indispensably necessary for the public good, which doleful case you are persuaded would never occur, and I perfectly coincide with you in that opinion.

"But, on the other hand, the exclusionists or ascendancy party will scornfully scout all necessity of any further trial or experiment, as they but too abundantly know already, by woeful experience, that Catholics, if admitted to power, however limited, would always employ it to introduce popery, slavery, etc., for such is the cant; and not content with such compliments, they further declare they will ever oppose emancipation, by every possible means, and that if it should pass into a law against their will, they are determined to disown the law itself and its legislators, as violating the constitution, and thereby forfeiting all claim to their respect and obedience; with many other still more treasonable and sanguinary enormities, publicly pronounced in their late Orange and Brunswick clubs, recorded in the Irish and British newspapers, and, I am sorry to say, approved and eulogised by men, from whose high station we ought to expect principles better calculated to prove the boasted march of intellect.

"Yet, the Lord be praised, all Protestants are not of this description, but, on the contrary, very many, and the most influential among them, are sincerely attached to their Catholic brethren, daily affording to each other unequivocal testimonies of mutual esteem and support. It must, however, be owned that these, our worthy friends, are far less numerous than the above mentioned persecuting classes, whom I only mention that you may not be surprised if neither your own, nor any other benevolent plan, can be easily, or perhaps at all, rendered acceptable to a desperate and undiscerning party. I do not, however, entirely despair, that even these may in time be brought round to better sentiments, by the influence and example of their more unprejudiced brethren, and that all sects and denominations of Christians may live together in the bonds of

peace, concord, and brotherly love, under just and equal laws, which may be amply sufficient for all civil and political purposes, but should not by any means extend to or meddle with religious tenets, or even the discipline of the Catholic Church, which neither will, nor ought to be submitted to their direction; and it is in the spirit of a real friend that I take the liberty of advising you to lay aside the intention you announced of proposing a general plan on that subject also, as you may depend it would fail, as all such projects have hitherto ever done, for true religion cannot be made a political engine; and indeed these infidel times are the most unreasonable that could be chosen for such an attempt, which could only mean to induce people to adopt certain forms of language about religion, without having any at all in reality, which seems to be the object of the day.

"I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
 "P. CURTIS, Abb.

"Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart, etc., etc."

II.

*Decree of the S. Congregation of Rites granting proper Lessons,
Prayer and Hymn for the Feast of St. Ita, Virgin, Patron of
Munster (16th of January).*

Die XV. Januarii,
In Festo
Sanctae Itae Virginis,
Duplex.

**In Vesperis et ad Matutinum,
Hymnus.**

Vix adhuc fari poterat puella
Virgo jam coeli cumulata donis,
Verba cum fudit senibus stupenda
Ore diserto.

Ardet en totum subito igne stratum
Quo cubat Virgo; minime at puella
Uritur, visus rubus ut Möysi,
Forma refulgens.

Gloria Christi famulam supernam
Angelus coelo veniens ab alto
Nuntiat cingi, simulante flamas
Lumine sacro.

Laus Patri aeterno, Genitoque, et almo
Flamini; laudem geminent puelli:
Tota solemnem resonetque sancta
Insula laudem.

Amen.

ORATIO.

Deus, qui B. Itam Virginem innumeris donis decorasti, da, quae-
sumus, per ejus intercessionem ut quam veneramur affectu, actibus
et vita imitemur. Per Dom.

In II^o Nocturno.

LECTIO IV.

Sexto Ecclesiae saeculo in Momonia Hiberniae Provincia Sancta Ita floruit, spiritu propheticō et miraculorum gloria insignis. Ex regia stirpe prognata in terra Desiorum, quae ditio nunc Comitatu Waterfordensi continetur, splendorem natalium virtutum exercitio auxit et illustravit. Vel ab ipso Baptismatis lavacro Spiritus Sancti gratia repleta est, et mirabantur omnes pietatem, morum innocentiam, sui abjectionem, quam constanter prae se ferebat, et praecolla signa, quae quotidie ad ejus preces fieri videbantur.

LECTIO V.

Adhuc puella enixe patrem suum rogavit, ut liceret seipsam suaque omnia consecrare Christo. At vero, nobili adolescenti jam pater filiam despousaverat, et nullomodo induci se posse declaravit, ut id quod petebatur, concederet. Ita tamen nihil haesitans, et Spiritu propheticō circumstantes alloquens, futurum praenuntiavit, ut brevi res alium eventum sortiretur: dimittite, inquit, ad tempus patrem meum; si enim nunc me prohibet consecrari Deo, deinceps hoc ipsum ille mihi suadebit, et jussus a Domino meo Iesu Christo permitte me proficisci quocumque voluero, ut Deo deserviam. Et ita evenit: nam haud multum post temporis ipso suadente Patre, beata haec Virgo ab Ecclesiasticis viris consecrata velamen virginitatis accepit.

LECTIO VI.

Quodam vero tempore S. Ita coelesti nuntio edocta patriam suam deserens perrexit ad regionem Hy-Connaill, ibique ad radices montis Luachra monasterium fundavit, cuius fama totam Insulam pervadens innumeris attraxit Virgines quae virtutem jugiter colentes seipsas Christo consecrarunt. Multi etiam Episcopi et Abbates Sanctae Itae consiliis utebantur, inter quos Sancti Fachnanus, Brendanus, Colmannus, Mochemoc, et Laserianus numerantur. Tandem infirmitate correpta, beata Virgo monasterio, totique populo Hy-Connaill benedixit, et Sanctis Sacramentis roborata, anno quingentesimo septuagesimo feliciter ad Dominum decimo octavo Kalendas Februarii migravit.

LIMERICEN.

Reverendissimus Georgius Butler Episcopus Limericensis in Hibernia amplioribus cultus significationibus prosequi cupiens S. Itam Virginem, quae inter suae dioecesanos patronas recensetur, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. exhibuit Hymnum proprium pro utrisque Vesperis et Matutinis, Lectiones secundi Nocturni et Orationem propriam in ejusdem Sanctae honorem, huiusmodi eorum approbationem et extensionem ad suam Dioecesim expostulans. Sanctitas vero Sua, his votis a subscripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario relatibus, clementer defrens de speciali gratia indulxit, ut in Officio et Missa integre de Communi in honorem S. Itae addi valeant Hymnus, Oratio et Lectiones secundi Nocturni propriae, revisae et correctae a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, uti superiori in exemplari prostant: dummodo Rubricae serventur. Contraria non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 12 Decembris, 1867.

C. Epus. Portuen. et S. Rufinae Card. Patrizi S. R. C. Praef.

L. S.

D. Bartolini S. R. C. Secretarius.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS RECENTLY DECIDED BY THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

I.*Honorarium for Mass and Office for the Dead.*

DUB. Utrum Parochus aliquique sacerdotes, exequiis mortuorum officiisque quotidianis pro iisdem assistentes ac pro ea functione stipendum accipientes, teneantur per se Officium defunctorum persolvere, ita ut solummodo assistentes, et non cantantes vel psallentes, fructus non faciant suos; an vero sufficiat ut assistant, et Schola Officium persolvat, ipsis interea pro suo lubitu alias preceas fundentibus, v. gr. Breviarium recitantibus pro sua quotidiana obligatione?

R. Affirmative quoad primam partem; negative quod secundam.
(PETROCORICEN., num. 5236, die 9 Maii, 1857).

II.*Genuflexions in Holy Week.*

DUB. In triduo Hebdomadae maioris, Feria quinta videlicet, Feria sexta in Parasceve, et Sabbato Sancto, ab omnibus de clero etiam Canonice genuflectendum est ex rubrica ante crucem altaria. Quum autem Officium nocturnum Feriae quintae in Coena Domini dicatur Feria quarta hora competenti, quaeritur utrum genuflectendum sit ante dictam crucem ab initio Matutini Feriae quintae, an vero tantum in ipsa Feria quinta; item, an in toto Sabbato Sancto, an vero

tantum usque ad Matutinum festi Resurrectionis Domini in Sabbato Sancto legendum aut canendum.

R. *Geneflectendum cruci ab invio adorationis Feria sexta in Parasceve usque ad Nonam Sabbati Sancti inclunve.*

(*CADURCEN.*, num. 5241, ad V, die 9 Maii, 1857).

III.

The cross and candlesticks on the altars not to be covered up during Mass.

DUB. An tolerari possit ut, tempore Missae et Officiorum, candelabra altaris, ne pulvere sordescant, aliquo drappo vel tela permaneant vestita, imo ut et ipsa crux eodem modo involvatur, positâ alia cruce minori pro cruce altaris pretiosiore sic obtecta?

R. *Negative.*

(*MOLINEN.*, num. 5251, ad XI, 12 Sept., 1857).

IV.

Salutations in choir in Holy Week, and at Masses for the Dead.

DUB. Utrum in Officiis luctuosis Hebdomadae Sanctae et in Officiis mortuorum omitti debeant 1º salutatio chori a quocumque adveniente post incoepsum Officium, et opportuna resalutatio? 2º salutatio chori a Celebrante in accessu et recessu? 3º salutatio chori a Celebrante a sede sua ad altare per gente? 4º salutatio chori a quocumque cantaturo Lectionem, vel a Subdiacono Epistolam cantaturo?

R. *Negative in omnibus, excepto Officio Ferias sextas ab adoratione crucis usque ad Nonam Sabbati Sancti.*

(As above).

V.

Permission to use the little spoon in putting water into the chalice at Mass.

DUB. Quum quaesitum esset an parvi cochlearis pro aqua in calicem infundenda usus esset licitus, Sacra Rituum Congregatio respondit anno 1850 die 7 Septembris, servandam esse rubricam. Quaeritur utrum haec verba intelligenda sint eo sensu, ut usus cochlearis in praedicto casu omnino prohibetur. Causa dubitandi est, quia rubrica dum praecepit ut paululum aquae infundatur in calicem, minime modum infundendi decernit.

R. *Negative, seu usum parvi cochlearis non esse prohibitum.*

(*BALTIMOREN.*, num. 5256, ad IV, die 6 Feb., 1853).

VI.

Mass pro sponsis tempore vetito.

DUB. An facta per Episcopum licentia contrahendi matrimonium temporibus a S. Concilio Tridentino vetitis, censeatur etiam permissa benedictio coniugum per precēs et orationes in Missā pro sponsis

contentas? Et quatenus negative, an possit Episcopum in casu eam facultatem concedere?

R. *Negative in omnibus.*

(As above).

VII.

General Communions.

DUB. Utrum occasione Indulgentiarum, vel simili, qua Fideles magna cum frequentia ad sacram synaxim accedere solent, ne sese penes altaris cancellos turmatim obtrudant, possit iisdem, sive per ecclesiam sive extra illam, in genua pro voluntate eucharisticus panis distribui, an potius debeat tantummodo distribui penes cancellos linteo mundo contextos sive ad gradus altaris?

R. *Praestare in casu, ut plura genuflexoria sive scanno linteo mundo contexta hinc inde a cancellis circulatim seu in quadrum intra Ecclesiam ordinentur, et in extremitatibus interiecti spatii duo saltus candelabra disponantur, quae perpetuo colliceant dum Fidelibus circumadgeniculatis sacra Communio distribuiur.*

(TARNOVIEN., num. 5285, ad II, die 26 Mar., 1859).

VIII.

On the use of the double stole (violet on one side, and white on the other) during the administration of Baptism.

DUB. Utrum in administrando sacramento Baptismi licite Sacerdos uti possit stola bicolori, ex una parte violacea et ex altera alba, iuxta opportunitatem ex ea parte invertenda, quae colorem praeferat a Rituall praescriptum?

R. *Affirmative.*

(As above).

IX.

How are prayers to be ended when said extra officium et Missam?

DUB. Utrum in Orationibus quae dicuntur extra divinum Officium et Missam, conclusio brevis semper esse debeat, an solum quum expositum sit Sanctissimum Sacramentum?

R. *Extra Missam et Officium Orationes concludendas per conclusionem brevem.*

(BURGI SANCTI SEPULCHRI, num. 5340, die 20 Dec., 1864).

X.

Altar charts to be removed from the altar during Exposition of the B. Sacrament.

DUB. An in expositione Sanctissimi Sacramenti, sive pro Oratione quadraginta horarum, seu alia quavis de causa, amovendae omnino sint tres Tabellae ab altari Expositionis, quas rubricae ad Celebrantis commoditatem exigunt in Missae celebratione?

R. *Affirmative.*

(TERTII ORDINIS SANCTI FRANCISCI, num. 5343, die 20 Dec., 1864)

XI.

On collects ad libitum, votive Masses, and Requiem Masses on festivals.

DUB. Quum insequentia Dubia proposita fuissent Sacrae Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione, nimirum :

I. An, quando in Missa tertia Collecta est ad libitum, haec Collecta dici possit de aliqua Dominica, ex. gr. prima vel secunda post Pentecosten, prima Adventus, vel de aliqua Feria, vel de Beato?

II. Missae de Dominicis vel de Feriis per annum dici possunt tamquam votivae?

III. An sacerdotibus, qui recitaverunt Officium alicuius Sancti duplicitis, licitum sit celebrare Missam de Requie in aliena ecclesia, ubi non dicitur Officium duplex, imo flunt exequiae pro aliquo defuncto praesente corpore, vel anniversarium?

Sacra vero eadem Congregatio, in ordinario coetu ad Vaticanum infrascripta die coadunata, Dubiis ipsis mature perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative in omnibus.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

(DUBIORUM, num. 5358 (?), die 4 Mar., 1866).

XII.

How the Palm is to be received from the Bishop's hand on Palm Sunday.

Quum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens propositum fuisset Dubium, nimirum : in accipiendo candelis et palmis debentne Canonici alii osculari primum manum Episcopi, et postea candelam aut palmam ; an vero primum candelam aut palmam, et postea tantum manum Episcopi?

Sacra eadem Congregatio, in ordinario coetu hodierna die ad Quirinale habito, respondendum censuit : *Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.*

(BITURICEN., num. 5858, die 16 Sept., 1865).

XIII.

On the first Collect in the Missa quotidiana de Requiem.

Quum sacerdos quidam e dioecesi Tuscanensi Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione sequens proposuerit Dubium, scilicet : an in Missis quotidianis de Requiem sacerdos, sive ratione eleemosynae sive legati private celebrans pro aliqua aut pro aliis determinatis personis defunctis, debetne indiscriminatim dicere primam Orationem *Deus qui inter apostolicos, etc.*, primo loco in Missali assignatam ; an potius loco dictae primeae Orationis tenetur aliam dicere ex diversis in eodem Missali positis, quae conveniat ei aut iis deter minatis personis pro quibus Missam applicet ; Sacra

eadem Congregatio, in ordinariis comitiis ad Quirinale subsignata die coadunata, proposito Dubio rescribere rata est: *Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.*

(TUSCANEN. num. 5355, die 16 Sept., 1865).

FOREIGN CATHOLIC PERIODICALS.

2. *Rivista Universale.* Genova, Feb., 1868. Pagg. 106.

The *Rivista* begins with an elaborate notice of the history of philosophy, published by Mgr. Laforet, Rector of the Catholic University of Louvain. The reviewer is the Can. Felice Cialdini, already well known by his excellent translations from the French into the Italian. Next comes the Inaugural Lecture delivered before the Royal University of Genoa, by the professor of history, Sig. Giuria. It is a vigorous protest against the modern Italian historical school, which has chosen for its model the materialist and infidel writers of France in the last century. *Girolamo Savonarola and the Statue of Luther at Worms*, is the heading of an excellent article on the great Florentine, by the Dominican Father Rouard. It appears that this year is to witness the erection of a monument at Worms in honour of Luther, upon which are to figure the statues of Huss, Waldus, Wicliff, and Savonarola, as representatives of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, France, England, and Italy. This insult offered to Savonarola has filled with indignation the hearts of the many who revere his memory. Amongst others, Father Rouard has written at Louvain an elaborate defence of his orthodoxy in life and death, with a view to prove that the Reformation has no right to claim him as one of its precursors. He passes in review his private life, his public life, his teaching, and his death. Under the first heading is given a letter written to his father by Savonarola, when at the age of twenty-two he fled from his paternal home to enter the order of St. Dominic. This letter was first published by Count Carlo Capponi in 1858 from the autograph, and reveals a soul so strong in vigorous piety that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers. It is dated 24th of April, 1475:—

“I have no doubt but that my departure grieved you sore, the more so because I left you by stealth; but I wish you to learn my will and intention by this letter, that you may be comforted, and that you may understand that I have not acted so childishly as some persons think.

“And first I ask you as a true man and a despiser of perishable things, to incline rather to the truth than to passion, as women do, and to judge according to the dictates of reason, if I were right in flying from the world and in taking the resolution I have taken. *In prima*, the reason which led me to enter religion is this: first, the great misery of the world, the iniquities of men, the lusts, the

adulteries, the thefts, the pride, the idolatry, the cruel blasphemy; so that the world has come to this, that there is no longer to be found any one to do good; and in it I used to sing with tears often in the day this verse:—

Heu! fuge crudeles terras! fuge littus avarum!

and this because I could not bear the great wickedness of the blinded nations of Italy; seeing virtue completely extinguished and vice triumphant. This was the greatest suffering I could have in this world; wherefore I prayed daily to our Lord Jesus Christ that He would raise me out of this mire; and thus I continually made this little prayer, saying to God with deepest devotion: *Notam fac mihi viam in qua ambulem, quia ad te levavi animam meam.* Now God did show it to me when it pleased His infinite mercy, and I have listened to His call, although I am not worthy of such a grace. Answer me now: is it not a great blessing for a man to fly the filth and iniquity of a wretched world, to live like a natural being, and not as a brute among the swine? *Et etiam,* would it not be a great ingratitude on my part, after having prayed God to show me the straight path on which I might walk, to refuse to take it when He had deigned to point it out to me? Ah me! my Jesus, rather a thousand deaths than I should be so ungrateful.

“ So that, *dulcissime pater,* you ought rather to thank the Lord Jesus, than to weep, in that He has given you a son and preserved him so well for you for twenty-two years, and not only that, but also has deigned to make him His own chevalier. Do you not reckon it a great grace to have a son chevalier of Jesus Christ? *Sed, ut breviter loquar;* either you love me, or, perhaps, you love me not. If you wish to love me, since I have both a body and a soul, do you love more my body or my soul? You cannot say, my body, for you would not really love me by loving the baser portion of me. If, then, you love my soul more, why do you not seek my soul’s welfare? for indeed you ought to rejoice and make great joy for this triumph. I know well that the flesh will sorrow somewhat; but it must be bridled by the reason, *presertim* by wise and high-souled men like you.

“ Do you not believe that it is to me a great sorrow to leave you? Be assured for certain that since I was born I never had greater sorrow or greater affliction of heart, than when I found myself leaving my own kindred, to go among strange people, to sacrifice for Jesus Christ my body, and to sell my will into the hands of men I never knew; but then, reflecting that God calls me, and that He did not disdain to become a servant among us poor worms of earth, I could not dare to be deaf to His sweetest and tender voice: *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ergo reficiam vos.* *Tollite jugum meum super vos,* etc. But because I am aware that you complain that I went away from you so secretly, and almost fled from you, you must know that such was my sorrow and the feelings of my soul at leaving you, that I firmly believe, if I had manifested it to you before leaving you, my heart would have been

broken, and my thought would have hindered my act ; so you are not to wonder that I did not tell you. But indeed I left some papers behind the books that are resting against the window, to give you information of what I had done. I beg of you, therefore, my dear father, to put an end to your weeping, and not to bring upon me still more sorrow and sadness than I have; not that I am sorry for what I have done, for in truth I would not undo it to become greater than Caesar ; but because I too am flesh like yourself, and the sense rebels against the reason ; wherefore it behoves me to fight vigorously that the devil may not master me, and the more whenever I think of you. But these days, when our sadness is still fresh, will soon pass away, and then I hope that you and I shall have in this life the consolations of grace, and in the next of glory. I have only to add my request that you, as being a man, would comfort my mother, whom, with you, I ask to give me a blessing, and I will for ever pray fervently for your souls. Ex Bononia, die xxv Aprilis, 1475.

“**HIERONYMUS SAVONAROLA,**
“*filius vester*”.

Then follows a legal paper on the actual condition of cathedral chapters in Italy, which has a merely local importance. A sketch of Count Ottavio di Revel, whose death is a very great loss to Catholic Italy, concludes the number.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1868.

GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO VII.—CONTINUED.

It would seem, then, that the chief effects of active Volcanos on the Physical Geography of the Globe, are produced by the accumulation of erupted matter, in the form of cone-shaped mountains and of volcanic islands. In some cases, no doubt, the volcanic eruption is accompanied by a movement of upheaval or of subsidence of the Earth's Crust. Thus for instance, we have seen that a portion of the Italian coast was elevated when Monte Nuovo was thrown up, and the town of Tomboro was submerged on the occasion of the eruption of Sumbawa. Nevertheless it appears to have been generally the case that when the Crust of the Earth was once burst open, and a means of escape thus offered to the struggling powers of the fiery agent below,—in others words, when the active Volcano was established,—the process of upheaval gave place to that of eruption: just as the steam which rushes forth harmless from the safety valve of a steam engine, would, if not suffered thus to escape, exercise a dangerous power to burst asunder the walls of the iron chamber in which it is imprisoned. We now come to consider the case in which no such safety valve is offered to the surplus energies of the subterranean fires; and the giant power of heat, in its struggle to escape, shakes the foundations of the hills, and uplifts the superincumbent mass of stratified rocks.

We are assuming, then, that Earthquakes and Volcanos proceed from the same common cause. This opinion is now very

commonly, if not universally, adopted; and it may briefly be enforced by the following considerations:—First, though Earthquakes have sometimes occurred far away from any known volcanic region, yet they are more frequent in the neighbourhood of active or extinct Volcanos. Secondly, almost all volcanic eruptions are preceded by Earthquakes; and the Earthquakes generally cease, or, at least, become less violent, when the subterranean fire breaks out in the form of a Volcano. And, thirdly, it is plain that the condensed steam which is generated by internal heat, and the expansive power of the heat itself, must, of necessity, when pent up in the caverns of the Earth, tend to produce those very phenomena by which Earthquakes are distinguished. Let it be observed, however, that while we trace the shock of the Earthquake to the action of subterranean heat, this doctrine is by no means necessary for the main purpose of our present argument. Whatever may be the cause from which these phenomena proceed, it is enough for us to show that the Crust of the Earth has been from time to time upraised, and dislocated, and rent asunder in modern times, just as it is supposed in geological theory, to have been upraised, and dislocated, and rent asunder from time to time in by-gone ages. We will set down a few out of the many examples recorded during the last hundred years.

EARTHQUAKES OF NEW ZEALAND.—When the first English colonists settled in New Zealand, about fifty years ago, they were told by the natives that they might expect a great Earthquake every seven years. This alarming prediction has not been literally fulfilled; but at least, it is fully admitted that the total number of such disturbances within the last half century has not fallen short of the above estimate. During the years 1826–7 a series of shocks were felt in the neighbourhood of Cook Strait, after which it was observed that the sea shore had been uplifted on the north side of Dusky Bay. So transformed was the outline of the coast that its former features could no longer be recognized, and a small cove called the Jail, which had previously afforded a commodious harbour to vessels engaged in seal fishing, was completely dried up.

But the most memorable convulsion took place on the night of January the 23rd, 1855. A tract of land about as large as Yorkshire, on the south-west coast of the North Island, was permanently upraised from one to nine feet. The harbour of Port Nicholson, together with the valley of the Hutt, was elevated four to five feet; and a sunken rock, regarded before as dangerous to navigators, has remained since the Earthquake three feet above the level of the water. The shock was felt by ships at sea 150 miles from the coast, and it is estimated

that the whole area affected was not less than three times the extent of the British Islands.¹

EARTHQUAKES OF CHILI.—The whole coast of Chili has been subject to great disturbances and changes of level during the present century. In November, 1837, the town of Valdivia was destroyed by an Earthquake, and at the same moment, a whaling vessel, a short distance out at sea, was violently shaken, and lost her masts. The bottom of the sea was afterwards found to have been raised in some places more than eight feet; and several rocks appeared high above the water which had previously been covered at all times by the sea. Two years before, in 1835, the town of Conception and several others were reduced to ruins by a like visitation. After the first great convulsion the Earth remained for many days in a state of commotion. More than 300 lesser shocks were counted from the 20th of February to the 4th of March. On this occasion, too, the bed of the sea was upheaved; and the whole island of Santa Maria, seven miles in length, was lifted up from eight to ten feet above its former level.

The Earthquake of 1822, was more violent, perhaps, and more striking in its effects, than either of those just mentioned. On the 19th of November in that year, a sudden convulsive shock was simultaneously felt over a space 1200 miles in length. At Valparaiso and on either side, for a considerable distance, the coast was permanently upheaved. When Mrs. Graham, who was then living on the spot, and who has left us an account of the Earthquake, went down to the shore on the following day, she "found the ancient bed of the sea laid bare and dry, with beds of oysters, mussels, and other shells adhering to the rocks on which they grew, the fish being all dead, and exhaling most offensive effluvia". Some idea may be formed of the gigantic power here in operation, when it is remembered that to uplift the coast of Chili, it was necessary to move the mighty chain of the Andes, and, amongst the rest, the colossal mass of Aconcagua, 24,000 feet in height. How far this process of upheaval extended out to sea, beneath the bed of the ocean, has not been accurately ascertained; but certain it is that, for a considerable distance, the soundings were found to be shallower than before the Earthquake. It is roughly estimated that the Crust of the Earth was elevated over an extent of 100,000 square miles, or about half the area of France.²

EARTHQUAKE OF CUTCH.—On the western coast of India, near

¹ For these facts we are entirely indebted to Sir Charles Lyell, who received them in 1856 from three gentlemen who were eye-witnesses of the Earthquake in the preceding year. See *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. p. 83.

² Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. pp. 89-97.

the mouth of the river Indus, is the well-known district of Cutch. In the month of June, 1819, this extensive territory, not less than half the size of Ireland, was violently shaken by an Earthquake, several hundred people were killed, and many towns and villages were laid in ruins. The shocks continued for some days, and ceased only when the outburst of a Volcano seemed to open a vent for the troubled spirit within. But what is particularly worthy of note is that, when the Earthquake had passed away, a permanent change was found to have been effected in the level of the surrounding country. The town and fort of Sindree, situated on the eastern arm of the Indus, together with a tract of land 2000 square miles in extent, were submerged beneath the waters. The principal buildings, however, still remained standing, with their upper parts above the surface; and many of the inhabitants, who had taken refuge in one of the towers attached to the fort, were saved in boats when the Earthquake had ceased. On the other hand, within five miles and a half of this very spot, the level surface of the Earth was *upheaved*, so as to form a long elevated bank, 50 miles in length and 16 in breadth, which has been called the *Ullah Bund*, or the *Mound of God*. Nine years after this event, Sir Alexander Burnes went out in a boat to the ruins of Sindree, and standing on the summit of the tower, which still rose two or three feet above the surface of the water, he could see nothing around him but a wide expanse of sea, save where a blue streak of land on the edge of the horizon marked the outline of the Ullah Bund. Here was a striking illustration, on a small scale, of those changes which Geologists suppose to have been going on since the world first began: the dry land had been converted into the bed of the sea, and the level plain had been elevated into a mountain ridge.¹

Towards the close of the last century the province of Calabria in Southern Italy was the scene of an Earthquake which offers a very apposite illustration of our present argument. This celebrated convulsion is not, however, chiefly remarkable for its violence, or for its duration, or for the extent of territory moved. In all these respects it has been surpassed by many Earthquakes experienced in other countries within the last hundred and fifty years. But the Calabrian Earthquake has an especial claim on our attention, mainly from this unusual circumstance, that the region of disturbance was visited, as Sir Charles Lyell tells us, "both during and after the convulsions, by men possessing sufficient leisure, zeal, and scientific information, to enable them to collect and describe with accuracy such physical facts as throw light on geological questions".² The shocks were first felt in

¹ See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, tenth edition, vol. ii. pp. 97—104.

² *Principles of Geology*, tenth edition, vol. ii. p. 118.

February, 1783, and continued for nearly four years. Over a very considerable area of country all the common landmarks were removed, large tracts of land were forced bodily down the slopes of mountains; and vineyards, orchards, and cornfields, were transported from one site to another; insomuch that disputes afterwards arose as to who was the rightful owner of the property that had thus shifted its position.¹ Two farms near Mileto, occupying an extent of country a mile long and half a mile broad, were actually removed for a mile down the valley; and "a thatched cottage, together with large olive and mulberry trees, most of which remained erect, was carried uninjured to this extraordinary distance".² In other places the surface of the Earth heaved like the billows of a troubled sea; many houses were lifted up above the common level, while others subsided below it. Again and again the solid Crust of the Earth was rent asunder, and chasms, gorges, ravines, of various depths, were suddenly produced, in less time than it takes to tell it. Sometimes when the strain was removed, the yawning gulf as quickly closed again, and then houses, cattle, and men, were swallowed up in the abyss, leaving not a trace behind. It has even been recorded—strange though it may seem—that when two shocks rapidly followed one another at the same spot, the people engulfed by the first, were again cast forth by the second, being literally disgorged alive from the jaws of death.³ About 40,000 persons perished in this dreadful visitation, the greater number being crushed to death beneath the ruins of the towns and villages, others swallowed up in the yawning fissures as they fled across the open country, and others again burned in the conflagrations which almost always followed the shocks of Earthquake.

EARTHQUAKE OF LISBON.—Every one has heard of the famous Earthquake of Lisbon. It is chiefly memorable for the extreme suddenness of the shock, for the immense extent of the area affected, and for the amount of havoc and destruction done. On the morning of the fatal day—it was the 1st of November, 1755—the sun rose bright and cheerful over the devoted city, no symptom of impending danger was visible in the sky above or on the Earth below, and the gay-hearted people were pursuing their accustomed rounds of pleasure or business, when, suddenly, at twenty minutes before ten o'clock, a sound like thunder was heard underground, the Earth was violently shaken, and in another moment, the greater part of the city was lying in ruins. Within the brief space of six minutes, 60,000 people were crushed to death. The mountains in the vicinity of the town were cleft

¹ *Principles of Geology*, tenth edition, vol. ii. p. 118.

² Id., p. 182.

³ Id., p. 124.

asunder. The waters of the sea first retired from the land, and then rolled back in a huge mountain-like wave 50 feet above the level of the highest tide. A new quay, built entirely of marble, had offered a temporary place of refuge to the terrified inhabitants as they fled from the tumbling ruins of the city. Three thousand people are said to have been collected upon it, when, all at once, it sunk beneath the waves, and not a fragment of the solid masonry, not a vestige of its living freight, was ever seen again. The bottom of the sea where the quay then stood is now 100 fathoms deep.¹

From Lisbon as a centre the shock of this Earthquake radiated over an area not less than four times the extent of Europe.² Like a great wave it rolled northward, at the rate of 20 miles a minute, upheaving the Earth as it moved along, to the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean. The waters of Loch Lomond, in Scotland, were violently disturbed from beneath, and at Kinsale, in Ireland, the sea rushed impetuously into the harbour without a breath of wind, and mounting over the quay, flooded the market-place. Eastward the convulsion of the Earth's Crust was felt as far as the Alps, and westward it extended to the West India Islands, and even to the great lakes of Canada. On the north coast of Africa the disturbance was as violent as in Spain and Portugal; and it is recorded that at a distance of eight leagues from Morocco, the earth opened and swallowed up a considerable town with its inhabitants, to the number of eight or ten thousand people. Even on the high seas the shock was felt no less distinctly than on dry land. "Off St. Lucar", says Sir Charles Lyell, "the captain of the ship *Nancy*, felt his vessel so violently shaken, that he thought she had struck the ground; but, on heaving the lead, found a great depth of water. Captain Clark, from Denia, in latitude 36° 24' N., between nine and ten in the morning, had his ship shaken and strained as if she had struck upon a rock, so that the seams of the deck opened, and the compass was overturned in the binnacle. Another ship, forty leagues west of St. Vincent, experienced so violent a concussion, that the men were thrown a foot and a-half perpendicularly up from the deck".³ It is worthy of note that this, the most destructive Earthquake recorded in history, was not attended with any volcanic eruption; which goes to confirm our theory that the active Volcano serves as a kind of safety-valve for the escape of the struggling powers confined within the Crust of the Earth.

These are a few typical examples of the more violent convul-

¹ Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. p. 148.

² Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. i.

³ *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. p. 149.

sions by which the Crust of the Earth has been disturbed within the last hundred years: and they leave no doubt as to the kind of changes which may fairly be ascribed to similar agency in the past history of the Globe. Nor must it be supposed that, because our examples are few in number, the Earthquake is itself a rare and exceptional event. On the contrary, the state of partial disturbance and convulsion would seem to be the natural and ordinary condition of our planet. From the interesting catalogue drawn up by Mr. Mallet, it appears that, in our own times, the number of Earthquakes actually observed and recorded is, on an average, not less than from two to three every week. Now this catalogue cannot represent more than one-third of the Globe: for the disturbances which take place in the profound depths of the ocean must for the most part escape observation, and many parts even of the inhabited Earth are still beyond the reach of scientific researches. It is, therefore, quite a reasonable speculation of Sir Charles Lyell, that "scarcely a day passes without one or more shocks being experienced in some part of the Globe". Moreover in Mr. Mallet's catalogue no account is taken of those minor vibrations or tremblings of the Earth's Crust, which are not attended by any striking or noteworthy event. And yet such phenomena, when often repeated, may produce a very important change of level, and are far more frequent than most persons would be likely to suppose. In our quiet region of the Globe people are too apt to take for granted the general stability of the Earth: but in other countries, the inhabitants, warned by long experience, are no less deeply impressed with a conviction of its instability. Sir John Herschel says that, in the volcanic regions of Central and Southern America, "the inhabitants no more think of counting Earthquake shocks, than we do of counting showers of rain": nay, he adds that, "in some places along that coast, a shower is a greater variety".¹ Again, in Sicily, we are told they make provision against movements of the Earth's Crust, just as we make provision against lightning and storms; and it is quite a common thing for architects to advertise their houses as Earthquake-proof.²

So far we have spoken of the disturbance of the Earth's Crust in modern times by sudden and violent convulsions. But there are many phenomena with which the Geologist is familiar, that cannot be fairly accounted for unless by supposing that the surface of the Earth was often elevated and depressed in ancient times, without any sudden shock, by a slow and almost insensible movement. And, accordingly, gentle undu-

¹ *Familiar Lectures, etc.*, p. 7.

² Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, tenth edition, vol. ii. p. 144.

lations of this kind enter largely into that general theory of Geology which we have been attempting to draw out and illustrate. It may be asked, therefore, if we are able to support this part of our system by examples of similar phenomena occurring within the period of history. In reply, we shall endeavour to set forth, as briefly as we can, some of the evidence which has recently come to light on this subject, and which seems to us not less conclusive than it is interesting and unexpected.

In the bay of Baiae, to the west of Naples, two ancient Roman roads may be distinctly traced, at the present day, for a considerable distance, permanently submerged beneath the waters. There are also, in the same neighbourhood, the ruins of the temple of Neptune and of the temple of the Nymphs, both likewise submerged. "The columns of the former edifice stand erect in five feet of water, the upper portions just rising to the surface";¹ the pedestals are supposed to be buried in the mud below. Again, on the opposite side of Naples, near Sorrento, "a road with fragments of Roman buildings, is covered to some depth by the sea";² and in the island of Capri, at the opening of the bay of Naples, one of the palaces of Tiberius is also under water. Here, therefore, it is clear that the Crust of the Earth has subsided over a very considerable area; since what is now the bed of the sea, was in the days of the Romans dry land, traversed by roads, and dotted over with buildings. That the subsidence was slow and gradual may be inferred, partly from the absence of any record or tradition of a sudden convulsion producing such a change, and partly, too, from the unshaken and undisturbed condition of the monuments themselves.

But while this conclusion falls in most happily with our present argument, it would seem on further examination to bring with it a very serious difficulty. For, while those ancient monuments testify that the Crust of the Earth in this locality has *subsided*, the structure of the sea coast, interpreted according to geological principles, would indicate, on the contrary, that the Crust of the earth has been *upheaved*. Close to the sea, at the present day, on the bay of Baiae, there is a low, level tract of fertile land, and at a little distance inland, a lofty range of precipitous cliffs, 80 feet high, parallel to the line of the coast. This fertile tract, lying between the sea-beach and the perpendicular cliffs, is about 20 feet above the sea level, and is composed of regularly stratified deposits abounding in marine shells of recent species, together with works of human art, such as tiles, squares of mosaic pavement, fragments of bricks, and

¹ Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. p. 176.

² Id. ib.

sculptured ornaments. Upon these facts a Geologist would pronounce without hesitation:—First, that at some period since the district around Naples was first inhabited by man, the waters of the sea washed the base of the perpendicular cliffs; secondly, that the strata in which we now find the recent marine shells, and the remains of man's workmanship, were formed during that period by the process of deposition at the bottom of the sea; and thirdly, that at some subsequent time, by an upheaval of the Earth's Crust, these strata were lifted up so as to form a pretty considerable area of dry land, fit for agriculture and the arts of life.

Does it not seem, therefore, that we have here a direct contradiction between the evidence of ancient Roman buildings and the inferences of modern Geology? Doubtless, they both agree in the main point about which we are concerned just now, that the Crust of the Earth has been moved in recent times on the shores of the bay of Naples; but according to the testimony of the Roman temples, now covered by water, this movement has been one of *subsidence*, while, according to the inferences of Geological theory, it has been one of *upheaval*. This apparent contradiction certainly seems to call for some elucidation.

Even if we were left in this matter to mere conjecture, we might offer the following hypothesis as a fair and reasonable solution. We might suppose that since the days of the Roman Empire, there have been *two successive movements* of the Earth's Crust in the neighbourhood of Naples; first, a movement of subsidence, by which the ancient temples and roads were submerged to a considerable depth beneath the sea; afterwards, a movement of upheaval, by which the marine strata were lifted up. If this second movement were exactly equal to the first, it is plain that the ancient roads and buildings would have been just restored to their former level; but let us suppose that the amount of upheaval was something less than the amount of previous subsidence, and we should have these roads and buildings still submerged, as they are in point of fact, in a few feet of water. By such an hypothesis, therefore, the two classes of phenomena might be brought into perfect harmony. But we are not obliged to take refuge in hypothesis: for it is now distinctly proved by a very curious kind of evidence, that the Crust of the Earth in and about the bay of Baiae, has been successively depressed and upraised since the third century of the Christian era; nay more, that the subsidence in the first case was greater than the subsequent upheaval.

Near Pozzuoli, on the level tract of land which, as we have said, intervenes between the sea and the lofty range of inland cliffs, are to be seen at the present day the ruins of a splendid

Roman edifice, usually called the temple of Jupiter Serapis, though, according to some writers, it was not a temple at all, but a public establishment for baths. These ruins first attracted attention about the middle of the last century. Three magnificent marble columns were still standing erect, with their lower parts buried in the stratified deposits already described, and their upper portions, which projected above the surface of the land, partly concealed by bushes. When the soil was removed the original plan of the building could be distinctly traced: "it was of a quadrangular form, seventy feet in diameter, and the roof had been supported by forty-six noble columns, twenty-four of granite and the rest of marble". Many of the pillars have been shattered in the course of time, and lie strewn in fragments on the pavement. The three which are still standing erect, are upwards of forty feet in height, each carved out of a solid block of marble; and—what is chiefly to our purpose—they exhibit curiously inscribed on their surface memorials of the physical changes in which they have borne a part.

The base of these lofty columns is, at present, slightly below the level of the sea. Their outer surface is smooth for about twelve feet above the pedestals; then, for the next nine feet, the marble is everywhere bored by a well known species of mussel, which it is certain can live only in the sea. Above this band of perforations the pillars again present a smooth surface, and continue smooth to the top. The first inference from these facts is that the columns in question must have been at one time submerged to a height of twenty-one feet above the pedestals; otherwise they could not have been bored at that height by a species of animal that can exist only in sea water. Since that time, therefore, the land at this spot must have been upraised twenty-one feet. Furthermore, the temple of Jupiter was certainly not built at the bottom of the sea, but upon dry land; therefore, after the temple had been built, the Crust of the Earth must have subsided, at least, twenty-one feet. Once more, as the floor of the temple is now somewhat below the level of the sea, and as it is not very likely it was at first so built, we may fairly infer that it is now lower than it originally stood; and consequently, that the total amount of upheaval has not been equal to the total amount of subsidence. Though we cannot fix the exact date at which the subsidence began, it was probably not earlier than the third century of our era; for in the atrium of the temple is an inscription recording that it was adorned with precious marbles by the emperor Septimus Severus.

It cannot be supposed for a moment that these changes were effected by a rise and fall in the level of the sea rather than by a

movement of the Earth's Crust. A permanent change in the level of the Mediterranean, in any given locality, would, of necessity, imply a change of level over its entire extent: and therefore, if the phenomena exhibited in the bay of Baiae arose from such a cause, we should meet with phenomena of the same kind along the whole length of the Italian coast. Now, in point of fact, no such changes are elsewhere apparent; and consequently, they must be ascribed not to an upward and downward movement of the sea, but to an upward and downward movement of the land.

We must not omit to state, before leaving the subject, that it is now ascertained, by a series of accurate observations, that the Crust of the Earth in this interesting locality is once again slowly and gradually subsiding. At the beginning of the century the platform of the temple stood at about the level of the sea; it is now more than a foot below it. Nay, this second subsidence appears to have begun even before the present century. "In the year 1813", writes a modern traveller, "I resided for four months in the Capuchin convent of Pozzuoli, which is situated between the road from Naples and the sea, at the entrance of the town of Pozzuoli. In the Capuchin convents the oldest friar is called '*il molto reverende*', and the one who then enjoyed the title in this convent was 93 years old. He informed me that, when he was a young man, the road from Naples passed on the *seaward side* of the convent; but that, from the gradual sinking of the soil, the road was obliged to be altered to its present course. While I was staying at the convent, the refectory as well as the entrance gate, were from six inches to a foot under water whenever strong westerly winds prevailed, so as to cause the waters of the Mediterranean to rise. Thirty years previously, my old informant stated, such an occurrence never took place. In fact it is not probable that the builder of the convent would have placed the ground floor so low as to expose it to inundation as it now is".¹

On the shores of the Baltic Sea we find another illustration of our theory upon a more extended scale. About a century and a half ago the Swedish naturalist, Celsius, expressed a belief that a remarkable change of level was taking place along the eastern coast of Scandinavia; and he ascribed the change to a subsidence of the waters of the Baltic Sea. This opinion was received with no small amount of incredulity, but the arguments of Celsius were plausible and attractive enough to excite a controversy, and the controversy once aroused was not easily

¹ Letter from C. Hullmandel, Esq.; see Mantell, *Wonders of Geology*, Appendix G, p. 470. For a full and elaborate disquisition on the Temple of Jupiter Serapis, see also Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. pp. 164-179.

set at rest. Accordingly, since his time the facts upon which he relied have been more strictly examined, difficulties have been started and investigated, many new facts, at first unknown or unnoticed, have been brought to light, and the whole question has been rigorously discussed by scientific men. It would be tedious to go through the history of the discussion, or to develope at any length the arguments which in the end have proved successful, involving as they do a multitude of minute observations and nice measurements, made at a great variety of different places with hard-sounding names. But the general result may be easily stated and as readily understood.

It appears that numerous sunken reefs, well-known to navigators, have, within the last two centuries, become visible above water; that many ancient ports have become inland towns; that many small islands have become united to one another and to the mainland by grassy plains; that rocky points, which in former times just peeped above the water, and afforded refuge only to a solitary sea-bird, are now grown into little islets; and that several of the old fishing grounds are now deserted for their shallowness, nay, in some cases, altogether dried up. From these facts the inference is plain; either the solid Crust of the Earth has been uplifted, or the waters of the sea have subsided. Now it is certain there has been no subsidence of the sea; for such a subsidence, as we before observed, if it took place at all, should have been general; whereas there are many points on the shores of the Baltic, especially along the coasts of Denmark and Prussia, where it can be proved that no change of level has taken place for centuries. And therefore the phenomena above described we must attribute to an upheaval of the Earth's Crust.

Such is the kind of reasoning with which this inquiry has been pursued: and it may now be set down as a received and established fact, that a slow and gradual process of upheaval is going on, at the present day, on the shores of the Baltic Sea, at the rate of from two to four feet in a century; and this over an area of unknown breadth, and not less than 1000 miles in length.¹ Evidence of a similar kind has lately been adduced to prove that the west coast of Greenland is just now gradually subsiding for a space of more than 600 miles from north to south. "Ancient buildings on low rocky islands, and on the shore of the mainland, have been gradually submerged, and experience has taught the aboriginal Greenlander never to build his hut near the water's edge. In one case the Moravian settlers have been obliged more than once to move the poles upon which their large boats were

¹ See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. chap. xxxi.

set, and the old poles still remain beneath the water as silent witnesses of the change".¹

It should seem, therefore, that the Crust of the Earth is not that fixed and immovable mass of unyielding rock which it is often supposed to be. Whatever the gigantic power is which lies shut up within it, and which seems, clearly enough, to be developed in some way or another—perhaps in many ways at once—from internal heat, that power exercises a mighty influence, from age to age, on the outward form of our planet. Like the wind, indeed, it "bloweth where it listeth", and we cannot tell "whence it cometh or whither it goeth"; but we can hear "the sound thereof", and witness its effects when it breaks out now in this quarter of the world, and now in that, bursting open the massive rocks, and furiously vomiting forth whole mountains of smouldering ashes and molten mineral; or again, when, failing to find a vent, it shakes the foundations of the hills, and shivers into fragments the most enduring works of man—castles, temples, palaces—filling every heart with terror and dismay; or, in fine, when it gently upheaves the bottom of the ocean, or by withdrawing the strain, allows the dry land to subside, with a movement so gradual and insensible, as to escape the notice of the multitudes who are toiling in the busy cities. That phenomena of this kind have been going on in all past ages, is now universally assumed in the speculations of Geology: that they are going on in the present age, we have here endeavoured to prove by the evidence of facts. If we have succeeded according to our expectations, the reader will be prepared to admit that, on this point at least, it is not the Geologist who may fairly be charged with having recourse to the inventions of his fancy, but rather those who, assuming as a first principle that Geology is false, perseveringly shut their eyes to the physical changes that are going on around them.

¹ Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

THE CHURCH IN ABYSSINIA.

THE European name *Abyssinia* is generally used to designate that vast territory which in past times was known as *Ethiopia*, or *the land of Cush*, the only names by which it is still called in Africa, and which, comprising a population of about two millions of inhabitants, extended from Kaffa, near the Mountains of the Moon, to Suakin, on the Red Sea, and from Sennar to Cape Guardafui.

According to the ancient traditions of this kingdom, its priesthood is linked with Azarias, of the race of Sadok, high priest of the Jews, and its sovereigns have maintained an unbroken lineal descent from the Queen of Saba, so famed for her wisdom in the inspired records. St. Matthew and his disciples are said by some to have been its first apostles, whilst others assign the palm of its apostolate to the officer of Queen Candace, who, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, received the waters of baptism at the hands of St. Philip the Deacon. It is possible, however, that some other country may have been the theatre of the labours of these apostolic men: at all events, if Abyssinia received the light of faith in the first era of Christianity, it soon relapsed into its former barbarism, and in the first quarter of the fourth century the work of its evangelization had to be begun anew.

We learn the history of its conversion at this period from a contemporary writer, Rufinus. A Roman philosopher named Metrodorus, desirous of learning the peculiar habits of various nations, had travelled into the distant east, and received many precious gifts, especially from the Indian princes, but was despoiled of all as he travelled homeward through the Arabian deserts. A Tyrian merchant, named Meropius, anxious to emulate the fame of Metrodorus, resolved to pursue the same course, and set out accompanied by his two sons, Frumentius and Edessius, who were both as yet in their early youth. He, too, laid up rich stores in the countries that he travelled through, but having taken shipping in India the better to avoid the Bedouin hordes, his vessel was driven in a storm on the Ethiopic coast, not far from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. Frumentius and Edessius were safely landed, and in boyish heedlessness strayed along the shore. No sooner however was the wreck spied by the barbarians, than rushing down from the adjoining hills, they massacred all whom they met. As they bore away the booty, they found the two youths seated under a tree, reciting to each other the lessons which their father had marked out for them. Struck with their simplicity and comeli-

ness, the barbarians resolved to reserve them as slaves for the king. Being brought to him, he soon showed the greatest affection towards them, and loved them above all his other slaves. As they grew up, their ability and fidelity earned for them the highest posts and the most important trusts in the kingdom. In proof of his affection and esteem, the king, when dying, granted to them their liberty, with permission to travel whithersoever they pleased. As, however, he left only an infant son, they were requested by the queen-mother to remain as tutors and guardians of the young king. The whole government of the state soon devolved on them. Frumentius especially was remarkable for his gravity and wisdom: he encouraged the natives to traffic with the Romans and the neighbouring states: he diligently sought out some Christians among those who were thus induced to visit the coast; and invited them to remain in the kingdom; he built oratories for them wherever they wished to settle, joined with them in their devotions, and by his example excited in the natives the greatest reverence for the Christian name. The young prince having at length attained the years of manhood, the brothers were allowed to revisit their families and friends. Edeessus returned to Tyre, and from his lips Rufinus received the narrative we have given. Frumentius took the road to Alexandria to obtain a bishop and missionaries to reap the rich spiritual harvest that was now ripe for the sickle in Abyssinia. St. Athanasius then held the patriarchal see: he listened with delight to the tale of Frumentius, and repeating the words which Pharoah addressed to Joseph, cried out: where shall I find another so replenished with the spirit of God, and where is there one in whom it has been more pleasing to the Most High to make known the wonders of His power? Frumentius soon received episcopal consecration at the hands of Athanasius, who gave to him the name *Salama*, i.e. *the Meek*. Accompanied by a band of missionaries, he now set out as an apostle for the former land of his captivity, and by his influence, his miracles, and his preaching, he soon gathered in the whole nation to the fold of Christ. From a letter of the Emperor Constans, we learn that he was still living in the year 356. In that year, the Arian emperor, through hatred of St. Athanasius and of the orthodox faith, sent an Indian named Theophilus into Abyssinia bearer of letters to the Prince of Axum, requesting him to chase away Frumentius, who is styled a "pretended bishop and a charlatan"; or at least to oblige him to renounce all connection with Athanasius, and to receive imposition of hands from the Arian intruded patriarch. This letter has been preserved by St. Athanasius, who inserted it in his *Apology*: it remained unheeded by the Prince of Axum, but its bearer, Theophilus,

lingered on the coasts of the Red Sea, and scattered there the seeds of Arianism.

The year of St. Frumentius's death is uncertain. His memory is still cherished in the Abyssinian Church, and on his feast day is chaunted the following hymn handed down from the earliest times:

"I bid hail to him with the voice of gladness,
Magnifying and extolling him ;
Salama,¹ the door of mercy and clemency,
Who caused the splendour of the light of Christ to arise in *Aethiopia*,
Where hitherto there had been clouds and darkness.

"I bid thee hail, *Salama*, who wast commanded
To manifest the hidden doctrine ;
It rose in *Aethiopia*, like the morning star ;
By thy holy light and pleasant beauty
Even unto this day *Aethiopia* rejoices and is glad".

For three centuries the Christian faith flourished in Abyssinia, untainted with the heresies and perverse doctrines which brought ruin on many of the surrounding churches. Temporal prosperity at the same time smiled upon the kingdom, and whilst the provinces of the western empire were overwhelmed with the calamities consequent on barbaric invasion, this newly converted nation enjoyed all the blessings of religion and peace.² Nubia and Arabia acknowledged its sway; through its Christianizing influence the Sabean rites in these countries were exchanged for the true mysteries of religion, and the temples of Meroe and Mecca resounded with the praises of God.

About the year 520 Justin, the Greek Emperor, sent a remarkable embassy to Elesbaan, who then ruled in Abyssinia. At this time Dunaan, called by the Arabs Zonovas, ruled in Arabia. He was a Jewish proselyte, and, filled with the greatest hatred of Christianity, excited a fierce storm of persecution against his Christian subjects. Many of them were put to death, and one city of South Arabia, called Nagran, which was wholly Christian, was devoted to utter destruction. The citizens took up arms in self-defence, and valiantly resisted the troops sent against them. After a long siege, Dunaan, seeing no hope of vanquishing them, offered the most favourable conditions should they return to their allegiance. The citizens at once accepted these conditions, but no sooner were the troops in possession of the city than orders were given for an indiscriminate massacre of all the Christians who could be found there. The clergy and

¹ This was the name given to Frumentius by St. Athanasius.

² Axum was the ancient capital of Abyssinia, and its ruins still attest its former magnificence. Bruce states that he found there forty monolith obelisks, besides other monuments.

holy virgins dedicated to the service of God, to the number of four hundred and twenty, were burned at the stake: more than four thousand eight hundred others died by the sword rather than deny the name of Christ; and such was the fury of the tyrant that he caused the remains of Bishop Paul, who had died two years before, to be exhumed and publicly burned, and the ashes to be scattered on the highway. This barbarity and treachery caused a thrill of horror to vibrate throughout all Christendom. At the same time Dunaan wrote to the Persian king and to Mondar, head of the Saracens, urging them to root out Christianity from their dominions. The Emperor Justin, impeded by the incursions of the Persians and other barbarians on his own frontiers, wrote to the Abyssinian monarch praying him to punish the cruelty of the Arabian tyrant and to avenge the outrage which had been offered to the Christian name. Elesbaan entered Arabia with a select army, discomfited the heretical troops, and with his own hand slew in battle the tyrant Dunaan. The memory of this triumphant excursion which subjugated the greater part of Arabia to the Abyssinian rule, still lives in popular tradition, and Elesbaan himself is honoured as the Charlemagne of his country. One of the most beautiful poems that have come down to us from the early Church of Abyssinia was composed in commemoration of the martyrs of Nagran. We present it to our readers as translated by the learned Ethiopic scholar Dr. Rodwell:

“ Hail to thee, great city, city of Nagran,
City of thunder!
City of God, which art named a paradise.
The blood of thy martyrs flowed like water,
The sound of their thunder reached the heavens!
O great city, city of Nagran!
Bright are thy stars,
Thy trees sing for joy,
Eloquent are thy priests,
Thy deacons minister,
And thy people are faithful,
Baptized into Holy Church.
A city there is, bright like the sun,
Whose foundations the meek encircle ;
Round about it stand the martyrs,
Leaning on the knowledge of the cross,
Filled with people, as the pomegranate is with seed.
City of victorious martyrs, holy Nagran.
Firm and solid are its hills,
And precious its stones, emerald and topaz,
Fragrant its trees, bedewed with the blood of Christ,
Bright and glistening its stars,

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Its perfume is sweet like incense.
 Its bishops, priests, deacons, monks,
 And even women, gave their lives to the death,
 For the testimony of the faith ;
 They were slain by fire and sword
 That they might receive their heavenly recompence.
 Peace be on thee, Nagran, city of God,
 And peace on thy children,
 For the name of Christ hath made thy martyrs famous,
 The sound of their thunder hath reached the heavens".

The victor Elesbaan addressed letters to the Emperor Justin, and to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, acquainting them with the success which had accompanied his arms, and the discomfiture of the enemies of Christ. After a long reign, he abdicated his royal dignity, sent his crown to the tomb of our Saviour, and shut himself up in a solitary cave, where, separated from the turmoils of the world, he wholly devoted himself to the most fervent exercises of prayer and penance. Elesbaan died in the year 570. Twenty years later, the Arabs, aided by the Persian troops, defeated the Abyssinian army under the walls of Mecca; still the kingdom of Abyssinia flourished, and the inscriptions of *Axum* and *Siba*, which date from this period, attest the power of its kings and the wisdom of their rule. Its calendar still retains the names of many saints who adorned its church at the same time, and an abbot *Johanni*¹ is especially commemorated as distinguished by his miracles and virtues, The *encomium* of his feast-day styles him "*A man of God*",—

" His dwelling was in the desert as dwelt Elias,
 In sheep skins and in goat skins
 Blessed the righteous man !
 God gifted him with eagle's wings
 That he might reach the land of the living.
 He loved poverty,
 He fed on the green herbs,
 The dews of the desert were his drink ;
 He had no home on earth,
 He made the kingdom of heaven his heritage.
 As the wandering bee, though small of body,
 For the sweetness of its produce is greatly praised,
 And perfumes itself among flowers ;

¹ *Translations from the Ethiopic*, by Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A., in 'Journal of Sacred Literature', January, 1866, pag. 333.

² Some have supposed that the medieval name " Kingdom of *Prester John*" was derived from the devotion which Abyssinia displays for this holy man. It is more probable that it proceeded from the title *Abet Gian-oi*, "Sire, Majesty", which is used in the Gheez dialect when addressing the king, and which from its affinity with the Portuguese phrase was supposed by the first European visitors to mean "Priest John".

So Abba Johanni wandered the desert :
He sought the face of Jesus in the law of the Spirit,
He was crowned with the spirit of grace ;
A virgin, he shunned the pleasures of sensuality.
Abba Johanni was clad in faith
Like a pillar overlaid with gold.
I will liken him to the likeness of a bee ;
For as the bee gathers its store from the flowers of the field,
So he gathered righteousness from all the saints.
On him rested the patience of Job,
He fulfilled ordinances and became a martyr.
Like Samuel he lived in the temple from his youth.
He laboured in this world
And went in peace and joy to the heavenly Jerusalem".

It was about the middle of the seventh century that the Abyssinian church was betrayed into heresy. As its first apostle, St. Frumentius, received his mission from Alexandria, it soon became a national law that his successors should receive their appointment and consecration at the hands of the Catholic patriarch of that see. It happened at the time of which we speak that Abba-Benjamin, an Eutychian bishop holding the see of Cairo, aspired to the patriarchal dignity. To attain this end, he entered into league with a band of Arabs, and caused the Catholic patriarch to fly from Alexandria, together with all his adherents. The Arabs, however, proved themselves treacherous in their alliance, and retained possession of Alexandria; and, therefore, Abba-Benjamin continued to reside in Cairo, but assumed the title of patriarch of Alexandria. A few months later, delegates from the Abyssinian church arrived in Cairo, journeying on towards the patriarchal see, asking to have a bishop appointed to them. There they learned that Abba-Benjamin was the only one who now claimed to be successor of St. Athanasius, and unable to proceed any farther in consequence of the Arabian troops, having cut off their path on every side, they consented to receive a bishop at his hands, i.e. a wolf in sheep's clothing, an Eutychian heretic, who with twelve companions set out from Cairo to infest with his errors the church of Abyssinia. Then commenced an era of gloom and sadness for that once flourishing region. Too tenacious of their past traditions, they refused to abandon their old liturgy and hymns, and the *Haimanout-Abou*, i.e. the writings of SS. Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, and Cyril, whom they still revere as the great Fathers of the Church. But to these were added other writings bearing the stamp of superstition and heresy, and betraying the ignorance which subsequently prevailed. Dioscorus was declared a martyr and enrolled

among the saints. The great council of Chalcedon too was thenceforward stigmatized as a 'synod of fools', and every insult was heaped on the memory of the great Pontiff, St. Leo.

For centuries the name of Abyssinia almost disappears from history. One cheering feature alone remained which from time to time reminded Europe of the past glories of its church: this was reverence for the holy places of Jerusalem, and devotion to the cross of our Redeemer. A monastery of Abyssinian monks was founded in Jerusalem to receive the pilgrims from their nation, and to represent their church at the tomb of Christ. Hence, too, the feast of "the finding of the Holy Cross" was celebrated with special solemnity. One of the most beautiful of the fragments that have been preserved to us from the early ages of Abyssinia, is a hymn composed in the sixth century, and which continues to the present day to be chanted on this festival. It is thus translated by Dr. Rodwell:—

"The cross is our ransom,
 The cross is our strength,
 The cross is the salvation of our souls:
 The Jews denied, but we believe.
 Whoso believeth on this cross is saved.
 By the virtue of His cross hath He preserved us,
 And opened the eyes of our hearts:
 The voices of the prophets unite and say
 The cross is the light of the world,
 For, the cross hath won the victory, death is conquered.
 Built up in His name,
 Sanctified by His blood,
 Signed with His cross,
 Fair and goodly is holy Church,
 A perfect tabernacle not made by hand of man.
 The cross is a tree of life,
 A buckler of salvation,
 The cross hath given light to the nations,
 The cross hath been the salvation of kings.
 Thy cross, O Lord, is the resurrection of the dead.
 By His cross He opened Paradise,
 By His cross He wrought salvation.
 The cross shall be our guide,
 In the law of Moses was it revealed,
 When the rod calmed the sea:
 The cross being found in the holy place,
 It shed its light over the world.
 Some are there who say: Do ye worship the tree?
 Keep ye a festival to the wood?
 But does not the precious blood sanctify us?
 Therefore will we adore.
 It saveth out at sea,

It maketh light the hard burden,
It is our help in the desert,
It delivers by its grace :
Thereat the demons flee.
The cross is worshipped in heaven.
I saw the sun and the moon adore :
The cross of Christ shall keep you,
Knock ye at the door of your Lord.
Let the cross be a sign of death to sin,
Let the cross be a sign of the pilgrim's staff,
Let the cross be a sign of the spirit's sword ;
Gaze on the cross with love.
It was the Lord of the Sabbath who was crucified ;
On the wood of the cross will I gaze ;
On the cross will I behold humility ;
To Him, who was before the world, will we give praise :
Behold the Lamb".

The Council of Florence was destined to once more bring Abyssinia prominently before the whole Christian world. A Franciscan friar named Alberto, had conveyed to Cairo, and thence to the Abyssinian Abouna,¹ the summons of the Holy See to return to the union of Christ's fold. For some years the sultan of Egypt had pressed with a heavy hand on his Christian subjects. Intolerable taxes were often imposed, and to insure their payment, the Jacobite patriarch was seized on and thrown into prison. For the anointment of each new Abouna, a heavy fine was also required from the patriarch, who in return exacted it four-fold from the Abyssinian clergy. This was a source of constant recrimination between the heretical churches, and both rejoiced that by the invitation of the Holy Father an opportunity was at length afforded them of returning to the communion of the Catholic world. In 1441, before the close of the solemn sessions, two Abyssinian envoys presented themselves at the feet of Eugene the Fourth in the Council of Florence. They were Andrew, abbot of the monastery of St. Anthony, and Peter, a deacon, and in the name of Constantine Zare-Jacob, the King of Abyssinia, and of the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch, solicited that the long afflicted church of Abyssinia might be restored to the communion of the Catholic fold. The discourses of the envoys and the letters of the clergy have happily been handed down to us in the acts of the Florentine General Council; they pourtray in the liveliest colours the affliction of the whole nation at being for eight hundred years shut out from the Roman Church, the mother of the Christian fold, and their joy at being now invited back to her maternal bosom: " All churches", they say, " which

¹ It is thus the Abyssinians style their bishops: it literally means *our father*.

through lack of discipline and wisdom have neglected to maintain the first principles, and have separated themselves from the mother church of Rome, have been handed over by God as a prey to pagans and a laughing-stock to infidels, as may be seen in the Greek and Armenian churches, and in ourselves, since the period of our separation from you. One thing alone consoles us and mitigates our grief—it is the hope that He who has given your Holiness the strength to bring back the Greeks and Armenians to the unity of Catholic faith, and who has inspired you to invite us by your beloved son Albert to embrace the same union, may give us the grace to correspond with your desires and restore us to peace with the Catholic Church" (*Labbé. Concil. tom. xiii.*

The articles of reunion were soon drawn up, and the profession of Catholic faith was solemnly accepted by the representatives of the Abyssinian church. Great was the consolation of Eugene the Fourth on seeing this distant flock at length brought back to the saving fold. On his return to Rome, the Abyssinian embassy was received at his court in solemn pomp, the memory of which is still preserved in one of the paintings of the Vatican; and in the vicinity of St. Peter's, a church with its adjoining monastery was granted to their nation: it still retains the name of "*the Church of the Abyssinians*". Yet in the mysterious ways of God, the time had not yet come when Abyssinia should be once more refreshed with the fertilizing dews of heaven. The representatives of Abyssinia were, on their return to Alexandria, betrayed by a slave into the hands of the sultan. By his order they were loaded with chains, treated with every ignominy, and soon after put to death. The good king Constantine Zarea-Jacob closed his life in 1468, and thus vanished for a time the cheering prospect of having Abyssinia restored to the blessings of union with the Catholic Church.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, a small exploring party of Portuguese landed at Massouah, anxious to conclude a commercial treaty with Abyssinia. This offer of a treaty was at once rejected by the then ruling monarch, and Covilham, who was at the head of the expedition, was detained in custody. His captivity was destined to be a source of temporal, as well as spiritual salvation to Abyssinia. A few years later, the Saracens, under their sultan Selim, threatened to overrun the country, and add Abyssinia to their dominions. To avert this imminent danger, an envoy, at the solicitation of the captive Covilham, was dispatched to Portugal, praying for succour against the encroachments of the Mussulman. For the moment Portugal was engaged with other conquests, and for some years Abyssinia had to endure all the horrors of Saracen pillage. It

was not till 1520 that the Portuguese government responded to the invitation of the Abyssinian envoy, by sending an embassy to Massouah. Though welcomed by the young king David, the people would not allow any alliance to be concluded with them, and all the Portuguese envoys, including three priests, were kept there as prisoners till 1526. In the meantime new incursions of the Turks menaced the Abyssinian nation with utter destruction. Portuguese aid was therefore once more asked for, and at length, in 1538, four hundred Portuguese soldiers, under the command of Christopher de Gama, landed at Massouah. By their valour, and still more by the terror which their name inspired, Abyssinia was in a short time restored to peace.

A new dawn of faith now arose for this long-suffering people. Some zealous missionaries had accompanied the Portuguese soldiers, and despite the prohibition of the Abyssinian court, devoted themselves to bring back the natives to the Catholic fold. They had to endure a bitter persecution for many years. As one pastor was struck down, another hastened to risk his life in this holy cause, and slowly the faithful flock of Christ increased. It was not, however, till 1603, when the Jesuit father Paez arrived in Abyssinia, that heaven seemed to smile upon this mission. By his preaching, the king himself embraced the Catholic faith, and an immense multitude of the natives was brought back to the unity of holy Church. This missioner was well skilled in architecture and painting: a palace which he erected for the king was long the great wonder of art of the entire kingdom, and some of the churches which he built and decorated, still remain. His name too yet lives, and is venerated in the traditions of the country. He died in 1624, and new storms soon arose to disturb the peace of his fervent neophytes.

In consequence of the Jewish settlements in the kingdom, and the repeated Mussulman invasions, many abuses and superstitions had been superadded to the Jacobite heretical errors. Thus, circumcision was practised, the sabbath of the Jews was observed, and a plurality of wives was held to be lawful: and many of the Abyssinian princes chose rather to cling to these tenets which so favoured their passions, than to embrace the inflexible morality of the Catholic missioners. Seghed the Second, who began his reign in 1632, was one of those enemies of the cross of Christ. An heretical Egyptian adventurer whom he chose Abouna of the Abyssinian church, declared open war against the Catholics, and avowed his determination never to rest till the last of the missioners was banished from the country. Soon the faithful flock was deprived of its pastors. Some of these entered Nubia, hoping to be able to linger on the frontiers till more favourable circumstances might arise. However, at the instigation of the abouma,

they were attacked by a Turkish pacha named Suakem, who seized on their sacred vessels, despoiled them of all that they possessed, and threw them into a dismal dungeon, from which it was with difficulty that the threats of Richelieu and the efforts of the French consul in Memphis could secure their release.

Notwithstanding, however, all the severe decrees against the Catholic missionaries, six Jesuits still remained in secret to minister to the wants of the faithful in Abyssinia. The Abouna was filled with rage on learning that all the hated missionaries had not yet been banished. The Christians were everywhere arrested and tortured in the most cruel way to force them to disclose the hiding-place of the fathers. In Tigris three of them were at length discovered and put to death. But every search for the others was in vain. The king Seghed, seeing that all the efforts of persecution were thus baffled, assumed an air of sorrow for having brought affliction on his faithful Catholic subjects. He declared that henceforward he would rule with clemency, and that every favour would be shown to the missionaries: he even expressed a desire to see the heroic men who had been so courageous as to brave all the terrors of the past persecution and had given such noble proofs of their devotedness to the cause of the Catholic faith. The three Jesuits who still remained in the kingdom were privately admonished by the natives that all these professions of toleration and friendship were nothing more than an hypocritical mask by which Seghed sought to conceal his wicked designs. Still they thought it better to assume that his words were truthful fearing lest any of the faithful might deem them mercenaries who feared to risk their lives to secure peace for the flock. They no sooner, however, presented themselves before the king, than they were seized by his orders and treated with every indignity. Sentence of death was soon passed against them, which was to be accompanied too with the slowest and most terrible tortures: and with the martyrdom of these holy men in 1638, was closed, for well nigh two centuries the mission in Abyssinia.

From time to time new efforts were made by the Holy See to break through the barriers opposed by heresy and superstition against the preaching of our holy faith. Each missionary expedition, however, only added new names to the long list of Catholic martyrs, and but few could even penetrate into the interior to learn if any remnant of the Catholic flock still lingered in Abyssinia. It was only in 1838 that, at length, a successful mission, in charge of the Lazarist Fathers, could be established there. Though the missionaries were few, still their preaching produced everywhere the happiest fruits, and the returns of last year (1867) reckoned no fewer than *sixty thousand*

natives as members of the Catholic fold. Our present limits oblige us to reserve for another number the details of this flourishing mission: suffice it now to say, that the martyrdom of so many former missionaries seems, at length, to bear its happy fruit, and that there is every hope that the cheerless plateaus of West Africa may be once more changed into a paradise of God.

We cannot however close this sketch of the past history of the Abyssinian church without remarking that the long centuries of superstition and heresy have not cancelled from its records the testimony of its early church to the truths of the doctrines of Catholic faith. Its liturgy at every page presents the doctrine of the real presence in the Holy Eucharist. The communion is called "*The holy, precious, living, and true Body of our Lord, which is given for the remission of sins and eternal life*". In communicating the people the priest says: "*This is the bread of life, which came down from heaven, the truly precious Body of Emmanuel our God*": and in like manner with the chalice: "*This is the cup of life which came down from heaven, the precious blood of Christ*". A traditional reverence for the see of Rome still lingers among its people, and one of its most ancient religious works, called *The Court of Emperors*, whilst declaring the necessity of four patriarchs from the analogy of the four Gospels, the four rivers of paradise, the four seasons, etc., adds that 'the head and judge among these four patriarchs is the bishop of Roine, the heir of St. Peter, to whom was given power over all the princes and congregations of Christians'.

¹ The *Aethiopic Mass* commences with a series of prayers for the purification of all the sacred vessels connected with the holy Sacrifice. The prayer over the Paten is as follows: "O Lord our God Jesus Christ, who didst stretch forth thine hands upon the holy cross, lay Thy hand upon this paten; bless, sanctify, and purify it, that Thy priests may make therein Thy holy Body in this holy Apostolic Church". In the prayer over the chalice: "O Jesus Christ our God . . . lay thy hand upon this cup; bless, sanctify, and purify it, that Thy priests may make therein Thy holy Blood, etc." *Aethiop. Liturg.* 'Jour. of Sac. Lit.' by Dr. Rodwell, July, 1863, p. 339; and *Renaudot 'Or. Lit.'* i 174

² In Dr. Rodwell's collection of ancient hymns of the Abyssinian Church, there is one for St. Peter's feast which thus begins:—

"We bless thy humility, Peter, chief of bishops,
For thou didst hearken to the Father's word;
He bowed his head, and gave up his soul to death:
Blessed Peter, chief of bishops pray for us.
The Saviour chose and ordained thee chief of bishops,
That thou mightest set in order all the faith.
Strong pillar, foundation that cannot be shaken,
Patron of celibates, teacher of law to the peoples".

Subsequently he is styled the '*Prince of bishops on whom was the grace of conquering faith*':

"Whom the King of glory Himself hath chosen,
A true steward of the faith.
Blessed, holy Peter, the tie-beam of the Church.
Strong in the Spirit was blessed Peter:
He signed his face with the sign of the cross,

The doctrine of the invocation of saints is also recorded in the clearest manner: "O Lord, save Thy people (thus runs one of the prayers of its ancient liturgy) and bless Thy heritage through the prayers and supplications which shall be offered in our behalf by the lady of all, the holy and pure Mary, the Mother of God; through the prayers of the glorious inhabitants of heaven . . . of all the just and elect who are signed with the sign of the cross, and of the angel of this holy day".¹

It is, however, to the special devotion of the early Abyssinian church to the holy Mother of God that in this month of May we would wish to invite the attention of our readers. This devotion still lives there among the simple faithful: as among our Celtic fathers so among the Abyssinian Christians, the name, *servant of Mary*, is frequently met with as a personal designation; her invocation is repeated several times each day; and so popular is this devotion that when the persecution was excited against the missionaries in the seventeenth century, the passions of the people were excited by the calumny that these missionaries were enemies of Mary's honour. Two beautiful hymns, composed in the sixth century, the golden era of Abyssinian piety, have been handed down to us, and are still chanted on her feast days in praise of the holy Mother of God. We will insert them from the translation by Dr. Rodwell, as our small tribute to her honour for this '*Month of Mary*'.

I.

"With tongues of fire shall the angels praise thee,
 Angels shall surround thee, Mary, with wings of light,
 Our Mother and the Mother of our Lord :
 Angels with pen of gold shall write thy praises,
 Till the second coming of thy Son :
 Thou art that bush which was truly called the Holy of Holies ;
 Thou art light, the treasure-house of the Word ;
 Mary, pray for us. . . .
 She is that Virgin whom Emmanuel chose,
 By the wings of angels is she encircled,
 Seated on a throne of glory she intercedes,
 On her head a crown surmounted by the cross.
 This is she who looks forth at the morn,
 Beneath her feet the moon,

He shone before the people like a burning torch.
 The people said to Peter, pray for us,
 And ask for the pardon of our sins ;
 For, thee hath the Father ordained to rule the Church :
 Bless me, O my Father, let me receive thy blessing ;
 Alleluia ! O thou steward of the faith".

Journal of Sac. Lit., January, 1867, p. 395.

¹ Brett on *The Liturgies*, page 65; also Renaudot and Rodwell, *loc. cit.*

She is the fair and beauteous cloud
Pure in her virginity without a stain.
Gate of salvation, vase of manna;
She bare in her womb the King of Israel.
All her words are peaceful,
The peaceful one shall she be called;
Sweetness dwells in her words, and grace in her deeds.
A royal palace on earth and in heaven".¹

II.

INVOCATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. And now we will write the praises of our Lady, and Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, to whom prayer and petition shall be offered by the children of Baptism, world without end.

"Thou shalt be named the Beloved One, O thou blessed among women. Thou art that second chamber which is called the Holy of Holies, wherein were the tables of the ten commandments, writ by the finger of God. . . .

"Pray for us, O holy Mary.

"Wherefore we all will magnify thee, O our Lady, pure Mother of God, at all times; we will pray and look up to thee that we may find compassion with the lover of mankind. . . .

"Over the sanctuary were the cherubim painted with the painting of God the Word who took flesh from thee, O pure one without change, that He might be the forgiver of our sins and the blotter out of our iniquities.

"Thou art that pure chest of gold in which was laid up the manna, that bread which came down from heaven, and the Giver o Life to all the world.

"Thou art that candlestick of gold which didst bear the shining lamp, all times a light to the world, light of light, without beginning, very God of very God, who was man of thee without change, and on His coming gave light to us who dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death, and guided our feet into the way of peace, in the mystery of His holy wisdom.

"Thou art that golden censor which bore the coals of blessed fire which He who shall forgive our sins and do away transgression took of thee.

"He is God the Word, who became man of thee, who ascended up to His Father as an incense from an honourable distilment. Garden of pleasures, garden of joy, which God had prepared for the saints ere the world was made, planted with large trees for adornment, kept by cherubim and seraphim, one of whom visited thee from heaven and said in the holy house: Blessed art thou of woman and blessed the fruit of thy womb. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow

¹ "Translations from the *Aethiopic*", *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, January, 1866, page 836.

thee, for that which shall be born from thee shall be a light to all the world.

"Thou art the sweet-smelling flower that sprang up from the root of Jesse

"The rod of Aaron that budded though unplanted and unwatered, such art thou, O Mother of Christ, our very God, who came without human father, and wrought salvation.

"All the saints shall say to thee as is their due, pray for us. O thou that art full of grace, thou shalt be exalted above archbishops, honoured greatly above prophets. In Thee is majesty of aspect exceeding the majesty of cherubim and seraphim. Thou art truly the glory of our race and the petitioner for life to our souls. Pray for us Lord Jesus Christ to strengthen us in the right faith, even in the faith of Him, and to bestow compassion and mercy upon us, and to forgive us our sins in the multitude of His mercy.

"The crown of our glory and beginning of our salvation and foundation of our purification is in the Virgin Mary who is the Mother of God—of the Word which became Man for our salvation, when at length He who was perfect God became very man, and therefore that Virgin bore him miraculously. Who can set forth the might of that birth?

"For by His own will, and in the good pleasure of His Father the Holy Ghost came forth and saved us. Great is the glory of thy virginity.

"O Mary! perfect Virgin, thou hast found grace. The Lord is with thee. Thou art the Ladder seen by Jacob, which reached from earth to heaven, and by which the angels of God were ascending and descending.

"Thou art that wood which Moses saw in the flame of fire when the wood was not consumed.

"The Son of God descended and dwelt in thy womb, and the fire of His divinity consumed not thy body.

"Thou art that field in which seed was not sown, and yet living fruit came forth from thee.

"Thou art the treasure which Joseph purchased, and found therein the precious pearl, our Saviour Jesus Christ, carried in thy womb, and whom thou didst bear into the world.

"Rejoice, O Mother of God, thou joy of angels.

"Rejoice, O pure one, foretold by the prophets.

"Rejoice, for thou hast found grace; the Lord is with thee.

"Rejoice, for thou hast received the message of the angel of joy to the whole world; rejoice, O Mother of the world's Creator.

"Rejoice, for thou art worthily called 'full of grace'. Rejoice, O Mother of God. Rejoice, thou who deliverest the living, and art the salvation of all who live.

"Rejoice, thou who didst suckle with milk Him who nourisheth all creation. Rejoice, O holy one, Mother to all who live; to thee do we look up. Pray for us.

"O Virgin, O holy Mother of the Lord, rightly art thou called she

who hath wondrously borne the king ; a mystery abode on thee for our salvation. Let us keep silence, for we cannot express it aright, on account of the dignity of the Benefactor, for the manifold marvel of the appearance of the Word of the living Father who descended upon Mount Sinai, and gave the law to Moses, and shrouded the top of the mountain with cloud, and with smoke, with darkness, and with whirlwinds (naphs), and by the sound of the voice of trumpets, which struck those who stood by with fear.

“ He it was who came down unto thee, O mountain that didst speak in humility, even the lover of men who was made man of thee without change, a perfect body, rational like us in soul, in which dwelt the wisdom of God, became perfect man, in order that He might save man, and pardon his sins, and cause him to dwell in heaven, and return to his former abode in the multitude of His compassion and mercy.

“ Ineffable is the dignity of the Virgin ! for the Lord elected her, came and dwelt in her, even He who had dwelt in light, to which darkness approacheth not, was borne in her womb nine months, even the Invisible, the Inscrutable, and she bare him, Mary a virgin still.

“ This is the stone which Daniel, the prophet, saw, that was cut out of the lofty mountain without hands—the Word which proceeded out from the Father, came, and was incarnate of the Virgin, with no human parent, and saved us.

“ Thou art the pure Branch, and the faithful vessel of the right faith of our fathers, O holy Mother of God, pure Virgin, who hast borne to us the Word of the Father, Jesus Christ, who came to save us.

“ Thou art the Mother of the Light, the honourable Mother of the Lord, who didst bear the unseen Word, and after bearing Him, didst remain a virgin. Praise and benediction shall be given to thee.

“ Where is the tongue that shall be able to utter what should be said of thee, O Virgin Mother of the Word of the Father ? Thou hast become the throne of the King, whom the cherubim do bear. We will call thee blessed, O blessed One, and will remember thy name to all generations, O fair Dove, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ Rejoice, Mary, Mother and handmaid ! for Him who is in thy womb, shall angels worship, cherubim adore, and seraphim, without ceasing, outspread their wings, and say : this is the King of Glory, He hath come to forgive the sins of the world, in the greatness of His mercy.

“ All the heavenly hosts exclaim : blessed art thou ; thou art a second heaven upon earth, the portal of the east ; Mary, the Virgin, a pure star, and the bride of the Father ; the Father looked down out of heaven, and beholding none like thee, sent His only begotten, and He became man of thee.

“ All generations shall call thee blessed—thou only, O our Lady, Mother of God.

“ All the kings of the earth shall come to thy light, and the people

to thy brightness, O Virgin Mary. All generations shall call thee blessed, and shall worship Him who was born of thee, and shall magnify Him. Thou art that very cloud which has caused the waters of the rain, a type of the only begotten, to appear to us.

"Great things, and marvellous, shall they speak concerning thee, O thou city of God, for thou hast been the dwelling place of the Word of the Father.

"Rejoice, O thou intellectual garden wherein Christ, the second Adam, made his abode.

"Rejoice, O thou pure star, adorned with all the beauty of praise, He hath come and taken flesh of thee.

"Rejoice, O bush, which the fire of his Deity did not consume.

"Rejoice, O handmaid, Mother, and Virgin, thou second heaven, who didst bear in the flesh Him who rideth upon the cherubim and seraphim.

"The ark was she of one person of the Holy Trinity. She was that Jerusalem, the city of the prophets, and the abode of joy to all the saints.....

"Let us glorify Mary as the Mother of God, because, in the city of David, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born of her, so all we Thy believing people will call Mary blessed, for she was virgin and Mother at once. Rejoice, O pure Virgin free from stain. Let us celebrate the mystery which hath been revealed to us, for He who had not been incarnate became man; He who had no beginning had a commencement; He who had no day had a day assigned Him; the unknown was revealed, the invisible was seen, the Son of the living God became the Jesus Christ whom we adore and praise. Amen".—(Dublin Rev., April, 1868, p. 325.)

ANCIENT IRISH POEM BY SAINT COLMAN UACLUASAIGH.

O'REILLY, in his *Irish Writers*, gives the following notice of the author of the poem which we now publish: "Colman O'Cluasaith, the tutor of *Cummian Foda* (i.e. the tall), lived at the time of Cummian's death, which happened in the year 661. A quotation from a poem of Colman's upon the death of his disciple Cummian, is given by the Four Masters under that year. We cannot point out where any of his entire pieces are now to be found"!¹ That which Mr. O'Reilly was not able to discover, we are happy to now present to our readers, from the two precious MSS. of that invaluable monument of our early Church, the *Liber Hymnorum*, preserved in Rome and in Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ *Transactions of Iberno-Celtic Society* for 1820, pag. xlvi.

The name of our poet is inseparably linked with the fame of Saint Cummian, who received the epithet of *Foda*, i.e. *the Tall*, to distinguish him from the many other saints who bore the name of Cummian.¹ This great saint, who was Bishop of Clonfert, is likened by our ancient writers to Saint Gregory the Great of Rome, whom he is said to have imitated in the sanctity of his life and the wisdom of his teaching. The entry of his death in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 661, preserves to us the verses composed by Colman to commemorate his illustrious pupil: it is as follows:—

“A.D. 661.² Saint Cummene Fota, son of Fiachna, Bishop of Cluain Ferta Brennainn, died the twelfth day of November. Colman O'Cluasaigh, tutor of Cummene, composed these verses:

Never did the Shannon bear on its waters
 Of the race of Munster into *Leth Chuinn*³
 A corpse in a boat so precious as he,
 As Cummene son of Fiachna.
 If any one went across the sea
 To sojourn at the see of Gregory (i.e. Rome),
 If from Ireland, he requires no more
 Than the mention of Cummene Foda.
 Ah! woe is me after Cummene!
 From the day that his coffin was covered in,
 My eyelids drop tears, there has not ceased
 Mourning since the destruction of his bier”.⁴

In an ancient MS. H. 3. 18. T. C. D., there is a quatrain which seems to belong to this elegy; it is as follows:

“Die .i. cuī. ut dixit Colman īmairbna Cuimín:—
 Ni marb crialde cen cie
 marb teimt cod be a vie
 inar feimheasap iapí clín
 ua beoa iapí Cuiminiu”.

“Die, i.e., a lamentation ut dixit Colman in his elegy on Cuimine.
 A heart without sorrow is not good,
 Mortally sick is every one who is weeping

¹ In the Martyrology of Donegal, there are no fewer than twenty saints of this name.

² See Chron. Scotorum, A.D. 658=661, where the age of St. Cummene is stated to have been 72.

³ *Leth Chuinn*, i.e. *Conn's half*, was the name by which the northern half of Ireland was designated. It seems to be implied in this verse that Saint Cummene Foda died in Munster, and that his remains were borne in a boat up the Shannon to his church of Clonfert, where his relics were venerated for centuries.

⁴ See Annals of the Four Masters, by O'Donovan, ad an. 661. The last phrase refers to the ancient custom in Ireland of destroying the bier after the interment of the corpse.

For him who was rejected to the west of Clin;¹
I am in grief after Cuimine".²

There is only one other entry in the Annals of the Four Masters that has reference to Colman Ua Cluasaigh: it is the record of his death (from the dreadful disease known as *the yellow plague*), in the same year as his illustrious disciple, St. Cummian. The historical preface which is prefixed to his poem in the MS. *Liber Hymnorum* preserves some further details:—

Sen de Colman mac u: Chluasaig
per legivo Concaige vorone innim-
munra acur asecul immaillefir; acur
commao lech nano cechfir roverein
No i f a oenur vo ponu innimun. i f he
imorro a locc, otha innimre co cop-
caig copice inninre vianoechatai
for teche in terom. In amfir imor-
no vo mac Eoa Slane voronona. i.
Blathmact acur Diarmato. i f he
imorro tucait a venma; terom mor
vo patat for firi Speno. i. in burie
conval conponio perterai hepinio uile
ocur acht confapcaib acht cech tner
vione in hepinio uile imbethario acur
coniroe atbachatag mic aeva Slane
ocur atbach fechene pobair, et alii
multi clerici et reges in eodem
anno pepierunt, acur conio via
nanacul conarcail vo ponna ap in
terom rin Colman innimuna; acur i f
ano vorala vorom a venom in tan-
patinpcanastor arcam co ariale
inore mapa combectip .ix. tona etar-
pi acur tip, ap nithic terom vaspaoi
tonna, ut ferunt pepici, coporafraig
ariale von rcol vo Colman ariam
icapl a vob dul porret, conio anro
atcupbaunt Colman quarentur et re-
teom acht ren ve ap i f red notcial-
ratom dul for innisb mapa immad
for teche oer galup.

God's blessing; Colman Mac Ui Chluasaig, lector of Cork, composed this hymn, and his school with him. And it was half a stanza each of them composed, or it was he himself composed it. The place was on his journey from the island at Cork till he reached the island whither they went to avoid the plague. The time of composing it was that of the two sons of Aed Slane, that is, Blaithmach and Diarmad. The cause of its being composed: a great plague was sent upon the men of Erinn, i.e. the Buidhe Chonnail, and it devastated the whole of Erinn, and it was only every third person in all Erinn that survived it, and it was of it died the sons of Aed Slane, and died Fechen of Feher, et alii multi clerici et reges in eodem anno perierunt. And it was to protect himself with his school from the plague that Colman composed this hymn, and the time when it occurred to him to compose it, was when they commenced their journey to a certain island of the sea, so that nine waves would be between them and the land, for the plague does not come over nine waves, ut ferunt periti. One of the school questioned Colman before they set out on the journey, and then Colman replied, "What would we seek", said he, "but the protection of God", for what they attempted to do, was to go out into the islands of the sea to avoid the plague.

Thus it was in the school of Cork that St. Colman Ua Cluasaigh gave his lessons of wisdom, and it is a striking coincidence that in the records of St. Cummian Fota's life, Cork is precisely the place where he is said to have studied from his youth *till he became raoi*, i.e. a learned man of the highest degree.³

¹ *West of Clin*:—Saint Caimine was exposed near Kilmeevy *West of Clin*, in the county of Limerick but he was taken up and nursed by Saint Ita, who sent him to be educated to Colman ua Cluasaighe.

² Cormac's glossary gives the last line thus: "conit far iap Cummnu"; i.e., which is a wilderness after Cuimine.

³ See Todd's *Lib. Hym.*, p. 82.

The monastery or school of Cork had St. Finbarr for its founder. The site which he chose is described as a low marshy district not far from Locheirc, and owing to the immense number of pilgrims and scholars who flocked thither, a large city soon sprung up there. Colgan, in his life of St. Talmach (*Aeta*, pag. 607), thus speaks of this great school:

"St. Barre came to a lake, which in the Irish language is called Lock-Erce, (now Gougane-Barra lake) near which he constructed a monastery, to which as to the abode of wisdom and receptacle of all Christian virtues, disciples flowed in crowds from every quarter in so great numbers, through desire of holiness, that through the multitude of the monks and cells that desert was changed as it were into a large city. For from that school which he instituted there, numberless men came remarkable for holiness of life and the fame of learning".

And then he adds the names of several of those who attained the highest eminence in this school. The Martyrology of Donegal, in its notice of St. Finbarr, says:

"We find in a very old book which contains the Martyrology of Tamhlacht and the history of the female saints of Ireland, that *there were seventeen holy bishops and seven hundred prosperous monks together with Bairre* (i.e. Finbarr) *and Nessan at Corcach-mor of Munster*. We find in the same book that Bairre, bishop of Munster and Connacht, had a likeness in habits and life to Augustin, bishop of the Saxons" (*Martyrol.*, 25th Sept., p. 259).

St. Cuimin of Connor, in his poem on the characteristic virtues of our saints, commends St. Finbarr as "*the torch of wisdom*", thus referring to the influence exercised by his school throughout all Ireland. Amongst his disciples are especially commemorated¹ two saints of the name Colman, and it is probable that it was one of these that composed the poem which we now publish.

It was probably, too, in the monastery of *Inish-Cleire* that St. Colman and his school sought for refuge during the dreadful visitation of the "yellow-plague", and composed the present poem. This small island, situated close to the shore, in fact separated from the mainland by little more than *nine waves*,² took its Irish name from the many clerics who chose it for their place of silent retreat.

¹ See Caulfield's *Life of St. Fin-Barre*: London, 1864, p. 18.

² The *nine waves* are said in the preface to the poem to have a saving influence in preserving from infection. A somewhat similar reference to this number of waves is found in an old poem in the Book of Lecan:

"The Tuatha Dea sent them forth
According to the laws of war
From the firm land over *nine waves*
Of the broad sea".*

* *Irish Nennius*, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, p. 247. See also on this subject a learned paper by W. M. Hennessey, Esq., on *Irish Oracles*, in *Proceed. of R. I. A.* vol. x. p. 87-90.
VOL. IV.

HYMN OF SAINT COLMAN

Sen ne sonfe foimorte, mac Mairie ionfelachair

foiraoeरam sun innocht, ciatiaरam caintimadair.

Eter foř no utmaille, eteř sunse no eřram
juři nime ſri cec třeř, iřeo attac aňeřam.

Itze Abeil meic Adaim, Ele, Enoc viařicobair
ionřoeřait ař viařgalai, řecip leth ſon bith fořaiř.

Noe ocuř Abrahām, Iřac in macc adampia
immontiřet ař theomann, nach antaiřle a vamna.

Ailme ačaiř tři cethruři, ocuř 1ořeph a nořer
ionřoeřiat a neřinaigch co juř nilainglech nuřal.

Snaiořium Moři vechtiořech, ionřnařt cimia juřjum mare
Ierhua, Aron macc amra, Šabrio in gilla vana.
Iob coř na focharořib, řech na nemi ionřnava
řathi řiavat ionřanjet, le řect maca Mochaba.

1ohain babtařo ařſluinnej, řorviciu sun, řorrnaouš,
Iřu ſona ařrtalařib, řorviciobair ſri Žabuř.
Majre 1ořeph vo juřnat, et ſrjitiř ſtephani;
ař cach inž vondorřlaiřet, taithmet anma 1gnati.

Cach maršíř, cač vichruřbač, cech noeb jo boř inženmna
řorvciath sun viař nímdeřaiř, řorvaiřet uain ſri vamna.

Regem ſegum ſogamur in nořtřiř řeřmoniřur
anacht Noe a luchtlař, viliun ſeřtemporibur.

Melchiřeřech ſex ralem, inceřto ve ſemine,
ionřoeřiat a eřnaigche, ab omni fořimiořine.
Soteř ſoeřar Loř vo thein, qui peř řecula habetuř,
ut noř omneř, řieřcamur, řibeřaře ſignetuř.
Abraam ve uř nacalovař, ſnaiořium juři ionřnava,

ſoeřrum ſoeřar in ſorul, řimřha ſontř in Žabuř.

Ruři anacht tři maccu ařuřino teneř ſořioři,
i.e. Isaac, father of the twelve Patriarchs

HYMN OF SAINT COLMAN.

May God's upholding blessing come to us! may Mary's Son shelter us!

May He be protection to us to-night, wherever we go, a chaste safeguard;

Whether at rest or in motion, whether sitting or standing, Heaven's Prince be with us against every battle! this is the prayer we pray.

A prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Elias, of Enoch, to help us!

May they save us from the swift disease, whatever place in the world it threatens.

Noah and Abraham, Isaac the admirable son,

May they surround us against disease; let not its germ descend on us.

We beseech the father of three quaternions,¹ and Joseph their junior,

May their prayers save us unto the King many-angeled, noble!

May Moses, the good leader, protect us—he who protected through the Red Sea;

Joshua, Aaron son of Ainra, and David the bold youth.

May Job with the tribulations protect us against poison;

May the prophets of God guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabeus.

John the Baptist we appeal to, may he be a safeguard to us and a protection:

May Jesus with his apostles be our aid against danger.

Let Mary and Joseph cherish us, and the spirit of Stephen:

From every peril may the commemoration of Ignatius' name deliver us.

Every martyr, every hermit, every saint who lived in chastity,

May they be a shield to us to protect us, be an arrow from us against demons.

In our prayers we supplicate the King of kings

Who sayed Noah with his people in the time of the deluge.

Melchisedech, the king of Salem, of an unkown race,

May his prayers free us from every peril.

Soter, who freed Lot, we pray

That he deliver us from the fire which is eternal.

Abram of the land of the Chaldees, may the King who protected him protect us:

May He free us, who with the fountain of water freed the people in danger.

The King who saved the three children from a glowing furnace of fire,

μονναίν αmail σανάτ Βαθίο, νε μανυ Γολαι.
 Plachem nime Lochapinaig, αρ νονυμεցε τιαρ επογι.
 naoleic ruum prophetam ulli leonum oīi.
 Amail φανερ οννανγελ ταργλαϊc ρετρυμ a γλαβηρα,
 νονηοετερ υν τιαρ γορταχτ, γορμειο γεμοινο cech
 ναμπερο.
 Τιαρριαδαιτ λοντολαμαρ, ποντρο ορεηε τιγνο,
 ποβεμ occa ιωβεθαρ, ιη παρασιη πεζνο.
 Amail γοεραf ιοναρ φαιθ, a δηι πιλ ποιρο πγλα
 γπαριμ πεζ πιγ, τομχαχ τρεν. Sen νε νονρε, p.
 Ροφη a πιανα, ποφη, παρητηρη ινγιονιρεο;
 ποβετ πακαιν πλαχα νε hi τιμκαιρη πα γκυλερεο.
 Ροφη επιανα ποφη, πυριμ uile φιθ ιωρηγ
 φεχ ποιρεο ποιρρα, hi πλαχτ nime εοτρυγα.
 ποβεμ cen aερ illetha. La hainglini imbitch-bechii.
 Κεραιγ παρι cen οιβοαο. Αιγιλ, αργταιλ αριο πεζαο.
 ταιρρετ λιαρ nathaιr nemoa, μιαρινας nemna¹ τιαρρηναο.
 Βενοαχτ φοι εγλαμ βατραια, conoebaib hεμενο imme
 benoαχτ φορην καθηραιγρε, οαυρ φοι cach fil ino.
 Βενοαχτ φοι εγλαμ θριγιο, conogaiib heμeνo impe,
 ταβραιο uile canforγgall, benoαχτ φοι αροαν θριγιε.
 Βενοαχτ φοι Colum Cille, conoebaib alban alla,
 φοι απωμιν Αναμηναι aιn, μalla cain φοιρ na clanna.
 Φορφοεραm πιγ na πουλα, comairiche nach ανβερα,
 in Σημιτ Νοεb μονθραινα, Σημιt μονφοερα μονγενα. p.v.

Orient pρio nobis sancti illi in coelis, quorum tēmetum
 facimus in eternis, ut veleantur uelicta noſtria regi inno-
 cationem sancti nominis cui ierū et mīreberet qui regnos
 in pecula peculorū. Amen. . . .

¹ In a very ancient Irish tract in the *Leabhar na Heidre*, the same phrase occurs: "They (the blessed) will abide continually in the life eternal, without age, without decay".

² νοεμνα, demons—Lib. Hym. T.C.D.

May He protect us, as He saved David from the hand of Goliah.

May the Sovereign of lampful Heaven ward off from us our misery,

He who did not abandon his prophet to the mouths of lions.

As the angel came to deliver Peter from his chains,

So may he be sent to us to assist us, to smooth the rough way before us.

To our God let us tell our wish: may we through our worthy deeds

Be with Him in life, in the kingdom of Paradise.

As he saved the prophet Jonas from a whale's belly (great was the deed !),

May the good King, dreadful, mighty, save us! may God's upholding blessing come unto us!

Yea, O God! yea, let this prayer be granted,

Let the little children of God's kingdom be around this school.

Truly, O God, let it be true! Let us all reach the peace of the King!

Whoever shall reach, may we reach: unto Heaven's kingdom may we come together!

May we be without age¹ in space with angels, in eternal life!

Great kings, prophets without reproach, angels, apostles, a noble sight!

Let them come with our Heavenly Father, before the demons' host, to bless us.²

The blessing of³ Patron Patrick with all the saints of Erin:

A blessing upon this town and on every one who is in it.

The blessing of Patron Brigid with Erin's virgins around her:

Let all add, with one united voice, a blessing on Brigid's dignity.

The blessing of Colum-Cille with Alba's saints beside him;

On the soul of noble Adamnan, who passed a law on the clans;

Under the protection of the King of the Elements, his guardianship may he not take from us:

May the Holy Spirit shower his blessings on us: may Christ save us, may He bless us.

May those saints in Heaven whose memory we celebrate on Earth, pray for us, that, through the invocation of thy ho'y name, O Jesus! our crimes may be cancelled; and have mercy on us, thou who livest for all ages. Amen.

¹ Literally in this and the following verses the poet prays that the heavenly host would grant to the town of Cork, etc., the blessing which came on Patrick, on Brigid, and on Columbkille.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

*Letter of our Holy Father Pius IX. to Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly,
Bishop of Elphin, in reply to the address presented to His
Holiness from the Clergy and Laity of the diocese of Elphin.*

PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Cum Tua Nobis gratissima Epistola libertissime accepimus Litteras a Te missas, quibus declarantur sensus ab istius Tuae Dioecesis Catholicis fidelibus expressi in publico Conv ntu ab ipsis nuper habito. Evidem, venerabilis Frater, non potuimus non vehementer commoveri noscentes qua filiali pietate, amore, et observantia Nos, et hanc Petri Cathedram, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistrum, iidem fideles prosequi glorientur, et qua indignatione et horrore palam, publiceque detestentur teterimum sane bellum divinae religioni, huic Apostolicae Sedi, Nobisque a Dei hominumque hostibus, ubique, et in infeliciissima praesertim Italia, nunc illatum; et quomodo ipsi fideles deplorent, probrent, ac damnent tot infanda ac sacrilega prorsus facinora a scelerissimiis hominibus admissa, qui ambulantes in impietatibus, et omnis justitiae, ac veritatis osores jura omnia divina et humana conculcare non dubitant, et si fieri unquam posset, Catholicam Ecclesiam, civilemque societatem funditus evertere conantur. Intelleximus etiam quanta laetitia iidem fideles affecti fuerint ob victoriam a Domino exercituum superiore anno exeunte strenuissimis ac fidelissimis Nostris militibus concessam contra perditissimorum hominum turmas, qui furentes audacia, et scelus anhelantes hanc etiam Almani Urbem Nostram aggredi et vastare cupiebant. Summam certe Nobis quotidiano moerore afflictos attulerunt consolationem hujusmodi egregii istorum fidelium sensus Catholicae Ecclesiae filiis digni. Itaque Tibi committimus, Venerabilis Frater, ut eisdem fidelibus Nostro nomine signifies, ac testeris gratissimas Nobis exitisse has eorum significationes, eosque de singulari Nostra in ipsos caritate certiores facias. Tibi vero addimus animos, ut divino auxilio fretus pergas majore usque vigilantia in hac tanta temporum iniquitate ministerium Tuum implere, ac Dei ejusque sanctae Ecclesiae causam impavide propugnare, Tuique gregis saluti accurate prospicere. Denique pro certo habe, praecipuam esse Nostram in Te benevolentiam. Cujus quoque pignus esse voluntus Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam toto cordis affectu Tibi ipsi, Venerabilis Frater, cunctisque Clericis, Laicisque fidelibus Tuae curae commissas peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 2 Martii Anno 1868.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimosecundo.

II.

Letter on Mixed Marriages from S. C. of Propaganda to the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin.

Eminentissime ac Reverendissime Domine,

Post editam instructionem ad omnes Archiepiscopos Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios de dispensationibus super impedimentis mixtae religionis quoad promiscua coniugia, cui sub die 15 Nov. 1858 subscripsit Eminentissimus ac Reverendissimus D. Cardinalis Antonelli, eae ad Sacram hanc Congregationem pervenerunt notitiae non solum circa auctam nonnullis in locis facilitatem mixta coniugia absque iusta et gravi causa contrahendi, verum etiam circa dispensationes quae pro connubib[us] illis delegata potestate conceduntur, ut plane perspicuum sit laudatam instructionem non ubique locorum recte interpretari, sed potius ad erroneum sensum eiusdem literae ac spiritui contrarium alicubi detorqueri. Illa enim instructio expresse commemorat quid catholica Ecclesia de huiusmodi catholicos inter atque acatholicos nuptiis constanter senserit, cum explicite tradat Ecclesiam *eas semper improbasse ac tamquam illicitas ac perniciose habuisse, tum ob flagitosam in Divinis communionem, tum ob impendens catholico coniugi perversio[n]is periculum, tum ob pravam sobolis institutionem*; dein vero in Ordinariorum memoriam revocat *antiquiesimos Canones*, nec non recentiores *Summorum Pontificum sanctiones* quibus eti aliquid de severitate canonum remissum sit adeo ut mixta coniugia quandoque permittantur, id tamen gravibus dumtaxat de causis atque aegre admodum fit, ac non nisi sub expressa conditione de praemittendis necessariis opportuniisque cautionibus in naturali ac divino iure fundatis, ut scilicet non solum *catholicus* coniux ab acatholico perverti non possit, *quin imo catholicus ipse coniux teneri se sciatur ad acatholicum pro viribus ab errore retrahendum*, verum etiam ut universa utriusque sexus proles ex mixtis matrimonii procreanda in *sancitate catholicas religionis educari omnino debet*.

Quae cum ita sint, mirari omnino debuit Sacra congregatio quae nonnullis videri potuerit praedicta instructione principiis quae semper Sancta Sedes circa mixta connubia tenuit ac docuit, aliquo modo derogari. Ac ne forte ex perperam intellecta instructione illa, quae tamen luculentissima est, commissus tibi populus quidquam detrimenti capiat, sollicitudinem tuam enixe adhortor in Domino, ut clero ac fidelibus tuae subditis iurisdictioni, data occasione, veram Ecclesiae doctrinam ac proxim circa matrimonia mixta tradere atque inculcare studeas. Porro, quemadmodum probe cognoscis, ad matrimonium mixtum permittendum minime sufficit ut sponsi cautiones, de quibus supra, admittere parati sint, nec non caeteras clausulas in rescriptis apostolicae Sedis adhiberi solitas, sed omnino *iustae gravesque* requirantur causae, ut facultas dispensandi super mixtae communionis impedimento licite executioni mandetur. Cautiones enim illae ideo naturali divinoque iure exiguntur atque exigi debent' ut pericula intrinseca quae mixtis insunt matrimoniis removeantur; at vero ut gravibus fidei ac morum periculis etiam sub opportunis cautio-

nibus fideles se exponere permittantur, grave aliquod incommodum ceteroquin hand devitandum immineat necesse est. Quod si aliquando in memorata instructione mos adhibendi ritum pro matrimonii contrahendis in Dioecesano Rituali legitime praescriptum, exclusa tamen semper missae celebratione, in mixtis coniugiis contrahendis tolerari posse perhibetur, id tamen nonnisi per modum exceptionis indulgetur, ac sub conditione *ut omnia rerum locorum ac personarum adiuncta diligentissime perpendantur, atque onerata Episcoporum conscientia super omnium circumstantiarum veritate ac gravitate.* Tantum abest ut inibi principiis, quae Sedes Apostolica circa mixta connubia quovis tempore professa est, vel minimum detrahatur!

Quamobrem enixe peto a charitate tua, ut quantum cum Domino poteris fideles tibi commissos a mixtis matrimonii contrahendis arcere satagas atque contendas, quo gravissima, quae in iis continentur, pericula praecaveantur ac devitentur. Id autem facilius assequeris si eos opportune instruendos curaveris circa peculiarem qua tenentur obligationem Ecclesiae vocem hac in re audiendi, nec non obsequendi praepositis suis, qui strictissimam aeterno Pastorum Principi rationem essent reddituri, si matrimonia mixta non tantum ob gravissimas causas aliquando permetterent, verum etiam facile atque ad petentium libitum a fidelibus contrahi cum acatholicis tolerarent.

Precor Deum ut Te diu sospitem servet incolumemque, et Manus Em. Tuae humillime deosculari.

Datum Romae Aed. S. C. de Prop. Fide die 25 Martii 1868.

AL. C. BARNABO PR.

Joannes Simeoni Secretarius.

Eminentissimo ac Reverendissimo Dno. Archiep. Dublinensi.

III.

Correspondence on the subject of legal interest on money.

L

Letter from Archbishop Butler of Cashel (1784) to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Thurles, April 17, 1784.

SIR,

Though no-one can be more convinced than I am, from your unwearyed attention to the welfare of this kingdom, that no proposal any way conducive to that great object of your wishes, will ever pass unnoticed by you; yet, as the very many important concerns which can't but occupy the mind of one so intent on promoting the public good, and so deservedly high in the confidence of government, may not always permit the same attention to every particular measure proposed; apprehensive, on that account, lest what I mentioned to you last February on the subject of legal interest might have escaped your remembrance, I take the liberty, now, to restore it to your

mind. What I then had the honour of telling you, was the prejudice trade suffered in many parts of the kingdom from the sentiments of several of the R. C. Clergy, who (having studied in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, countries where legal interest is no otherwise established by the laws of the land but as a certain standard to limit the exactions of those who, measuring the less they suffer, or the danger their money is exposed to in lending it by their own feelings, might demand exorbitant compensations; and where the casuists and divines of course allow no one to take legal interest but as an indemnification for some loss sustained, or some extraordinary danger the money is exposed to by the loan), extend the same doctrine to this kingdom, and thereby deter numbers from placing their money at interest. Often, sir, I have sought, in reasoning with them upon it, to open their eyes to the manifest misapplication of such principles to this kingdom; and, for that purpose, have frequently represented to them how different the political state of Ireland is from that of France, Spain, Italy, or Germany. In these kingdoms commerce is, or, at least, has been these many years greatly discouraged. Any nobleman who, in these countries, took to commerce, instantly forfeited his right of nobility, and both he and his family were deprived of all claims to many places of honour in church and state; whereas, in England and Ireland, commerce is the main support of their political existence, the very life of the state, and from its being acknowledged such in said kingdoms, the legislature, whose duty it is to attend to what concerns the life of the state, knowing that a constant circulation of money is as essential to the life of a commercial body as that of blood is to the life of the animal one, in order to promote said circulation of cash in every part of the kingdom, by inducing individuals to let their money circulate in the currency of trade, have established legal interest here as an encouragement for that purpose; as a kind of premium for a loan (as Johnson defines interest in his English Dictionary), and thereby have made it as conscientious in this kingdom for every lender of money to take the interest allowed by law, as it is for him to take any other premium granted by parliament for the improvement of agriculture, or the manufactories of the kingdom, where he has complied with the condition specified by parliament for meriting the reward. But then to these reasons they answer: if legal interest be granted in this kingdom as a premium for a loan, why do not the acts of parliament relative to legal interest speak in as clear and as positive terms as they do in granting other premiums? Why are they not expressed in a different manner from what they are in countries where the legal interest is only established as a compensation for a loss suffered, or an extraordinary danger incurred? A satisfactory answer to this cannot be given as the acts now stand regarding legal interest, all which, from the first to the last, are worded in a negative manner, such as: "No one can take more than a sum not exceeding six per cent, etc.". Nor can ever a satisfactory answer be given so as to quiet people's minds, so as to bring about an uniformity of conduct amongst the R. C. Clergy in what regards legal interest, till such

time as parliament be pleased to issue an act, whereby it be declared that the intention of parliament, in its acts on legal interest, was, and is, to grant it, and authorize every lender to take it, as a premium for the loan he made. Such a declaratory act as this, sir, depend on it, will cause a deal of money to flow into the channel of trade; will render, thereby, essential service to the kingdom; and, I may add, will be a great ease to the consciences of several of the R. Catholic communion.

I have engaged a long time, your attention by the length of this letter; but, my motive in writing it, the friendship you have been pleased to favour me with, and, above all, your constant zeal for the public good, secure me against any apprehension of its being disagreeable.

I have the honour to be, sir,
With every sentiment of respect,
Your faithful and humble servant,
JAMES BUTLER.

Thurles, April 17, 1784.

II.

From the Speaker of the House of Commons to Most Rev. Dr. James Butler.

Dublin, 22nd April, 1784.

SIR,

The Archbishop of Cashel was with me when I received the favour of your letter, which I communicated to his Grace, and his Grace was pleased to bring in a bill for the purpose you mentioned; ' he has accordingly done so, and it has already passed the lords, and will our house to-morrow. I hope it will answer your good intentions, and remove all scruples upon the subject.

I am with esteem, etc.,

EDMD. PERRY,

III.

From Dr. Agar, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, to Most Rev. Dr. James Butler.

Stephen's Green, April 23rd, 1784.

SIR,

The Speaker of the House of Commons did me the honour lately to communicate to me the contents of your letter relative to the acts limiting the interest which may be taken for the loan of money, a subject which I recollect you were kind enough to mention to me, and on which we had some conversation when I had the pleasure of meeting you in this city. In order to remove the doubts and scruples which you mentioned, a bill was prepared, which I presented to the House of Lords a few days since, and of which I now enclose to you a copy. It has passed this day the House of Lords, and is now before the House of Commons, where, I believe, it will not be altered. This bill will, I hope, answer all your wishes and expectations. It

' That is, for the purpose of assigning the interest received on money, not exceeding six per cent, as a premium given by the authority of parliament for the loan of it, and thereby rendering the taking of interest conscientiously lawful.

was drawn expressly for that purpose, and seems to the Speaker and me to correspond directly with the ideas contained in your letter, etc. Mrs. Agar desires me to present her best respects to you, with those of,

Sir,
Your very faithful and obedient servant,
C. CASHEL.

Anno Regni vicesimo tertio et quarto Georgii III., chap iv.

An Act to remove doubts and scruples with respect to the construction of an act passed in this kingdom, in the fifth year of his late Majesty King George the Second, entitled an Act for reducing the interest of money to six per cent.

Whereas doubts and scruples have been conceived whether the said act or any other act relative to the reduction of interest of money in this kingdom, from the particular wording of the same, have made it lawful to take interest for money: for a remedy whereof, be it declared and enacted by the king's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that it is and has been lawful, from the passing of the said act, to and for every person or persons whatsoever to lend out money at interest not exceeding the interest limited by the said act.

Provided always that nothing herein contained shall authorize any person or persons to take any higher rate of interest of or for the advance of money, or by way of interest or premium for the loan of money, than they were by law allowed to do, previous to the passing of this act.

IV.

From the Right Rev. Dr. Egan of Waterford to the Most Rev. James Butler.

My most honoured and ever dear Lord,

I have to acknowledge your Grace's two letters, the last (of the 4th) reached me only yesterday. I am very thankful to you for them both. The first was particularly most satisfactory on the subject of interest. I think nothing can in reason be desired more full on the matter. The act worded as it is, appears to me to be entirely conclusive. And though it were not, the just observations which you make on the motive and end for which, on your part, it was sued for; the intention of the framer of the act, as his polite letter to you expressly declares, to have it enacted from that motive and for that end; the legislature enacting it on those very principles on which it was thus proposed to them; all these circumstances leave not, I think, room for the smallest doubt of its efficacy; and whoever can be so unreasonable as not to be convinced by what has been done, would not be convinced, I am persuaded, by anything that could be done. I consider it as not one of the least important

of your Grace's very successful exertions for the public good, that you obtained this most useful act to be passed. Almighty God will reward you, whilst you are at the same time entitled to, and will meet with, our most grateful acknowledgments.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS RECENTLY DECIDED BY S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

I.

On figures in stained glass windows in churches.

In districtu Scotiae Occidentali nova nuper extracta fuit ecclesia, cuius fenestrae vitris coloratis munitae imagines referunt virorum cum fama sanctitatis vel martyrii mortuorum, sed nunquam inter Beatos aut Santos ab Apostolica Sede adscriptorum. Id animadvertisens eiusdem Districtus Vicarius, sui muneric esse duxit ab hac Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis Dubii declarationem implorare: An liceat ecclesiarum fenestras ornare praefatis imaginibus in vitro depictis, quando imagines ipsae nullum prorsus praeseferunt ecclesiastici cultus indicium, dictaeque fenestrae nulli altari immiment?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, in ordinariis huius diei comitiis ad Vaticanum habitis, referente subscripto Secretario, post matrum rei examen proposito Dubio respondit: *Negative.* Atque ita servari mandavit.

(**VICARIATUS APOSTOLICI DISTRICTUS OCCIDENTALIS SCOTIAE**, num. 5305 (bis), die 24 Mar., 1860).

II.

Case of an altar requiring to be consecrated anew.

Dum innotuit Reverendissimo Episcopo Newporten., quod in quodam altari fixo sua dioecesis, lapis pro sigillo sepulchri Reliquiarum inserviens ob defectem calcis, qua conglutinabatur, amplius sepulchro non haerebat, ipse ut rem melius exploraret, lapidem ipsum manu sua movit, et cum reipsa solutus esset de situ sublevavit: Reliquias tamen nullo modo tetigit vel dimovit, et deinde lapidem depositus. Quibus expositis a Sancta Sede declarari humillime postulavit: I. An altare, de quo supra, consecrationem amiserit II. An debeat denuo consecrari, vel sufficiat, sigillum denuo conglutinare et claudere? In casu quo sigillum tantum debeat iterum reponi, an caix qua conglutinatur debeat benedici prout fit in consecratione altaris?

Porro Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio, Dubiis ipsis accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit: *Altare, de quo in precibus, nova consecratione indigere.*

(**NEWPORTEN.**, num. 5313, die 14 Mar. 1861).

III.

On inceneation of the altar of the B. Sacrament at Vespers.

DUB. An ad Vesperas solemnes praeter altare chorale, ubi Sanctissimum Sacramentum non existit, thurificari debeat altare ecclesiae in quo Sanctissimum Sacramentum asservatur?

R. *Affirmative, quando Episcopus Vesperas non persolvit.*

(SANCTI MARCI, num. 5318, ad VI, die 22 Mar., 1862).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.

The Epistles and Gospels of the Sundays throughout the year, with notes critical and explanatory, by the Rev. Daniel McCarthy, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, Maynooth, College. *Gospels*, Part I. Duffy, Dublin, 1868, pp. 272.

This part of Rev. Professor McCarthy's work contains a full commentary on all the Gospels of the Sundays from the first Sunday in Advent to the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension. It preserves all the merits for which the two preceding parts have been remarkable, whilst, in addition, it is distinguished by new merits of its own. As in the earlier portions, so in this, the learned author has neglected none of the sources from which he could gather, for the advantage of his reader, the materials of a full and accurate exposition of each Gospel. The early Fathers, the best Catholic interpreters and theologians, and even Protestant authors, have been carefully examined by him, and their labours judiciously employed for his purpose. The space devoted to moral reflections upon each Gospel has been considerably extended in this volume, beyond what was assigned to them in the volumes on the Epistles. But these reflections have been generally added at the end of the Gospel, so as not to interrupt the narrative, and to leave the critical reader free to pass them over, if he be so disposed, without breaking up the commentary. Every one will see how much this increases the usefulness of the book for the parochial clergy, who are bound by their office to explain the Gospel to the faithful. The preacher will find in it a careful notice of the *variances* of the text, an admirable and lucid literal translation, a statement of the great truths proved from it by the Fathers and Catholic theologians, and lastly, a sound refutation of the mistaken views of Protestant interpreters. Whilst we congratulate them on these advantages, we are happy to congratulate the learned

author likewise on the success which has crowned his very laborious undertaking.

When speaking of the Epistles, Dr. M'Carthy had occasion to remark how ignorant the Protestant clergy are of dogmatic or moral theology. This has displeased some of his critics. In his preface (page iv.) the author declares himself ready to withdraw the statement, as soon as the reviewer shall have pointed out the text books approved for the use of divinity students. He then continues:—

“ What I add deliberately now, must be more distasteful to the organ of the Protestant clergy : *I believe no church in the world has done less for the critical study of the Bible than the Irish Establishment.* After a diligent search through all the Bibliographical Indexes within my reach (see, e.g. Horne's Introd., last ed., where the Index is very complete), I cannot find the name of one Irishman, trained and serving in the Anglo-Irish Church, who has published *a comment on even one chapter* of the Bible. I don't speak of such men as Bramhall, Bedell, Jeremy Taylor, Jebb, Mant. Whately, and Trench, educated abroad and imported here because their services were needed, and Irishmen could not be found to take their places : I speak of the sons of the Irish Church, of those brought up under her care, and I say that few, perhaps not even one of them ; can be named among *Biblical Interpreters*. It is evident that the curse of barrenness has blighted the whole life of the Irish Establishment from its first planting down to the present hour, when the just sentence is at length heard : ‘Cut it down therefore ; why cumbereth it the ground ?’ ”

II.

Dell' antico pellegrinaggio in Roma ai sepolcri Apostolici, etc.

On the ancient pilgrimage to Rome to the Tombs of the Apostles, by Rev. Einidio Ruggieri. Rome, 1867, pp 88.

Among the advantages conferred upon the Catholic world by the Centenary of St. Peter, celebrated last year at Rome, we may reckon the many valuable books on various subjects connected with the Holy See, which were published on occasion of that festival. The work of the Abate Ruggieri is one of these. The pilgrimage to Rome occupies a large place in the history of the universal reverence paid to the Holy See in all ages, and the learned professor has treated his subject in a manner worthy of its importance. After showing that A.D. 67 is the year of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, the author proceeds to show that even in the days of persecution the tombs of the apostles were visited by pious pilgrims. Of these he mentions Maurus, an African; Marius and Martha, Persians; Paternus, and Tranquillinus. During the first three centuries the Tomb and Chair of St. Peter were united in the affection of the Christian world, and the pilgrimage to the shrine of the

apostles became an explicit act of ecclesiastical communion. Our author then shows how, when peace was given to the Church, the number of pilgrims to Rome increased to a still greater extent. The stately Basilica was raised over the Apostles' sepulchre, and its high altar was made to crown the crypt wherein the sacred relics of the martyrs reposed. It is touching to read on the walls of the cemetery of St. Callistus the inscriptions which the pilgrims left behind them on the walls and in the *cubicula* of the catacombs, and more especially near the altars where the priest-pilgrim had offered the holy sacrifice.

During the fourth and fifth centuries the pilgrimage to Rome appears under a new and most important aspect. St. John Chrysostom declares that in his day even emperors and generals visited Rome as pilgrims. The author observes that these acts of religious homage paid to the Holy See by the imperial authorities contributed not a little to prepare the way for the temporal sovereignty of the Popes. The people of Italy witnessed in the occasion of these visits the profound respect with which the rulers of the world presented themselves before the Pontiff, and thus learned how great was the power which was springing up in their midst. And hence, when evil days came upon them, it was natural that they should appeal for protection to him before whom they had seen the majesty of the empire bend itself in lowly reverence.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the pilgrimage to Rome became still more common in Christendom. Theodoricus the Goth, although by profession an Arian, obeyed the general impulse, and came as a pilgrim to the Holy City. St. Fulgentius, Belisarius, and St. Veranus, were among the most illustrious visitors of that period. St. Paulinus of Nola was accustomed to proceed to Rome every year for the feast of St Peter; this journey he himself called his *iter annum*. On the part of the Romans the pilgrims were received with the greatest hospitality. Many were the hospices erected in the neighbourhood of the great churches, where strangers might find a home during their stay in the city.

The phrase *ad sacra limina*, which appears to have originated in the pious custom in use among the early Christians of prostrating themselves at the doors of the churches, in course of time was restricted to the visits paid by bishops. In a council held at Rome in 743, Pope Zachary fixed the Ides of May as the time when the bishops near Rome should visit the shrines of the apostles, and the words he makes use of go to show that the law then enacted by him was not novel, but merely a confirmation of a law of much older date. Whilst the earlier

Christians loved to say that they visited Rome *ad orationem*, or *causa orationis*, those of the middle ages frequently assigned as their motive, *pro redemptione animae, ad veniam peccatorum, ad indulgentiae gratiam*. The author takes occasion to speak at some length concerning the offerings made by pilgrims at St. Peter's. The spread of the offering of Peter's Pence in our own day draws from him the following remarks:—

"The offering of St. Peter's Pence has always been renewed in the Church whenever it had to endure suffering and difficulties; whenever attempts were made to break the bond of communion among the faithful; and whenever snares were laid for and dangers threatened the Vicar of Christ. In making that offering Catholics always meant to make a solemn protest and to say: we are all brothers in the church; the Sovereign Pontiff is our Father; the tomb of Peter is the centre of our family. And this protest has been repeated and is solemnly repeated even in our own day. And perhaps the Peter's Pence was never yet a sign of greater and more needful union with the Apostolic See than it is at present. Great are the tribulations and fears which, owing to the wickedness of men, have come upon the Vicar of Christ, but far greater is the affection which has joined in one soul all the true sons of the Church in offering that alms to him who sits in poverty in the See of the Apostle. In presence of this stupendous spectacle of Catholic unity; witnessing how the ancient flame of faith and charity has once more been kindled in the hearts of the faithful, and how it has drawn them again around Peter's chair and sepulchre, we praise and bless God, who causes at times the fairest flowers to spring up among thorns, and who from thick darkness brings forth the light".

The institution of the jubilee by Boniface the Eighth marks an important period in the history of the Roman pilgrimages. And with an interesting account of the first jubilee the learned author brings his monograph to a close.

We could have desired a fuller mention of the pilgrims of the early ages. Our own Irish Church can boast of an almost unbroken line of celebrated pilgrims from the days of St. Patrick and St. Brigid. Of these our author makes no mention.

The work of Professor Ruggieri is written in an agreeable style, and the whole work gives evidence of deep study of the Fathers.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1868.

INSCRIBED STONES OF KILLEEN CORMAC, COUNTY KILDARE.

AN ESSAY TO IDENTIFY THAT CHURCH WITH THE CELL FINE OF
PALLADIUS.

THE cemetery of Killeen Cormac lies about three miles to the south-west of Dunlavan, midway between that town and the village of Ballytore. It is situated in the lands of Colbinstown; in a detached portion of the parish of Davidstown, in the barony of East Narragh and Reban, county Kildare. This very interesting and very ancient cemetery lies in a valley of the most picturesque character, traversed by the river Griese, separating in this spot Wicklow from Kildare, and the diocese of Leighlin from that of Glendalough. Its surface is covered with many insulated mounds or eskars, still retaining their ancient names, which, as they are connected with the history of the locality, will be here described. On the left bank of the Gricse is a long eskar, called Bullock Hill. On the opposite bank is another of oval form called, perhaps by contrast, Cnoc Bunion.¹ Beyond this is another elevation, the highest of the group, on the top of which is a well preserved moat or rath of large proportions; by its base runs a rivulet called the Scrughan (i.e. streamlet), which joins the Griese in the vicinity. This rath is called Rathounbeg.² Between this mound and Cnoc Bunion is an eskar of oval shape, measuring 230 paces in circumference, its major axis lying nearly east and west; the summit of its western end, where its elevation is greatest, is

¹ Bunian, is feminine; bo, gen. boin, a cow.

² Ráth abhain beg, i.e. the rath of the little brook.

fashioned into a rath or mound, the sides of which show the remains of three terraces. The first on the ground line seems to have enclosed the whole eskar. The remains of the second and third terraces are still to be traced around the moat on its western side. The whole hill is now occupied by graves, and on the top of the moat there is a square depression which was most probably the site of the ancient church. A great quantity of large stones lie about, and plainly indicate the former existence of some structure of primitive design and architecture. The terraces are now in a very ruinous state, but sufficient indications remain to disclose their original design and mode of construction. On the south-east the middle terrace is well preserved: it is supported by large flat stones set against the bank they sustain, so that before these terraces were dilapidated, the entire structure, crowned by a massive building, must have had an imposing appearance, which may be realized from the immense stones,—fragments of very rude and ancient crosses of coarse granite, pillar stones of ponderous appearance and size, which were placed at intervals around the lowest terrace, together with the remains of their Cyclopean walls—all give to Killeen Cormac an appearance of antiquity which it is extremely difficult to describe.

It has been suggested that Killeen Cormac was in the pre-Christian period used as a place of pagan sepulchre. Its very peculiar construction and the indications of a sepulchral chamber within the moat, with passages to the terraces such as are to be found in similar structures at New Grange on the Boyne, and in other localities, give an air of certainty to the suggestion, which is well sustained by the appearance of a stone on the south side of the mound about three feet high, fixed in the wall of the middle terrace. It seems to be one of the jambs of a door to the entrance leading from the central cave. The side of this stone is grooved, the opposite jamb was likely hollowed in the same manner to receive a thinner flag to close the exterior entrance. Killeen Cormac has the reputation of being full of rats, as well as of being the oldest cemetery in the whole country. These animals are up to this time the only explorers of the subterranean galleries under the mound, since they were closed up to preserve the remains of some pagan hero of the earliest dawn of history. The most recent fact connected with this cemetery is, that about the year 1830 a stone wall was built around its area, some trees were then planted which add a phase of beauty peculiarly their own, while their shadows give a dim religious light in harmony with the venerable relics of antiquity of which they are the guardians.

Within the enclosure, and on the sides of the ruined terraces, are some inscribed pillar stones, with Latin and Ogham inscrip-

tions, and some very curious incised figures, the description of which is reserved for notice at the close of this paper.

At the side of the mound, some paces from the entrance, is one pillar stone, now about three feet above the surface, on the top of which is an indentation resembling the trace of a hound's paw, as if impressed on a soft surface. Excavations made around it did not reveal any features worth describing. A very curious legend, founded indeed on historical facts, is told concerning this stone, with a view, perhaps, to account for the name Cormac being affixed to the locality. The tradition of the neighbourhood says that the pillar stone marks the grave of a Cormac, king of Munster. It states that he was carried to this cemetery for sepulture by a team of bullocks, which were allowed to follow their own instincts, a mode of settling disputes regarding sepulture not uncommon among the ancient Irish. Such was employed in selecting the final resting place of St. Patrick. We find it also in the life of St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic,¹ which may have been suggested by the Scriptural precedent of sending home the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines to Judea.² This tradition, though unable to state the period or circumstances of King Cormac's death, avers that he was carried from a long distance through Ballynure from Timolin, in the county Kildare, and when the team reached that part of Ballymore now known as "the Doon", the exhausted bullocks, in the eagerness of their thirst, pawed the earth, and that a stream of water issued forth. Another version states that the teamster stuck his goad into the ground, whereupon gushed up a bubbling fountain, which is still to be found near the roadside, and is used as a watering-place for the kine pasturing on the fertile heights at the Doon of Ballynure. The bullocks having satisfied their thirst, journeyed on till they came to the elevation now called Bullock Hill, beside the Griese, opposite to Killeen Cormac. Here they halted, and refused to proceed farther, from which it appeared that Killeen was to be the last resting place of the king. The bullocks having done their part, returned homewards across the marsh, and were engulfed in the waters of the Griese. In this instance also this legend agrees with the account related by Colgan in the *Life of St. Abban*. Another version of this legend, but more confused, places a hound on the team, which, when it stopped at Bullock Hill, jumped over to the cemetery, and left the impression of its paw on the pillar stone, thus marking the grave of Cormac; while another story represents this hound as jumping from the summit of Knockadhow, still more remote

¹ St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic, born circa 430, was seventh in descent from Cormac Caech, son of Cucorb, K. I., and different from St. Abban of Maghairnuidhe, who was born A.D. 520. *V. dissertation. Bol*, Oct. 27, p. 274. ² *Vide I. Kings*, vi.

from the cemetery. These latter legends look like an interpretation from one more ancient concerning the hounds of Cuglos (son of Donndesa, King of Leinster), who was master of the hounds to Ederscoel, the great king of Erin, slain by Nuadha Neacht at Aillin,¹ A.M. 5089. From Cuglos, Baltinglass takes its name. His dogs hunted a wild boar from Tara to the Hill of Uske, where they left the marks of their paws on the stones of a druidical circle crowning its summit. The same traces are to be found on some rocks at Manger, near Rathbran. While pursuing their game up the hill over Beallach Dubhthaire, the ancient name of Baltinglass, Cuglos with his dogs, blinded by the mist and fog, chased their game into a cave on the summit of the mountain, and being there lost, his memory was perpetuated by giving his name² to the scene of his untimely fate. A similar story of King Arthur's hounds is told in the Irish version of Nennius. *I. A. Soc. Tracts*, p. 117.

About six years ago, the huntsmen and dogs of the Kildare Club were lost for some time in the fogs and mists of these mountains, and would only need the sacred poet to give a colouring of romance to their trackless wanderings, and clothe their exploits with a legendary interest.

As these accounts rest on historic grounds, investigations were made to discover who this king of Munster might be. Cormac Mac Cullinen, who fell at Ballachmoon, in Moyailbe,³ A.D. 903, might have been the king of Munster sought for; but ancient authorities assert that he was buried at Castledermot. Keating in his account of the battle of Balleachmoon, states that

¹ Now Knockaulin, near old Kilcullen, county Kildare. The ruins of a deep circular entrenchment enclosing many acres in extent, attest the ancient magnificence and importance of this Leinster palace. It had its name from Aillinn, daughter of Lugaiddh, son of Fergus Fairge, king of Leinster, at the close of the first century.—*Dinn Sencus*, fol. 193, a. b.

² A cave existed on Baltinglass hill till recent times. Quarrying operations on the face of the cliff overhanging it have almost obliterated its remains. On the summit of the hill is a large cairn called Rathcoran. On its northern slope is a smaller one called Rathnagree. Under these caissons are likely artificial caves. The lost tale of the chase of Cuglos might reveal something of interest in their history. Vide O'Curry's *Lectures*, app. p. 586, n. 145. The legend as told among the old natives of the neighbourhood is embodied in this paper. In medieval documents the name is spelled Balkynglas, which approaches nearer the correct form of the ancient name.

³ Moyailbe, the name of a plain in the northern portion of the modern county Carlow. It got its name from a famous hound called Ailbhe, belonging to Mac Mac Datho, king of Leinster in the first century. Dr. O'Donovan says that Ballachmoon, between Carlow and Castledermot, was the scene of this battle. There are no traditions of it in that locality. While at Ballymoon east of Leighlin Bridge there are traditions connected with Cormac Mac Culinan, the stone on which he was decapitated is still shown there. The text of Keating's *Irish History* seems to point to that very place, and the notice of this battle in the *Book of Leinster* makes Cormac pass over the hills of Hy Mairge to Leighlin Bridge, and march directly east of the Barrow.

Cormac having a presentiment of his impending fate, desired to be buried in Desert Diarmit (Castledermot), where rested the remains of its abbot, Snegdus, who died A.D. 888. He was the tutor and guardian of Cormac's early youth, and with him he wished his remains to lie, in case they could not be conveyed to Cluain Uamha (Cloyne). There was, however, in the same fatal field of Ballachmoon another Cormac, Cormac Mac Mothla, prince or regulus of the Deccies of Munster.¹ All historical authorities give his name among the slain, having fallen while commanding the left wing of the Munster army. His death is, however, recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum* ten years later, but the circumstantial evidence of other writers must outweigh its authority in this instance. Was he the Cormac of the legend in question? Local tradition could not solve this difficulty, but subsequent information, given by a gentleman whose father was a repertory of the traditions of the locality, stated that the personage whose name was connected with Killeen, was Cormac Mac Melia, king of Munster, thus adding another link to the chain of historical facts connected with the history of the battle of Ballachmoon. Though it appears that Cormac Mac Cullinan had obvious reasons for selecting Desert Diarmid as his last resting place, that church may not have had the same attractions for his namesake of the Desies. It may be supposed he made arrangements of this nature before the fate of the battle decided his lot, or there may have been a contention between rival communities² (as often happened in these, as well as in subsequent times) for the honour and emolument of giving sepulture to the remains of a veteran warrior; or it may be that Cormac Mac Mothlas's adherents, following an ancient precedent, may have allowed animal instinct to settle a dispute which the obstinacy or cupidity

¹ The *Annals of the Four Masters* also represent Cormac Mac Mothla in 915 as slaying Mailruanadh, tanist of the Deisi. In 917 his death is again recorded. Mistakes and double entries sometimes occur in these annals.

² e.g. The contention of the monks of Beective and the canons of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, concerning the right to possess the remains of Sir Hugh De Lacy, slain at Durrow, 1186. This suit was terminated only in 1205, the canons being the victors. Vide *A. F. M.* sub annis, *Lodge*, vol. vi. p. 140. See also the lives of SS. Gall and Genebern. Also the dispute between the Cistercian monks of Assaroe concerning the right to give sepulture to the body of Murrough O'Brien, the fourth baron of Inchiquin, who was slain at a ford on the river Erne, July 29, 1597. Vide *Lodge*, vol. ii. p. 46, *A. F. M.* sub ann. This custom has continued up to very recent times. In the year 1772 a very formidable dispute arose among the parishioners of Kells and Kilmoganny in the county Kilkenny. Their pastor, the Rev. Richard Shee (a relative of Dr. Patrick Shee, born 1664, appointed bishop of Ossory, July 28, 1731, died 1736), died July 17, 1772. He was buried with his parents in Sloncarty, near Kells. The Killamorey folk came at night, disinterred the body, and brought it to rest in their ancient cemetery of Killamorey, where it did not long remain, for the people of Kells, with his family, came and took away the remains and laid them in their first grave, filling it up with large rocks and stones to prevent any further attempts at removal.

of rival interests could not have otherwise arranged. Another reason, perhaps the strongest, is that Killeen had then, and for centuries before, the affix *Cormac*, as will appear further on, which probably marked out that cemetery as the last resting place of another *Cormac*, whose name might be considered as suggestive of the selection. The legend of the bullocks belongs to an earlier time, and is to be referred to the account given by Colgan (*Ac. SS. Hib. Martii*, cap. xlvi.) of the dispute concerning the place of sepulture of the body of St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic. In the appendix to this life are enumerated more than sixty of the name, who were eminent in sanctity, among them is mentioned, Cormac Mac Ua Lethan, abbot of Durmagh,¹ who met with a tragical fate, being devoured by wolves in this locality. Thus far the traditions, which as may be seen, are of some value in a historical point of view. There is, however, an authority to show that the name of *Cormac*² was affixed to this cemetery and the surrounding country centuries before any of the events alluded to. It would appear from the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 95 a,

¹ A bishop Cormac Ua Lethan, who died 865, can't be the person referred to by St. Columba. Vide his *Life* by Adamnan, ed. Dr. Reeves add notes, p. 273:

"Sharply hast thou attacked me, O Momonian,
O Cormac of memorable sense.
Wolves shall eat thy body
For this deed without any mercy".

² It would appear from this extract kindly supplied by Mr. William M. Hennessy, that the territory in which Killeen Cormac is situated belonged to a branch of the tribe of Messincorb, called the *Ui Cormaic*, or *Fine Cormaic*, whose possessions with those of their correlatives are thus minutely described:

"ite naova h. ngabla ocus h. Cormaic la laignib .i. na ngebtche h. ngabla fine uili, ocus Cuthraig, ocus h. Gabla parreno, ota Ach culcineo co uob acharb Maireen, otha glair Chrichi i Cluanaib co uado fui laigir, co clanotach, co hach Leathnocht oc Sleibteib, co teit in Uisc fui hub mbairpochi ocus anangebchi h. Chphenra ocus h. Chuirc ip La h. Chophmac uili. ip vib Abban mac h. Cormaic. ip uavib mathair Cholum mic Crimthann .i. Mincloth ingen Cenanorain, mic Cep, mic Lugoach, mic Labrava. ip vib Cormaic in va Sinell .i. Sinell mac Cenanorain mic macha, mic Chruach, mic Uvigli, mic Umchava, mic Dpolais, mic Lugvach, mic Lubrava; ocus Sinell rean mac Corcram, mic Epc, mic Chirudach, mic Uvigli, ocus ariale".

"These are the divisions of *Ui Gabhla* and *Ui Cormaic* in Leinster, viz., where the *Ui Gabhla* all are found, and *Cuthraighi* and *Ui Gabhla* of Rairend (Mullach Reelan); from Ath-Culchinged to the Black Fords of Maisten (Mullachmast); from Glass³ Crichi in Cluana⁴ to Uado toward Laighis (Leix), to Clanties⁵, to Ath-Leathnocht at Sleibhti (Sletty), until it goes into Usci (hill of Usk), towards *Ui Bairchi*; and wherever are found⁶ *Ui Threna*, and *Ui Chuirc*, all belongs to *Ui Cormaic*. Of them is *Abban Mac Ui Cormaic*. From them was the mother of Colum mac Crimthann⁷ viz. Mincloth, daughter of Cenanaran Of the *Ui Cormaic* are the two *Sinells*, viz., *Sinell* son of Cenanaran and old *Sinell*, son of *Corcran*, etc".

¹ The river Griese, i.e. the boundary stream. ² Cluana, the plain around Killeen. ³ Probably Clooney, near Athy. ⁴ O'Treanor, O'Quirk, or Mac Guirke, O'Cormac. ⁵ Abbot of Tir-da-Glas (Terryglas), obit. 13th Dec. 552. ⁶ Sinnell senior, obit. 544, he was eighth in descent from Cucorb, K. L. V. *Trias. Th. b. 18.*

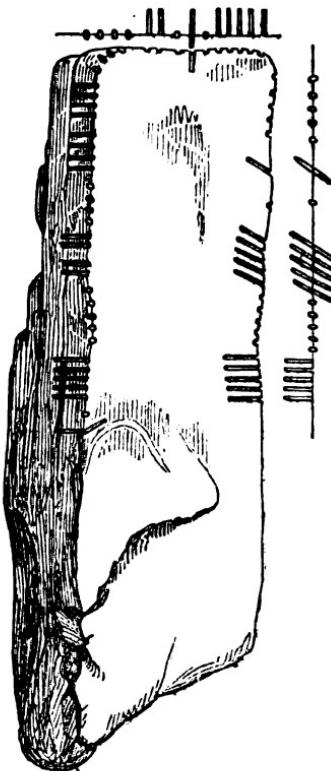
that the territory in which it is situated belonged to a correlative tribe of the Dalmessin-Corb, known as the Ua Cormaic, Dalcormaic, and Fine Cormaic, i.e. the descendants of the tribes of Cormaic. Their ancestor, Cormaic Caech, or Luscus, was son of Cucorb, king of Leinster, towards the close of the century before the Christian era, whence the name of the church and cemetery, Cell Fine Cormaic, i.e. the church of the tribes of Cormaic. In the accounts of the mission of Palladius to the Irish, A.D. 431, and of the churches erected by him, three are mentioned by him, two of which are identified with Tig-Roney and Donard, in the county Wicklow. As to the third church, called in the various lives of St. Patrick, *Cell Fine*, in the *Vita Quarta Ecclesia Finte*, which may be, as Colgan suggests, for *Fin-tech*, i.e. Aedes Fine, there has been hitherto no attempt at identification. The passage in the *Book of Lecan*, just referred to, may perhaps give a clue to the identification of the Cell Fine, or Ecclesia Finte, of the writers of the acts of Palladius and St. Patrick, as it is admitted that Palladius traversed the mountainous regions of Hy-Garrcon to Donard, almost at its extreme western limits. Doubtless the sunny plains of Mid-Leinster, extending to the distant horizon, met his delighted eyes as he descended the western slopes of the Wicklow hills—a land of promise unfolded before him, more fruitful in soil, its tribes perhaps less hostile to his exertions, tempted him to advance even a little farther inland than historians testify. Hy-Garrcon then extended probably to the banks of the river Griese, “the boundary stream”. Palladius having imbued “The Tribes” of Mid-Leinster with the saving truths of Christianity, dedicated to the service of the God of Heaven the scene of their pagan superstition, erecting there a church, which seems to be the one he loved most, placing there for safe keeping, and as a pledge of his zeal and gratitude, his writing materials, the relics brought from the tombs of the apostles, and the volume of the Holy Scripture presented to him by Pope Celestine.

The identification of this church with the Cell Fine of the *Acta*, will be still further verified by an examination of the very curious and venerable relics of the earliest Christian antiquity still happily preserved there. Among these are three monuments of a most archaic character, coeval with the earliest dawn of Christianity in Ireland, two of them unique in their kind. The accompanying woodcuts, accurately made from the rubbings taken by the writer on a scale of one inch to the foot, will make their description more intelligible. No. 1 is of coarse green stone, very rough and much weather worn; an Ogham inscription is carried up the two sides and top. It belongs to a class of monuments not quite so rare, having, however, an

interest peculiarly their own, proving, as they do, the use of letters among the pre-Christian Celts. The inscription reads (Coirthé): **MAQI DDECEDA. MAQI MA RIN'** i.e. the pillar stone of the son of Decedda, the son of Marin. Who these personages were it is impossible to discover; the names are, however, Celtic, cognate with Cadoc, Catan, Keddan, etc. Marin represents Mui-ridge, Moregan, Morgan. At Penros Slygwy, in Anglesea, a stone belonging to the end of the sixth century bears this inscription: "**HIC IA-CIT MACCVDECETI**". It is described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. vii., 3 series, p. 296. The similarity of the names of the persons commemorated on this as well as on the Killeen Ogham is very striking, and affords a proof of the intercourse existing between the Welsh and the early Irish Christians. On the plateau on the east side is an oblong rough flag-like uninscribed stone, standing three feet nine inches over the ground and about two feet wide. A plain cross, twenty-two inches long by fifteen in the transverse arms, is incised on its face in wide shallow lines. Some slabs of this character are to be found in Dunboyke and Kilranelagh, and, likely, belong to a later period of Celtic art.

No. 2, on the left of the modern entrance, is a block of green stone, partially stratified, measuring in length six feet five inches, the upper surface at the top ten inches wide, and at the base eight inches; the side at the top eleven inches deep by fourteen inches at the base. This pillar, on its top surface, bears a faintly incised bust, which appears to represent the Redeemer, in a style of art so very archaic that any example of similar work-

¹ The reading of Samuel Ferguson, Esq., LL.D., M. R. I. A.

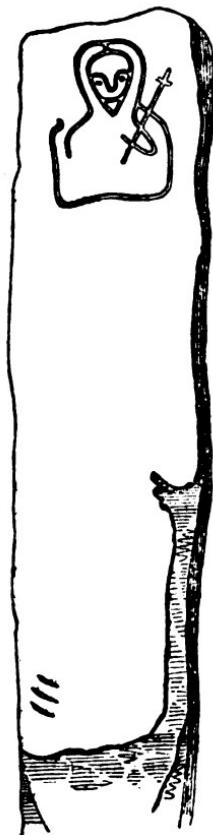


No. 1.

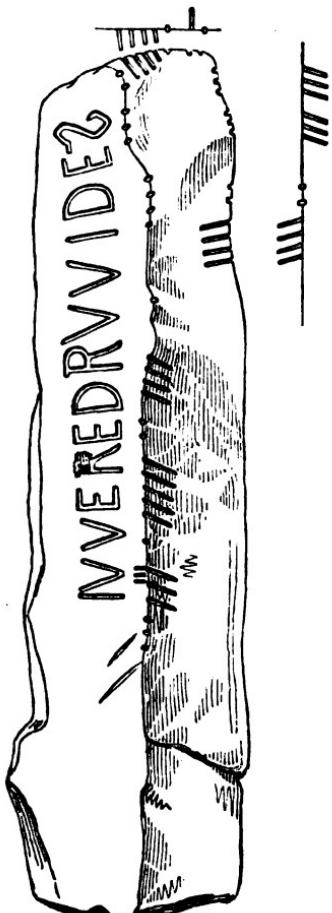
manship is scarcely to be found in these islands. On the same side, but near the middle, and close to the edge or orris of this stone, three incised strokes or scores exist, as if a commencement had been made for an inscription in the Ogham character. On the side of the stone, under these scores, is a mark of the stratification, across which is cut a single score, looking, as it now stands, like a cross, being probably another attempt at an Ogham inscription.

The pillar stone, No. 3, is of the same material, but of more irregular outlines. It measures in length nearly six feet four inches; the greatest width at the base of the lettered surface is twelve inches, and ten towards the top of the same side; on the Ogham side it measures in depth twelve inches along its entire length. This pillar stone is one still more remarkable than that already described. It appears to be the first and, as far as is known, the only example in Ireland of a Roman and Ogham inscription co-existing and equivalents of each other on the same monument. On his first visit to Killeen Cormac, the writer perceived the Ogham scores, but the Roman letters partially escaped his observation, owing to their shallowness; besides, he was unprepared to meet with a monument of such extreme antiquity and rareness in that part of Ireland, which might be regarded as fully explored. Being, however, at Killeen Cormac on an October evening in 1860, which was showery, with intervals of

bright sunshine, and then examining these monuments, the depression of the Roman letters being filled with water and glistening under the setting sun, enabled him to read distinctly the words, **IVVENE DRVVIDES**, and excited a most lively interest in the discovery. Rubbings were then made, and since that time very frequently and more carefully. The discovery of the Latin inscription in connection with the Ogham gave ample room for speculation. The letters **IVVENE DRVVIDES**, suggested the name of Dubhtach, the chief druid of king Leoghaire, whom St Patrick converted at Tara. By changing **-EN-** to *ach* in **IVVEN-E**, he began to think that the stone



No. 2.



No. 32

In the Killeen monuments the inscriptions are in the genitive singular governed by "lapis" understood, as is usual in Celtic monuments. The correct form of the last syllable of the in-

¹ Vide the poem ascribed to Dubhthach by Professor O'Curry, app. p. 486. In this he names "Magh fine" (Quaere—Was Magh Fine the Fin Magh or Campus Lucidus where St. Abban governed a monastery?), Mugna, and Maisden now Mullauchmaast, of many historic recollections in ancient as well as in modern times. Under its shadow, at Prospect House, was born, on the 29th of April, 1804, his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, Quem Deus, Incol. sospit. servet.

² The writer of this paper begs to record the generosity of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy in lending these wood-cuts for its illustration; also his best thanks for the favour.

³ Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung.

that marked the grave of Dubhthach, the druid, was lying before him. His connection with St. Fiech of Sleatty, his own territory of Hy-Kinselagh, both near at hand, his poem¹ on Enna Kinselagh, whom he styles "the hero of Magh Fine", suggested the probability of Dubhthach's remains resting in the scene of his literary labours; and where more fittingly could rest the first Christian neophyte of his order, than in one of the earliest and most honoured churches of the first Christian bishop in Ireland, his hallowed grave being marked by rude and simple monuments, on which were inscribed the distinctive characteristics of Latin and Celtic literature and civilization. These ideas received a most remarkable confirmation in an examination of the Ogham and Latin inscriptions, made by Mr. Whitley Stokes, which he communicated to the writer, after these monuments had been described in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy (Monday, May 22, 1865), and which Mr. Stokes has since described, with two other inscriptions of a cognate character existing in Wales and Scotland, in a recent number of a German periodical.²

scription would be **IS**, rather than **ES**. The early Christian monuments of the catacombs present errors of this kind. The Ogham reads, **DVFTANO SAEI SAHATTOS**, which Mr. Stokes reads thus: **DVFTANO**, a gen. sing. nom. Dubtanos. In root it may be connected with Dubhtach, the last part in **AN**, by a change of termination common in Irish names, becomes **OC** or **OG**, young, little. Thus comes Dubthac, a primeval Celtic name, a form of **DVBOTANOS**, meaning black, thin, or shaggy. **DVBO**; Irish, *toubh*; Welsh, **DU**: **TANOS**, Welsh, **TENEN**; Latin, *Tenuis*; Greek, *ravoc*; English, *thin*. The next word, **SAEI**, is a gen. sing. **SAEOS**, or **SAIOS** nom., equivalent to the old Irish *ραι* (sophos), sage, which here assuming the usual loss of **P**, e.g. *caut*, for *Caput*, should be equalled with the Latin *sapiens*. In the last word, **SAHOTTOS**, the **H** is merely inserted to prevent the hiatus produced by the loss of **P**. This word is referred to the root **SAP**; whence *Sapiens*, *Sapio*, Latin; *Savoir*, French; **SEFFAN**, intelligere, etc., etc. **SAHOTTOS** for **SAPANTOS**, would appear by its form to be a gen. sing. of an adjectival stem in **NT**. The loss or assimilation of **N** before **T** is to be found in old Irish participial forms, so that, in meaning as in root, **SAHOTTOS** may be regarded as identical with the Latin *sapientis*: so that the Celtic part of the inscription should be thus translated (*Lapis Sepulcralis*) Dubtanis Sophi Sapientis, i.e. the sepulchral stone of Dubhtach the Sage of Wisdom, which nearly agrees with the terms in which Dubhtach is described in the *Senchus Mor*, *tubtac ραι* *līctū*. The letters of the Latin inscription are uncials or capitals. A bilingual inscription on a pillar stone at St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, in Wales, reads—**SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI**. The Oghams read—**SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI**. This monument is supposed to commemorate the son of Cunedda Wledig, a Cambrian prince, A.D. 340–389. Mr. Westwood assigns this inscription to a date not long after the departure of the Romans from Britain. At Lannfeckin, in Cardiganshire, and at Trelong, in Brecknock, bilingual monuments exist, having the same characteristics, though somewhat later in point of time, as they exhibit traces of the so-called Lombardic influence in the formation of the letters, no traces of which exist in the Killeen inscription; so that it differs in this respect also from the inscribed monuments of a later period, on which the letters have a distinctive Celtic character. It may be perhaps concluded that the Killeen inscription was incised by an artist, himself a foreigner, or at least under the immediate instruction of one who learned to write before the change made in the forms of the old uncials became general in Italy. An inscription preserved in the church of St. Ursula at

Cologne,¹ exhibits letters of this class, and is referred to a period not later than the year 500 by the most learned German archaeologists. Count de Rossi, who examined them in 1860, coincided in that view, so that it may be concluded that the letters and sculpture engraved on the Killeen monuments are only the reflection of the art of the catacombs, a source from which the earliest Irish students of ecclesiastical design drew their inspirations, and founded a school which exerted a wonderful influence on the sculpture, and more vividly still on the illuminated manuscripts of western Europe, thus paying back with interest a debt of gratitude due to that country which is the common cradle of art and Christianity.

J. F. S.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.²

THE prominent position you occupy in our country and among our representatives in the Imperial Parliament, and your well-known anxiety to secure for Irish Catholics an educational system in accordance with our religious principles, induce me to address the following remarks to you. They regard a question which now fills the minds of educated men in Ireland, nay, throughout the Empire. The importance of that question cannot be gainsayed, for on its right solution, perhaps more than on anything else, depends the momentous issue: Is Catholic Ireland to remain Catholic? Is the destruction of ascendancy in this country to be made the basis of religious indifferentism? or is the new era of political and social equality to be blessed by religion? Is the education of our Catholic people, which will determine the future of Ireland, and of which the university is the corner-stone, to be established, now at this turning-point of our history, on the firm and immovable rock of Catholic truth? or is it to be laid upon a foundation whose strength and durability are doubtful? Now, as it is admitted on all hands, that our claims for educational equality are just and reasonable, the important question which I ask you to consider is: Whether a distinct Catholic University, or a Catholic University College in a common University, is likely to be the more advantageous to the religious and the educational interests of Irish Catholics? I reply without hesitation—the former; and I shall endeavour briefly to state my reasons for this opinion. However, before doing so, it may be desirable to recall to mind the actual position of the University Question.

¹ Vide *Essays on Religion and Literature*, edited by Dr. Manning, Archbishop of London, p. 255.

² This paper was written as a letter to the Right Hon. W. H. F. Cogan, M.P., by the Rector of the Catholic University, by whose kind permission it is here printed.

The Right Hon. the Chief Secretary for Ireland has informed the House of Commons that it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to establish a Catholic University, which, as far as circumstances would permit, should stand in the same position to Catholics as Trinity College does to Protestants. He proposes, moreover, that it should be almost independent of state control, but subject to the constant influence of public opinion, and governed in such a manner as would enable it to enter at once into competition with the older Universities.

It is not for me at present to express an opinion on the programme of her Majesty's Government; further than to say, that it seems to admit many most important principles, as, for instance, the right of Catholics to educate Catholics without let or hindrance, according to the principles of our religion; the right of our Bishops to intervene in education as guardians of faith and morals; the desirability of having education as far as possible free from state control, etc., etc.

In contradistinction to this scheme of her Majesty's Government, Mr. Fawcett, M.P. for Brighton, has given notice, that on the 29th instant, he will move in the House of Commons, that the fellowships and other honours and emoluments of Trinity College, its teaching and its government, be thrown open to all without religious distinction; in other words, that persons of any religion and of no religion should henceforth be eligible to the governing and the teaching staff of the College and University of Dublin.

The mere enunciation of Mr. Fawcett's plan appears to me sufficient to secure its rejection by every thoughtful Catholic. Only in one sense, it would seem, can any person who believes in the necessity of Catholic Education, appear in some measure to accept it; that is, in as much as it is a protest against the educational monopoly so long enjoyed by Trinity College for the good of the few, and in as much as it is a declaration that all the advantages attached by the state to University Education, ought to be common alike to all citizens. It was, I presume, chiefly for these reasons, that on a former occasion Mr. Fawcett's motion was supported by many Catholic Members of Parliament. But, apart from these considerations and judged on its own merits exclusively, it embodies the principle of mixed Education in a marked and most objectionable form; it engraves it upon an existing Protestant institution, which for many long years would give its present tone to the teaching and government of the place, and it proposes to settle in the metropolis of our Catholic country, and for the use of our Catholic nation, a non-Catholic College and University backed up by all the *prestige* of the antiquity, the wealth, and the learning of Trinity College.

In fact, Mr. Fawcett would not wish to disturb the present

fellows of Trinity College; he merely proposes that, as vacancies occur in the teaching and governing staff of the institution, Catholics and others should be eligible to the vacant places. But, I will ask, how long would it be before Catholics could by possibility obtain in this way the position in the College to which their numbers entitle them? How many years would elapse before they would have that preponderating influence, which, to say the least, is their right in a University pretending to represent a Catholic nation like Ireland? And when, after long years, the great majority of the chairs and other offices in the College would be occupied by Catholics, what should we have?—A mixed college! And what guarantee should we have for the permanency of this preponderating power of Catholics in the College? And even if it were permanent, what security should we have for the safety of the faith and morals of Catholic youth? Where is there any mention of the authority of the bishops—the divinely appointed guardians of the Christian flock?

I may be told that such an institution would be preferable to the University and its College in their present form. I answer: far from being so, it would be much more objectionable. For it is better that Catholics, when they enter a non-Catholic University, should know the dangers to which they expose themselves, than that, allured by a false semblance of liberality, they should imagine themselves safe where the perils are greatest, because in part hidden. Better to face an avowed opponent, than to rely upon a false friend. At present Catholics entering Trinity College know the dangers that threaten them. In Mr. Fawcett's plan these dangers would be concealed under the specious cloak of liberality. Again: so long as our Protestant fellow-countrymen require university education, it is far better they should have it in an institution where religion is honoured, at least externally, than that they should be compelled to seek it in halls from which even her sacred name is banished, and which eschew all her hallowing influences. The chapel of Trinity College, although not sanctified by the Sacramental presence of Him from whom ought to proceed the strength and holiness of truth in a seat of learning, is still the representative of a holy idea: it announces to the Protestant youth who crosses the threshold of that University, that learning to be fruitful of good must be based upon religion, must cluster round it, must not grovel upon earth, but must look up to heaven.

Of course, we do not desire that the advantages enjoyed by Trinity College should be monopolised by any one religious body. As far as the endowments of the University of Dublin and of Trinity College have been given by Parliament or the Crown, they were intended for the benefit not of a fraction of our people, but of the nation, and ought to be made available for that purpose.

Again, Trinity College being a Protestant institution, we have no wish to see its advantages confined to one denomination of Protestants. But this is, after all, a matter to be settled by the Protestants of Ireland among themselves, or by the wisdom of Parliament. When the Anglican Church ceases to be established by law in Ireland, there seems no reason why that body should have a preponderating position among other Protestants in the Protestant University, unless, indeed, Trinity College be looked upon as occupying for them the place which Maynooth College fills for Catholics. However, in the settlement of such a question, Parliament would, without doubt, bear in mind that, with the exception of the Presbyterians, who are but a very small fraction of the population in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught,¹ and are well provided for in Belfast, the Episcopalian, or members of the Church of England, are the only numerous body of Protestants in this country; that, in fact, all the other Protestants together do not amount to more than a few thousands, viz.: to less than three per cent. of the whole population. Parliament ought to find no practical difficulty in dealing satisfactorily with this small minority, and in fully protecting their constitutional rights.

I shall, therefore, dismiss Mr. Fawcett's scheme, as utterly wanting in the conditions requisite for obtaining the support of Irish Catholics, and as being such—to use the excellent remark of Mr. Monsell in the House of Commons last year—as would deprive Trinity College of the confidence of Protestants, and not gain for it the confidence of Catholics.

However, as the learned Member for Brighton, and others who agree with him, have proved that they mean kindly to Ireland by supporting measures most useful to our country; and as they advocate those measures because they are demanded by the great bulk of our people; let us hope that, laying aside for once their own peculiar views respecting education, those distinguished men will for the same reason give a new and most convincing proof of the sincerity of their good wishes for Ireland, by aiding the effort to establish the University system which is in accordance with the wishes and demands of the great majority of the Irish people.

I now come to the special subject of this letter. Permit me, then, briefly to consider the relative merits of the two schemes; the advantages and disadvantages of a Catholic University College in a common university on the one hand, and on the other hand, of a distinct Catholic University.

¹ According to the census of 1861, the Presbyterians are not 1 in 100 of the population in the three provinces just named; in Leinster they are 7 per cent., or seven in every thousand persons; and in Munster and Connaught 3, or only three in every thousand.

The advantages of a Catholic College in a National University may be summed up in one sentence: it would afford us the widest range of competition, and give us at the same time separate education for Catholics.

I. The great, indeed the paramount, advantage of competition is admitted upon all hands. By it emulation is kept up among youth, their latent energies are evoked, and their intellectual powers developed to the utmost. A system then, which brings into competition all the youth of the nation, must possess great educational advantages above any other, and such, precisely, is a National University, where all the intellect of the country would have to compete in a common arena for degrees, honours, and other literary and scientific distinctions. Moreover, this emulation would be increased by the fact, that there would be among the various colleges, a struggle for intellectual superiority, which could not fail to be productive of the greatest advantages to literature and science, each striving to out-do the others in the race, in which all would be entered.

II. Again, the students of the Catholic College having won, as no doubt they would win, distinctions in the intellectual arena, not only would their equality or superiority with respect to their Protestant fellow-countrymen be admitted at once, and this without any of that hesitation or delay, which is sure to occur before their literary or scientific standing will be recognized, if their passport to distinction bear the signature of an exclusive institution; but also the great question, whether in truth Catholic education does cramp the human mind, would be decided by a tribunal whose authority Protestants and Catholics must admit alike. In a mixed community, such as exists in these countries, it is of the greatest moment, that the university stamp should not be one which would almost ostracize the bearer, and cut him off from his fellow-countrymen, either by his own act or by their unwillingness to admit the value of the coinage; the literary and scientific coin should be such as would run current throughout the realm, because its value would be known to all. In other words, it is most important for the social interests of Catholics, that the university degree borne by them should be a *bona fide* mark of distinction, won in open competition with their fellow-countrymen of all denominations; and not the result of a hole-and-corner examination, and the fruit of work done under the inspection of a few Catholic teachers, approved and rewarded by them, and of the value of which others would know little or nothing. It is also of the greatest importance that the true intellectual value of Catholic education should be publicly proved and recognized by all.

The two most important advantages, then, of the plan which

would give us a college in the National University are: the great increase in the area of competition, and the enlarged value of the degrees and honours. And these advantages would be obtained without infringement of the principle of Catholic Education; in as much as there would be no interference with the constitution or teaching of the College, to which the whole work of educating Catholics would be entrusted. The advocates of this plan, therefore, conclude, that by it the Catholics of Ireland would have secured for them, first, the best education possible, because of the great competition; secondly, the highest rewards, because of the universal recognition of the value of the education imparted by the Catholic college, and of the degrees granted by the National University; and thirdly, complete security for the faith and morals of Catholic youth, because of the constitution and teaching of the Catholic University College.

But while admitting that these reasons are weighty, permit me to say, that they seem far from convincing; and especially if we compare them with the arguments which prove the advantage, if not the necessity, on Catholic grounds, of a distinct University for the Catholics of Ireland.

And first, as to the competition offered by a common national university, it would, of course, be a great advantage; but is it indispensable as a condition for successfully educating our Catholic people? Where does such competition exist at present in the University of Dublin? And still that institution gets on, and has got on for three hundred years very well without it. The students of Trinity College have to compete; but it is where the students of the Catholic University also would be obliged to win their way, viz., in the battle of life, in the public service, etc.

Again: would it be fair to ask the Catholic College to compete in its young and incomplete state with an old and wealthy institution like Trinity College, and especially on ground, in the selection of which the Protestant College would for years to come have a vastly preponderating influence?

The competition between a Catholic College and a Protestant one would be most useful; but is it indispensable? and might not too dear a price be paid for the advantages it would offer? Might not these advantages be purchased by the loss of still greater ones? The competition which it is sought to secure would be between the contingent furnished by the Catholic millions and that which 650,000 Protestants would supply. Would we not have enough of our own for a most healthy competition? And especially if a number of distinct colleges were to arise in our Catholic University, as they would be sure to arise in a very short time.

Would the injury inflicted by the absence of the non-Catholic contingent be really so great?

Let our schools and colleges, banded together under their own Catholic University, only get fair play; let the development of colleges in the University itself only be allowed to proceed without let or hindrance; let high intellectual culture in science and literature be fostered among Catholics, and in accordance with the principles of our religion, as has been done for Protestants on the principles of Protestantism for the last three hundred years; and we shall soon make the greatest enemies of Catholicity admit that her teaching does not cramp the intellect or enslave the mind, and that Irish Catholics are nowise inferior to their fellow-countrymen of other denominations.

But this train of argument has led us naturally to the more intrinsic, and the fundamental objection to this plan of a common university.

The government of a common university would be vested in a council or senate, either made up of representatives of the various university colleges, or, as is the case in the Queen's University, appointed entirely or in great part by the Crown. In either plan, where would be the safeguard for the faith and morals of Catholic youth? Is it in the teaching and discipline of the Catholic college? This would be far from sufficient. If the University mean anything, indeed if competition among its students is to be possible, it must have the power not only of electing examiners, but also of prescribing courses of studies, of enjoining or recommending class-books and books of reference, etc. Now, are we willing to leave the settlement of these most important questions to a council, where Catholics will be in the minority, or at any rate, where there will be no one to speak authoritatively as to the requirements for the due preservation of the faith and morals of Catholics?

I shall be told, that the university council would not mix itself up with these matters of detail; that it would confine itself to the appointment of subjects, leaving to the colleges the choice of books. Whatever we may think of this answer in theory, the practice has been quite different; witness the arrangements proposed under the Supplemental Charter of the Queen's University, which I shall have occasion later to consider more fully; witness the London University, where, I understand, the gravest questions have from time to time arisen with the Catholic colleges respecting the books to be used, the curriculum of studies, etc.

And is it to be supposed that the tendencies of a university and of its examiners will not be known to the students, and will not have the greatest influence upon the formation of their

principles? Any one who thinks that they will not, shows how utterly unacquainted he is with human nature and with the circumstances which exert the greatest influence on the pliant mind of youth. The words, the looks, the very thoughts of teachers and examiners, are scanned and copied, often unconsciously.

Again, what will be the subjects in which the wished for competition is to be created and fostered? History, mental philosophy, ethics, political economy; many others, in which it is of the last importance that true principles should be instilled into the minds of youth. And how can these principles be put forward and cherished under a mixed council, and under an authority which has no religious principle of its own? by a body which deals with these important issues merely as expediency suggests? Will we omit these subjects in a National University, or will we suffer the minds of our Catholic youth to be moulded by an institution which has no fixed principles, and whose office it must be to neutralize, as far as possible, the Catholic tendencies which it is the duty of a Catholic college to impart to its alumni?

The capital objection, then, to this plan of a common university is, that although the office of teaching Catholics in the Catholic college would be entrusted to Catholics, still that most important duty would be discharged under the direction of the common university, which would have the right not alone of examining the students, to which we could not object, but also of fixing beforehand the curriculum and all other particulars regarding the studies; in other words, a mixed senate would be put at the head of the education of our Catholic country. Who is there, that does not see, that thus would be realized in a great measure the description given by the Sacred Congregation of the dangers inherent in the frequentation by Catholics of a non-Catholic university?

"In the present case, where, as his Holiness has declared, those who frequent the (non-Catholic) universities incur an intrinsic and grievous danger to purity of morals, as well as to faith (which is absolutely necessary to salvation), who can fail to see that it is next to impossible to discover circumstances which would allow Catholics, without sin, to attend non-Catholic universities? The light and unstable minds of youth; the errors which in such institutions are imbibed, almost through the atmosphere, without being counteracted by more solid doctrine; the very great power which human respect and the taunts of companions exercise upon young men, lead them so rapidly and so immediately into the danger of falling, that generally no sufficient reason can be conceived why young men should be entrusted to these universities".—*Letter from the Propaganda to the English Bishops.*

The dangers thus graphically described would be found in a great measure in the common university ; and the supreme control of the education of the country would be given to a mixed board, that is to a senate or university, which in its corporate capacity would have no religion, and could have none.

But the greatest evils might also arise from the professors to whom the duty of teaching would be entrusted in a mixed university. It is true, the teachers in the Catholic University College might be everything we could desire. But it must not be forgotten, that, besides the college teachers, there would also be a certain number of university professors. These would be appointed by the council of the university, or in some other way to be fixed by the charter. But in their appointment there would be no guarantee whatsoever for the soundness of their principles. It is true, attendance on their lectures would not be obligatory ; but still every student of the University would have a right to attend them, whatever the college to which he belonged. These university professors would be the great luminaries of the university ; the frequentation of their lectures would be of immense advantage to such students as might wish to make a special study of the particular subject ; and the influence wielded by such men in a learned university would be incredible. Thus, for instance, in Oxford, Dr. Pusey is specially attached to Christ Church ; but he is also University Professor of Hebrew ; his lectures are available for the students of all the colleges ; his influence is felt throughout the whole university. Now in the case of an Irish National University, many of the university professorships might be held by men whose teaching would be heterodox, and whose opinions would be rationalistic ; it would be impossible to prevent our Catholic youth from frequenting their teaching ; and, as they would be men of admitted ability and often of most fascinating manners, many might be drawn into the vortex of their errors, and carried into the abyss of indifferentism or infidelity. For instance, take history, that most important branch of human knowledge : the professor selected by a mixed board to represent that department in the National University of Ireland, despite the incongruity of the appointment in this thoroughly religious land, might be a M. Renan, or the author of the *History of Rationalism*. It is true, the learned Professor Robertson would continue to teach the sound principles of historical science to the Catholic students ; but who can tell the corrupting effects of the erroneous teaching which would be supposed to represent the university ? And who would not tremble for the future of our country, when he remembered the words of Divine Wisdom : *Fascinatio enim nugacitatis obscurat bona, et inconstantia concupiscentiae transvertit sensum sine malitia.*

("The bewitching of folly obscureth good things, and the inconstancy of concupiscence overturneth the innocent mind".)

But I may be told, that the senate or council of the University need not be made up exclusively of the representatives of the Catholic and Protestant colleges, but might be a body appointed by the crown, or by some other external authority, as is done in the senate of the Queen's University, and that in such a body the religious interests of Catholics would be protected. Waiving the point as to whether the safeguards would then be sufficient in the judgment of those, who alone are our guides in such matters, I find that another most serious difficulty meets us. I mean the great defect of not having within the university itself a supreme educational authority, to which the students would look for the *corona* of their academical course. When I visited the University of Louvain in 1861, I understood from the illustrious Rector-Magnificus, the late Monsignor de Ram, that he and his learned associates found the system of sending their students to an *external* tribunal for degrees very unsatisfactory; and he impressed on me the great advantage of having degrees which would emanate from the University itself, that is, from the body which taught, and governed, and moulded the minds of the academical youth. The educational evils arising from the opposite system are well explained in the following official paper quoted by Major O'Reilly, in his able pamphlet on University Education. The extract is taken from the *Rapport sur l'enseignement supérieur en Prusse, présenté en Mars 1845, à M. Nothomb, Ministre de l'Intérieur, par Charles Looman. Brussels, 1860.*

"The Belgian Universities do all that they can; but sooner or later they will feel the evil effects of the law on superior instruction. Science, instead of enjoying a little freedom, and producing large and varied developments, is ill at ease under the yoke of the programmes of examinations. Professors, situated as they are, cannot fail to lose some of their devotion to science. The majority of the students have not a scientific spirit; their studies are generally confined to a knowledge of abridgments and a superficial gloss of learning, which the Germans familiarly call *brod-studium*. The subjects for examination are too numerous; it is a general defect of the law of 1835 to favour what may be called *polymathy*. It is a commonsense truth, that it is better to study well one subject than to acquire a smattering of many. I might extend these observations to all the branches of study. Why do the regulations concerning examinations force the professors to follow over the same track? By increasing beyond measure the subjects of examination, the law obliges the examiners to come to a tacit agreement amongst themselves as to the course of examination. Thus it is understood now-a-days that the examination on the history of philosophy shall com-

prise only ancient philosophy ; that on Greek shall consist in being able to translate one or two books of Homer. This is what our system of examinations has brought us to".

From this admirable statement I conclude, that it is of the greatest importance for education that the programme of examinations, etc., should not be fixed by an authority external to the teaching bodies; otherwise the education will not have that pliability which is desirable, but will run as it were in a groove, and the intellectual development of the nation will be nipped in the bud and stunted.

But I may be told, that these inconveniences are more than counterbalanced by the great advantage of unity of education, and, consequently, unity of national feeling, which would be the fruit of one common university, and could never proceed from various denominational universities. My answer is very plain : an argument which proves too much, proves nothing. If this reasoning have any weight, it would prove the advantage or necessity of mixed education in order to consolidate the nation. Now both reason and experience show, that this effect does not follow from mixed education; some who were most strenuous in supporting the mixed system, in order to unite the people, begin now at last to see that the union of men's hearts is not to be attained by banishing religion from the school, but by impressing more and more upon the minds of youth the golden precepts of Christian charity, which is founded on faith.

But is it not notorious that the multiplication of universities will bring decadence in study and in learning, and a desire to undersell each other?

I do not think this consequence is, by any means, necessary : it does not follow in Germany ; it has not followed in Ireland since the foundation of the Queen's University, nor in England since the establishment of the University of London. And if such a danger be apprehended, it would not be difficult to secure the universities against it by some prudent enactments, and by removing the temptation for the sale of degrees. But have not we the same reason, or an equal one, for supposing that the multiplication of universities, instead of weakening learning, would only increase the competition among the students, and raise the tone of all the colleges, and of the universities themselves? The experience of life in other matters would make us think so. Competition, if it often lead to adulteration and underselling, is generally, on the whole, beneficial to the public, and brings into the market better articles and in greater variety.

Before concluding this part of my subject, permit me to add, that the experience of the Supplemental Charter of 1866, and

of the programme drawn up under it, convinced me of the extreme difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of a mixed senate's devising arrangements which would be in every way satisfactory to Catholics, and under which the Catholic college would continue to work for any considerable length of time. In the programme to which I refer, the mental and moral sciences were far from occupying the position they ought to hold in the educational system by which a Catholic nation, like Ireland, is to be trained; and books were appointed, or at least suggested, which are not the most desirable for our Catholic youth, while the great standard authors of Catholic Europe were omitted or scarcely noticed. Now, that programme, most certainly, was framed with the view of meeting Catholic views as far as possible; and if such grave inconveniences can be detected in it, they or still greater would surely be found in the working out of the common university.

In conclusion, permit me to say that I see no objection to common examiners for Catholics and Protestants, provided they have no control, direct or indirect, over the course of studies, or over their students or their teachers. Indeed there seems a certain weight in the objection raised against Trinity College, viz.: that there the same persons teach, examine, and give degrees. And the great man and learned scholar who first filled the rectorial chair in our Catholic University seems to have adopted a much more effectual course for the protection of the intellectual interests of his pupils, when he ordered that no person should examine in a faculty in which he was a professor.

I shall now briefly consider the advantages to be found in a distinct Catholic University.

And, in the first place, I set down the advantages implied in the very idea of a university; advantages which cannot be realized for Catholics, unless the university be under the aegis of the Church; unless its animating principle be religion; that is, unless it be a distinct Catholic University. For what is a university? I cannot answer better than in the eloquent words of Dr. Newman:—

“A university is a place of concourse, whither students come from every quarter for every kind of knowledge. You cannot have the best of every kind everywhere; you must go to some great city or emporium for it. There you have all the choicest productions of nature and art altogether, which you find each in its separate place elsewhere. All the riches of the land, and of the world, are carried up thither; there are the best markets, and there the best workmen. It is the centre of trade, the supreme court of fashion, the umpire of rival skill, and the standard of things rare and precious. It is the

place for seeing galleries of first-rate pictures, and for hearing wonderful voices and miraculous performers. It is the place for great preachers, great orators, great nobles, great statesmen. In the nature of things, greatness and unity go together; excellence implies a centre. Such, then, for the third or fourth time, is a University; I hope I do not weary out the reader by repeating it. It is the place to which a thousand schools make contributions; in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, sure to find its equal in some antagonist activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries verified and perfected, and rashness rendered innocuous, and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge. It is the place where the professor becomes eloquent, and a missionary and preacher of science, displaying it in its most complete and most winning form, pouring it forth with the zeal of enthusiasm, and lighting up his own love in the breasts of hearers. It is the place where the catechist makes good his ground as he goes, treading in the truth day by day into the ready memory, and wedging and tightening it into the expanding reason. It is a place which attracts the affections of the young by its fame, wins the judgment of the middle-aged by its beauty, and rivets the memory of the old by its associations. It is a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, a minister of the faith, an Alma Mater of the rising generation. It is this and a great deal more, and demands a somewhat better head and hand than mine to describe it well.

"Such it is in its idea and in its purpose; such in good measure has it before now been in fact. Shall it ever be again? We are going forward in the strength of the Cross, under the patronage of Mary, in the name of Patrick, to attempt it".

Could a mere college in a common university realize all this? I am convinced it could not.

Secondly, it is most desirable that the mind of a nation like ours should not be forced into one mould; that a certain liberty should be allowed, in order to produce various kinds of mental culture; in a special manner it is to be wished for that the Catholic intelligence of our nation should be evoked and developed to the full; that it should be brought into contact with the Catholic intellect of the continent, with their books, their mode of teaching, their thoughts, their feelings, their habits; that, on the one hand, Ireland's forced isolation from Europe, which has existed for so many centuries, should cease; and on the other hand, that a new phase of mental culture should be produced, which would be at once adapted to the wants of the age, Irish, and Catholic. All this could not be done in a mere college of a mixed university; it could only be done in a truly Catholic University.

Finally, the work given to our race to accomplish could

never be achieved by a mere college, or by a university made up of heterogeneous elements. The eloquent words of Newman explain this argument far better than I can pretend to do, and with them I conclude:—

“I see an age of transition, the breaking up of the old and the coming in of the new; an old system shattered some sixty years ago, and a new state of things scarcely in its rudiments yet, to be settled perhaps some centuries after our time. And it is a special circumstance in these changes, that they extend beyond the historical platform of human affairs; not only is Europe broken up, but other continents are thrown open, and the new organization of society aims at embracing the world. It is a day of colonists and emigrants;—and, what is another most pertinent consideration, the language they carry with them is English, which consequently, as time goes on, is certain, humanly speaking, to extend itself into every part of the world. It is already occupying the whole of North America, whence it threatens to descend upon the South; already it has become the speech of a hundred marts of commerce, scattered over the East, and, even where not the mother tongue, it is at least the medium of intercourse between nations. And lastly, though the people who own that language is Protestant, a race preëminently Catholic has adopted it, and has a share in its literature; and this Catholic race is, at this very time, of all tribes of the earth, the most fertile in emigrants both to the West and the South. These are the facts of the day, which we should see before our eyes, whether the Pope had anything to say to them or no. The English language and the Irish race are overrunning the world.

“When then I consider what an eye the Sovereign Pontiffs have for the future; and what an independence in policy and vigour in action have been the characteristics of their present representative; and what a flood of success, mounting higher and higher, has lifted up the Ark of God from the beginning of this century; and then, that the Holy Father has definitely put his finger upon Ireland, and selected her soil as the seat of a great Catholic University, to spread religion, science, and learning, wherever the English language is spoken; when I take all these things together,—I care not what others do, God has no need of men,—oppose who will, shrink who will, I know and cannot doubt that a great work is begun. It is no great imprudence to commit oneself to a guidance which never yet has failed; nor is it surely irrational or fanatical to believe, that, whatever difficulties or disappointments, reverses or delays, may be our lot in the prosecution of the work, its ultimate success is certain, even though it seems at first to fail,—just as the greatest measures in former times have been the longest in carrying out, as Athanasius triumphed though he passed away before Arianism, and Hildebrand died in exile, that his successors might enter into his labours”.

I resume. In a common university with a Catholic college we have the following advantages:—

Firstly, The greatest extent of competition, and consequent increase of emulation among the students.

Secondly, The increased value of distinctions and degrees.

Thirdly, Catholic teaching for Catholic youth.

On the other hand, it would seem that four and a half millions of Irish Catholics, besides the millions of English-speaking Catholics throughout the world, ought to be able to furnish ample materials for competition without recurring to a common university; more especially since in it there would be no sufficient safeguard for the faith and morals of Catholics against any inimical influence on the part of the university. That this influence would be great is clear, because to the university would belong the right not only of electing examiners, but also of appointing courses of studies, subjects for examinations, conditions for obtaining honours, etc.

The dangers to be guarded against are also seen from the subjects, to which the university examinations must extend; history, mental philosophy, etc.

Finally; the influence for good or evil to be exercised by the university professors, as distinguished from the professors in the Catholic college, shows how unsafe the faith and morals of Catholics would be in a mixed university, even although we should have a Catholic college.

On the other hand, there would be great educational defects, if the senate or council of the university were quite external to the colleges.

All these reasons against the attempt to unite a Catholic college with others under a mixed university, are confirmed by the experience of the Supplemental Charter of 1866, and of the difficulties which Catholic colleges find in working with the London University.

On the other hand, the advantages of a distinct Catholic university are, precisely, those which caused the work to be set on foot originally.

First, the fulness of Catholic teaching, under the aegis of the Church.

Secondly, the variety of mental culture, by breaking down the wall of separation, which separates us from the continent, bringing us into contact with the Catholic intellect of Europe.

Thirdly, the mission given to Catholic Ireland, to work out among the English-speaking inhabitants of the globe.

I conclude by recalling the noble vision conjured up by the great man, on whom I have already drawn so largely; and I ask first, can that bright vision ever be realized if we place at the head of our education a mixed university: and secondly, are we prepared to forego our chance of such a glorious future?

"Looking at the general state of things at this day, I desiderate for a school of the Church, if an additional school is to be granted to us, a more central position than Oxford has to show. Since the age of Alfred and of the first Henry, the world has grown, from the west and south of Europe, into four or five continents; and I look for a city less inland than that old sanctuary, and a country closer upon the highway of the seas. I look towards a land both old and young; old in its Christianity, young in the promise of its future: a nation, which received grace before the Saxon came to Britain, and which has never quenched it; a Church, which comprehends in its history the rise and fall of Canterbury and York, which Augustine and Paulinus found, and Pole and Fisher left behind them. I contemplate a people which has had a long night, and will have an inevitable day. I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come, and I dimly see the island I am gazing on, become the road of passage and union between two hemispheres, and the centre of the world. I see its inhabitants rival Belgium in populousness, France in vigour, and Spain in enthusiasm; and I see England taught by advancing years to exercise in its behalf that good sense which is her characteristic towards every one else. The capital of that prosperous and hopeful land is situate in a beautiful bay and near a romantic region; and in it I see a flourishing University, which for a while had to struggle with fortune, but when its first founders and servants were dead and gone, had successes far exceeding their anxieties. Thither, as to a sacred soil, the home of their fathers, and the fountain-head of their Christianity, students are flocking from East, West, and South, from America and Australia and India, from Egypt and Asia Minor, with the ease and rapidity of a locomotion not yet discovered, and last, though not least, from England,—all speaking one tongue, all owning one faith, all eager for one large true wisdom, and thence, when their stay is over, going back again to carry peace to men of good will over all the earth".

I have the honour to remain, dear sir,
Your faithful servant,
BARTH. WOODLOCK, Rector.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY,
Dublin, 8th May, 1868.

P.S.—Since writing these lines, I have been favoured with the following letter from the Rector Magnificus of the University of Louvain, the Right Rev. Monsignor Laforet. I append it, as it may be interesting to you and others to know the views of a man so distinguished for his learning and experience:—

Université Catholique de Louvain,
Louvain, le 6 Mai, 1868.

MONSIEUR,

En réponse à votre lettre du premier de ce mois, je m' empresse de vous dire, que vous devez, à mon avis, maintenir l'indépen-

dance complète de votre Université, et que vous ne pouvez pas permettre que vos élèves subissent des examens devant un jury mixte, composé de professeurs Protestants et Catholiques. Je verrais dans ce régime de très grands inconvenients, dès aujourd'hui, pour vos leçons et pour les études des jeunes gens Catholiques, et je redouterais des dangers plus grands pour l'avenir. Comment enseigner l'histoire surtout et le droit public si vos élèves doivent répondre à des juges Protestants ? Que de faux tempéraments, que de regrettables accommodements ne seraient pas à craindre ! Tout votre système d'enseignement supérieur en souffrirait nécessairement. Puis, que de difficultés dans la composition des jurys, que de tiraillements dans le sein des juges ! N'allez pas sacrifier votre indépendance, le plus précieux des biens et au point de vue moral et même au point de vue scientifique, à un vain espoir d'une plus grande émulation pour vos élèves. Il y a un moyen très simple d'exciter l'émulation des jeunes gens et au même temps de donner de la valeur aux grades académiques, c'est de se montrer sévère dans la collation de ces grades, comme nous le faisons ici dans la faculté de théologie, où nous sommes tout à fait libres.

Il serait risquer de tout perdre que d'admettre une seule université en Irlande, composée de deux colléges, l'une Catholique, l'autre Protestant !

Il est vrai, le système des jurys mixtes ou combinés n'offre pas en Belgique de très grands inconvenients. Mais notre situation n'est pas la même que la vôtre. D'abord, l'université de Louvain ne siège jamais qu'avec l'une ou l'autre des deux universités de l'Etat (Liège et Gand) dont tous les professeurs sont Catholiques, au moins de nom, et respectent les croyances de nos élèves dans leurs interrogations ; ensuite, nos élèves sont *principalement* interrogés par leurs propres professeurs, les autres interrogent peu ; enfin plusieurs des cours académiques ne sont pas l'objet de cet examen par le jury. Malgré tous ces tempéraments, notre système offre encore des inconvenients. Gardez-vous donc de nous imiter sous ce rapport en Irlande. Un tel système dans un pays où les juges Catholiques seraient mêlés aux juges Protestants, serait désastreux. Tâchez d'obtenir pour cette chère université Catholique à laquelle nous portons un si vif intérêt, une charte qui lui permette de s'administrer et de se gouverner en toutes choses sans aucune intervention étrangère.

Je serais toujours heureux de vous fournir tous les renseignements dont vous pourriez avoir besoin.

Agréez, Monseigneur et vénéré confrère, l'hommage de mes sentiments bien dévoués en N. S. J. C.

N. J. LAFORET, *Rect. Univ.*

▲ Monseigneur Barth. Woodlock,
Rector de l'Université Cath. d'Irlande.

SUBTERRANEAN ROME.

1. *Introduction.*—The impulse given of late years to the study of sacred archaeology is certainly not the least among the glories of the splendid pontificate of Pius the Ninth. To his munificence, mainly, do we owe it that the monuments of the early Christians, so long shrouded in the gloom of the Roman catacombs, have been placed before the world in the fullest light of accurate scientific research. It is true that the catacombs have not been described now for the first time. As far back as 1593, Antonio Bosio, who has been happily styled the Columbus of subterranean Rome, had already commenced those visits to the underground Christian cemeteries, which were to occupy him for thirty-six laborious years. And from his day down to our own, there never have been wanting patient explorers and zealous topographers of the hidden treasure-houses of the early Christians. But, much as we reverence these men—and it is not easy to tell how much they deserve our reverence—we must acknowledge that the result of their labours still left much to be desired. We rarely find in any of these writers that happy union of erudition with good sense, of precise statement with critical acumen, which are qualities essentially requisite for the perfect accomplishment of the task they had proposed to themselves to achieve. Hence, the science they loved so much came to be looked on as eminently unsatisfactory, and wanting in that precision and solidity which alone can command attention and respect. It was reserved for the Cavalier de Rossi above all others to import into archaeological controversies the elements in which they were hitherto too frequently deficient, and to reconstruct on a new and surer basis the entire science of Christian antiquities. In this undertaking he was encouraged by Pius the Ninth, who not only favoured him with his patronage, but contributed out of his scanty resources the means wherewith he might continue the work of the excavations, and set before the public the results therefrom derived. The first volume of de Rossi's work, published by order of Pius the Ninth, appeared in 1864; the second has just been given to the public.¹ The subject matter of these volumes is one of surpassing interest. It is, in very truth, a history of the beginning of Christianity. It examines the monuments of our earliest fathers in the faith which time has spared, and from each marble and coloured glass and fresco and sepulchral slab collects

¹ *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana, descritta ed illustrata dal Cav. G. B. de Rossi, pubblicata per ordine della Santità di N. S. Papa Pio Nono. Tomo i., con*

testimony to show what manner of belief and of worship was dear to those whose faith and practice were moulded after the model of the apostles and by the labour of the apostles themselves. Our readers will find in the sketch we proceed to lay before them, that many and many a difficulty, urged by modern rationalism and heresy against the Catholic Church, is completely solved by those dispassionate witnesses, speaking after the lapse of so many ages, from the consecrated, resting places of the martyrs.

2. *Authors who have written about the Catacombs.*—It will be useful to premise, by way of introduction, a short account of the authors who have hitherto treated of subterranean Rome. Ciacconius, de Winghe, John l'Heureux, better known by his Greek name of Macarius, explored the catacombs discovered in 1578. But, as we have mentioned above, it was Antonio Bosio who first founded the study of Christian archaeology. During thirty-six years he made sketches of every object of interest he was enabled to discover in his underground journeys. He died in 1629, before he could publish his book. It was only in 1632–1635 that Father Severano, of the Oratory, edited, with some additions of his own, the result of Bosio's learned labours.¹ In 1651, another Oratorian, Father Aringhi, published a Latin translation of Bosio's book,² making some additions of his own which were of little or no value. The plan adopted by Bosio of registering on the spot the discoveries of each day, unfortunately now fell into disuse. The sacred antiquities were no longer explained by men who in person directed the excavations, but by scholars, who in the retirement of their cabinets composed ingenious dissertations on the materials collected by their predecessors. Thus Fabretti³ described the inscriptions of two cemeteries lately discovered. Boldetti⁴ published the result of more than thirty years' excava-

atlante di xl. tavole, Roma, 1864, pp. 351, app. 85; tom. ii., con atlante di lxvii. tavole, pp. 391, app. 134. Roma, 1868. The dedication is contained in the following elegant inscription:—

Pio. IX. Pont. Max.

Alteri. Damaso.

Qui. Monumenta. Martyrum. Xti.

Miliarii. Seculi. Ruinis. Obruta

In. Luem. Revocat

Haec. Volumina. Jussu. Ejus. Confecta

Auctor.

D. D.

¹ *Roma Sotterranea*, Rome, 1632–1635, folio.

² *Roma Subterranea novissima post Antonium Bosium et Joannem Severanum*, 2 vols. fol., Roma, 1651–1659.

³ *Inscriptionum antiquarum explicatio*. Roma, 1699, in folio.

⁴ *Osservazioni sopre i cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi Christiani di Roma*. Roma, folio, 1720.

tions, but his work is disfigured by great carelessness. Maran-goni¹ and Lopi also contributed much to sacred science. Bottari,² who came next, and ranked high as an authority, preferred the work of Boldetti to that of Bosio, and is deficient in knowledge of the local peculiarities of the catacombs. He was the last of those who devoted themselves to the exploration of the subterranean cemeteries, until in our own time another race of archaeologists arose. But in the interval, owing to the prevailing neglect of original research, the erroneous opinions advanced by Burnet and other Protestants were adopted even by some Catholics. In modern times, Settele, Rostell, Raoul-Rochette, and above all, Father Marchi, who commenced in 1841, inaugurated a new and better school. Among those who assisted Father Marchi in preparing his work on the architecture of Christian subterranean Rome, was Cavalier J. B. de Rossi, whose latest work has suggested the present paper.

3. *Situation and extent of the Catacombs.*—The ancient Christian cemeteries at Rome, commonly called the catacombs, occupy a zone of from about one to two miles in width around the walls of the city. Their extent is surprising. The superficies which they occupy is not indeed excessively large, but what mainly constitutes their vast extent is the number of their passages, or corridors, which are excavated in different levels, there being sometimes as many as four or five stories, one over the other. An exact measurement has shown that in a space of one hundred and twenty-five feet square there is not less than half a mile of passages; and the total sum of all the lines of excavation seems to reach the prodigious figure of about three hundred and sixty miles, almost the entire length of Italy. Formerly it was believed by many even among the learned, and the opinion still lingers in the popular traditions, that the various threads of this immense underground net-work were all connected one with the other, and that the communication between their parts was uninterrupted. But the Tiber, which intervenes, and the geological condition of the land, forbid such a theory. It would be simply impossible to open a communication between the necropolis on the northern and that on the southern side of the river. And this conclusion, suggested by science, is fully borne out by history and experience. We learn from authentic sources, that in the third century the Roman Church had twenty-six distinct cemeteries, which number corresponds precisely to the number of

¹ *Acta S. Victorini, Roma, 4to, 1640; Dissertatio ad Severas martyri epitaphium.* Panormi, 1734.

² *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma.* Roma, 3 vols. in folio, 1734-1754.

the parishes then in existence within the city. Some other isolated excavations, or subterranean monuments, belonging to martyrs or to some Christian families, add to this number twenty more, so that we have in all about forty-six catacombs, or cemeteries, in close neighbourhood one to the other, and containing in their galleries several millions of tombs.

4. *Causes that led to their formation.*—These cemeteries owe their formation to the Catholic doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Many reasons combined to recommend to the early Christians the practice, then general, of burning the bodies of the dead. Such a plan would not require great space; it would better enable them to conceal their numbers; and in times of persecution would lessen the dangers that surrounded them. But their faith in the resurrection, and the respect naturally felt by a Christian for that flesh which has been sanctified by so many sacraments, and especially by One, taught them to forego all these advantages, and to expend their tenderest care in honouring the lifeless clay which was one day to appear once more before God. Hence they used to wash it, to anoint it with sweet spices in imitation of what was done at our Lord's burial, and even to embalm it. Nor would they fling into a common trench the remains of their departed brethren, as the pagans were wont to do with the corpses of the poor and of the slaves; each body should have its own proper place of rest, and as near as possible to the last remains of a martyr. Hence arose the wide-extending cemeteries, or *places of rest*, which name is the special designation of the burial places of Christians. The name of *catacombs*, which at Rome properly designated only the subterranean of St. Sebastian, was not employed to designate the underground Christian cemeteries in general until the ninth century.

5. *Their origin exclusively Christian.*—But where were the Christians to find space wherein to excavate the sepulchres required for their dead?

The Protestants, Burnet and Misson, reply that they availed themselves of the sand-pits which were found ready to hand, opened by the pagans for the supply of cement or other materials used in the building of the city. Else, why the name of *arenaria*, *crypto arenaria*, given to them by ancient authorities? Hence these writers represent the catacombs as containing pagan tombs, or, at best, tombs of Christians interred after the peace of the Church, and which afterwards became stores of sacred relics, to be sold by superstitious monks to a deluded laity. Artaud and Münter in our own day repeat this same account. Dr. Maitland,¹ however, refutes the opinion about

¹ *The Church in the Catacombs, etc.*

the pagan tombs, but defends the assertion that the catacombs were not originally excavated by Christian hands. Nor is it wonderful that he should have held this opinion in England, since Buonarotti, Boldetti, Lupi, and Bottari, defended it at Rome. It was only when Father Marchi and the brothers de Rossi commenced their patient and laborious explorations of the cemeteries themselves, that the mistake was completely cleared up. It was found that the form of the catacombs, the arrangement of the corridors, the nature of the soil traversed by them, and the marked differences between them and the still existing pagan sand-pits, all forbid the supposition that they were merely adaptations for Christian purposes of excavations originally pagan. The galleries, or corridors, are evidently made to command easy access to the tombs; long, narrow, and frequently intersecting each other at right angles, they have every quality that a passage excavated for the sole purpose of obtaining building materials ought not to have. Besides, the catacombs are excavated in a soil which supplies no materials for building. The ground about Rome presents three kinds of volcanic rocks—the *tufo litoide*, which is hard as stone and suited for building; the *tufo granulare*; and the *puzzolana*, which is employed in cement. It is observed that the soil in which the catacombs are excavated is precisely the *tufo granulare*, which alone of all these is of no use for building purposes, but, on the other hand, well adapted, by its nature, for excavations, the *litoide* being too hard, and the *puzzolana* too friable, for such a purpose. It was clearly, then, no spirit of commercial speculation that led to the formation of the catacombs. Nor does the name *arenarium*, applied to the catacombs, prove their pagan origin; for, as Michele de Rossi shows, this name was applied only to five out of the entire number, and the entrance to these five was in connection with an *arenarium*. It is impossible, however, to confound what formed part of the *arenarium* with what was excavated for the purposes of the cemetery, the passages of the former being twice, three times, or even four times wider and larger than the galleries of the latter.

But, how was it possible for the Christians, persecuted as they were, to execute a work so colossal, without attracting the attention of their relentless enemies? or, if observed, how was it permitted to them to continue their undertaking? These questions, hitherto presenting serious difficulties, have been solved by the Cavalier de Rossi.

The Roman law gave permission to every individual to construct a sepulchral monument on his own land, and to excavate a subterranean chamber for his dead, which sepulchral monument and subterranean chamber became at once religious pro-

perty, sacred and inviolable. Hence wealthy Christians, and there were many such from the very beginning, had the same opportunities as those enjoyed by wealthy pagans of constructing monuments in which to bury their own deceased relatives and friends, as well as the martyrs or other faithful. A space of land, *area*, was left free around the sepulchre, and to this frequently was added a second space, *area adjecta*. This field, which was inviolable under the protection of the law, became the centre of the excavations required for the cemetery; and thus the cemetery itself came to be looked upon in the beginning as a family burial place and the private property of individuals. The architecture and ornamentation of these early cemeteries bear all the marks of the period of security under which they were designed and executed. But, in the course of time, the cemeteries became too extensive to be considered as burial places of private families. It could not be concealed any longer that they belonged to the Christian community, and this fact was well known even to the pagan magistrates. Thus it came to pass that the emperors themselves had to take up a definite position with respect to the Christian body. Some of them, it is probable, recognized them as a legally constituted community, or at least tolerated them, considering them as one of the funeral societies, *collegia funeraticia*, recognized and respected by the general law of the empire. But others of the emperors, the declared enemies of Christianity, revoked such recognitions, and we find mention in history of frequent irruptions made by the pagans into the peaceable retreats of the catacombs, and of pontiffs slain while they were celebrating the Holy Mysteries on the tombs of the martyrs, and of massacres of the faithful who were assisting at the solemn rite. In A.D. 257, the emperor Valerian forbade the Christians to assemble at their cemeteries, and in A.D. 260, Gallienus restored them to the bishops.

But whence came the enormous resources which enabled a persecuted community to excavate this subterranean city? To meet this question we should remember that the excavations were always necessarily confined to the lands belonging to Christian proprietors, since the law peremptorily prohibited all interference with the land of another. This shows that there must have been many Christians of great wealth; and the Roman Church still preserves the tradition of their riches and generosity. Besides, the Church possessed a fund formed of the monthly contributions and donations of the whole body of the faithful, and this fund not only supported the clergy, the orphans and widows, but also paid the expenses of the burial of the poor. Each cemetery was provided with a staff of

excavators, called *fossores*. Resources such as these, combined with such an organization and uninterrupted work, will easily explain how the infant Church was enabled to achieve so colossal an undertaking as the subterranean Rome. We should also bear in mind the language used by Tacitus and Pliny in describing the immense multitude of persons of every description converted by the apostles and their early disciples. Tertullian did not hesitate to tell the magistrates that if the Christians should resolve to emigrate, the empire would become a desert.

5. *Their gradual growth and subsequent abandonment.*—From what we have said hitherto, it is plain that the growth of the subterranean city of Rome was necessarily gradual and slow. Hence, the several cemeteries belong to various ages, and constitute so many successive links in the chain of Christian antiquity. It is not possible to define with equal precision the age of them all, but the age of several out of the whole number may be determined with a great degree of accuracy. At least six (or seven, if we include that of St. Peter's at the Vatican, destroyed to make way for the basilica) belong to the times of the apostles, or of their earliest disciples. First comes the cemetery called after Commodilla on the hill, the skirt of which was removed in the construction of the basilica over the spot where St. Paul had been buried. The oldest inscription bearing a consular date, which has yet been found, was found here; it is dated A.D. 107, forty years after the death of St. Peter. Another, dated A.D. 110, was found in the neighbourhood of the first. Next in order comes the cemetery of Domitilla, on the Via Argentina, which contains paintings of the remotest antiquity, and similar in style to the paintings which are found in the pagan sepulchres of the *Columbaria* of the first century. The two cemeteries on the Appian Way exhibit every mark of most ancient origin, by their coloured stuccoes and their constructions in masonry. In the cemetery of Priscilla also, on the *Salaria Nuova*, where Pudens, the senator, converted by St. Peter, was buried, may be seen frescoes of the finest classic style, stuccoes, and inscriptions in language of primitive simplicity traced in red characters. Finally, the cemetery of St. Agnes has furnished stuccoed crypts and inscriptions of great beauty in the style of the first ages, although the part of the cemetery now accessible does not go back beyond the third century.

These and other catacombs were not only resting places for the dead, but also places of meeting for the living worshippers of Christ. From the narrow corridors you enter wide and spacious chambers, opening sometimes one into the other, and con-

taining episcopal chairs, altars, and various other objects employed in divine worship.

To the second century belong the cemeteries of Pretextatus, of Maximus, etc. In the third century, small chapels, *cella memoriae*, began to be raised on the ground above, over the cemeteries, which, in turn, were succeeded by larger ones, and wide openings, called *lucernaria*, to admit light and air, were made. The subterranean spaces were placed under the care of priests, and thus each one of the cemeteries formed a parish, governed in canonical form by its own clergy. When Constantine restored peace to the Church, the insignificant over-ground chapels gave way to the stately basilicas, the foundation of which not seldom required the destruction of part of the cemetery. St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Laurence's, St. Agnes', and others, are examples of the change which took place at this period of development.

The ardent desire entertained by the faithful to repose, after death, near the bodies of the martyrs, led them to excavate *loculi*, or graves, even in the walls which had been ornamented with frescoes. This occasioned the mutilation of many of the paintings.

Pope Damasus (A.D. 366) who has left it written that he did not think himself worthy of resting near the sacred ashes of the martyrs, employed all his authority to put an end to this custom. He inaugurated a new epoch for the catacombs. He restored and enlarged the stairs and the *lucernaria*, and composed poetical inscriptions which he caused to be carved on marble in elegant characters, since known as Damasian letters. The practice of burying the dead in the excavated graves, or *loculi*, began from this time to fall into disuse, and ceased altogether about the year 410, when Rome was taken by Alaric. After that period we have no more interments in the catacombs, which became places of pious pilgrimage for the faithful. Many of the cemeteries which had been destroyed by the invading barbarians, were restored. But, as the aspect of public affairs grew more and more gloomy, and the Campagna lost its population, the devastation of the Lombards became still more disastrous. In 756 the popes began to translate the relics of the martyrs to the city basilicas, where they could be in greater security. Adrian the First and Leo the Third made some efforts to save the catacombs, but, in 817, under Paschal the First the translation of the relics recommenced on a still larger scale. In his reign two thousand three hundred bodies of martyrs were translated to St. Praxedes' church in Rome. From the middle of the ninth century the catacombs may be said to have been abandoned. The writings

of the eleventh, twelfth, and following centuries down to the fifteenth, furnish very little information about the state of the cemeteries; and the *Itineraria* of these ages abound in topographical errors. It was only from the time of Bosio that they became known to modern science.

(*To be continued.*)

REMARKS ON THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO THE QUEEN BY THE IRISH PROTESTANT BISHOPS.

(COMMUNICATED).

IN reflecting on the great subject of political moment of the day, the public attention is forcibly attracted to the "address to the Queen of the Irish Protestant bishops". Their manner of address, the motives put forward by them, their reception by Royalty, and the answer they received, are all points of the deepest interest to the nation. Hence it is not to be wondered that friends and enemies should closely observe their manoeuvres and carefully weigh their arguments. An impartial observer cannot fail to see the singularity of their proceeding, as well as the futility of these arguments.

The Irish Establishment bishops!—the mere creatures of the state, claiming rights and privileges—what rights or what privileges can they claim except those which their founders conferred upon them? King, lords, and commons made them. Hence, king, lords, and commons can unmake them. Whence did they come? What is their origin? What is their constitution? What their professions? They are the slaves of the state, their origin is from the state. Their very constitution makes them the slaves of the state. King, or queen, lords, and commons made you: hence they can unmake you. You are earthly, not heavenly. You have hitherto gloried in your origin. The thing that is made cannot murmur against him who made it.

But only listen to their claims. They say their claims are founded on prescription "of time immemorial". The Protestant Church indeed claiming a *prescription of time immemorial*. Dr. Brady, a Protestant clergyman, will tell of their origin, and will refute by the most authentic history their assertions. Do we forget the history of the Reformation? Do we forget the confiscations, the sacrilegious usurpations of the sixteenth century? Is history

ignored, or are the traditions of the nation obliterated? The memory of the Protestant usurpation of property is but of yesterday. It is fresh in the records, the annals, the traditions of our country. True, that property was devoted to sacred uses—praying for the dead, relieving the distressed, consoling the afflicted, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, etc. Is it now devoted to these charitable objects?

“They believe there are no more precious arrangements than solemnly to set apart inviolably some portion of a nation's wealth for the service of the Almighty and the support of His ministers”.

But for what ministers of religion was that portion which they now claim, set apart? Was it not for Catholic purposes? Hence, as such was *inviolable*, they are the unjust possessors of their neighbours' property. But the state gave it to them: hence the state can take it away. Yes, such a fund was in the hands of those who had no claim to it; nor would they make restitution until the instinctive honesty of the nation could no longer tolerate the injustice. The voice of reason has at length been heard, and that odious religious ascendency, which during three centuries added insult to injustice, shall be banished for ever.

What a *dissipation*, according to these advocates—although the money hitherto unjustly possessed by them will be given to feed the poor, to clothe the naked, to cure the sick and infirm; yet in their minds such a disposition of property is “dissipation”. We cannot help recalling to mind the sentence to be pronounced on the day of general judgment by God Himself with regard to those works of mercy which our worthy advocates would stigmatize with the odious term of “dissipation”.

But however deeply they may be affected by material losses, they are much more sensibly affected by the spiritual evils which will follow in the wake of such a measure. At the same time the measure in contemplation will not prevent them from still recognizing the sovereign of the kingdom as supreme head of their church. The contemplated measure is merely of a material kind. It will make no change in the administration or constitution of their church. Hence their complaint is unfounded. But they instinctively feel that their existence depends on earthly, material causes; because it is earthly, not heavenly. The golden chain which tied it to the state prevented it from sinking into the gulf of time in which the heresies of past ages have drifted never to appear again. If their acknowledgment of the Queen's spiritual supremacy be sincere, it must be founded on spiritual motives. Hence it should be of little moment whether they were to receive an endowment from the state or not.

Her Majesty possesses too much political wisdom to be caught by the insidious flattering insinuations of these worthy bishops. She knows too well that the brightest jewel in her crown is impartial justice to all her subjects and religious equality to all denominations. Her Majesty knows too well that the Church of Christ is not national, but universal. If they possess authority and influence, as they say they do, why should that authority and influence be transferred to another church? Is not this an acknowledgment that their church owes its existence to state patronage and state influence?

It requires no small amount of self-restraint to bear with patience their unwarrantable assumptions. Why do Catholics resent the grievance of the establishment? It is because Catholics are unjustly obliged to support a church which they disown and a religion which they abhor. Catholics say, let Protestants support their own religion as we support ours. Let not Protestant ministers or Protestant bishops enjoy any social or political influence which we do not enjoy. And in allegiance to their Queen Catholics yield not to the members of any religious denomination. For their allegiance is not based on earthly motives; it is founded on religion, the most powerful motive that can influence man. And our gracious Majesty has frequently manifested her confidence in the loyalty of her Catholic subjects. Yes, and if the day of trial were to come, which God may avert, her Majesty would not find more devoted supporters of her throne, or defenders of her august person, than her much maligned Catholic subjects.

They point out further mischiefs. "This measure will open new fountains of bitterness". Amongst whom? Surely not amongst Catholics. Nor amongst dissenters. Oh! yes, they tell us that new fountains of bitterness will arise amongst the Irish Protestants. Their loyalty will be shaken. They were kept by the loaves and fishes, and now that these are taken away they will become Fenians. This is a terrible evil indeed, but not likely to alarm the country or parliament. Loyalty so sordid is not worth the purchase. Many a tear of bitterness did that sordid loyalty wring from the heart of unhappy Catholic Ireland. May that fountain of bitterness be now closed and sealed for ever.

They next refer to some of the injustices with which the measure of disestablishment or disendowment would be fraught. They might bear forsooth with patience their own personal losses—although the public is already informed how they managed the bishops' lands, etc. But they have relatives looking forward to the same emoluments, and how can they be ignored? The sons and daughters, the sons-in-law, nephews and nieces,

et hoc genus omne. What will become of their splendid mansions, their sumptuous entertainments, their purple and fine linen? Lazarus might have been allowed to lie at their gates covered with ulcers, seeking for the crumbs that fell from the table.

Our petitioners are now ready to renounce the great principle of Protestantism. They say that oral teaching is essential to the church. That the Bible and Bible alone is not and cannot be the rule of Protestant faith. They also require sacraments. It would be well if they could tell what sacraments they mean. Is it Baptism? Is it the Lord's Supper? Oh! but they feel for the richer portion of their flocks! their rights and interests. Yes, there are few who have not some relation living on the spoils, and how they will suffer. They have the bowels of mercy also for the poor Protestants, who have no rich Protestant neighbour to share with them his abundance and supply their deficiency. But we may be allowed to ask where are the poor Protestants to be found separated from their richer fellows? Surely those who possess the wealth of the land may easily make provision for their poor co-religionists.

Here again they make a profession alike unmeaning and contradictory. They speak of the witness of their church. What is it? or who are they? "which no man can usurp". How reconcile this with the profession of the spiritual supremacy of the Queen. I have too much respect for her gracious Majesty to say anything derogatory to her temporal rights and privileges. Nor do I think her Majesty supposes her Catholic faithful subjects intend to derogate from her authority or infringe upon her privileges.

When we petition the legislature to disendow the Established Church, we do not require Protestants to renounce the Queen's spiritual supremacy; nor do we require of them to injure their poorer fellow Protestants. We do not require that the Protestants would be prevented from supporting their own church. But we require equal rights and privileges under the same constitution. If they are so confident in the perpetuity of their church, they should fear no evil would follow its disendowment. But through the veil we may clearly discover how little confidence they have in its perpetuity. They know Protestantism has no other hold on its followers than the mere temporal endowments. The great motive is money. Remove this inducement, and they will become the followers of Rome. Oh! that is the evil. Yes, they will become the followers of a religion which does not require the wealth of the nation to support its ministers, nor the state to shield it under the aegis of its authority. Oh! the "catastrophe". The day of general judgment will be accelerated, for the light of the Reformation will be extinguished

for ever. They are unselfish in their address. They are zealously afraid of the English and Scotch branches. They feel, unless supported by some powerful arm, it is gone, and gone for ever.

Their conclusion is a strange contradiction with their first profession, and far from being respectful to her Majesty. They "are overseers"—but they should remember she is overseer above them all. It is for her to decide, to judge, to decree; for them to obey.

Her Majesty is too clear-sighted to receive flattery at the expense of justice; and she is faithful to the constitution, and will not depart from the principle to which the legislative institution of the country is bound. In her enlightened wisdom she will deal equal-handed justice to all her faithful subjects, nor sustain an odious religious ascendancy which the united wisdom of the nation so strongly condemns. This wisdom is more likely to come from above than the wisdom their lordships would pray for. Guided by this wisdom her Majesty will secure the greatest blessing a sovereign can desire—to rule her subjects with equal justice, and thus give stability to her dynasty and glory to her reign.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

Address of the St. Peter's Pence Central Committee, Dublin, to His Holiness, transmitting the names of the contributors to the special Collection, 1st February, 1868.

Beatissime Pater,

Infrascripti presbyteri Dioeceseos Dublinensis, nomine Consilii Moderatoris Confraternitatis Sancti Petri praedictae civitatis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provoluti, pietatem, amorem, ac summam reverentiam quibus erga Sanctitatem Tuam afficimur, ea qua decet humilitate et devotione exprimere vehementer expetimus.

Arctissima sane illa unio, quam cum Beati Petri successore Hibernica nostra gens tam firmiter constanterque semper servavit ejusdem gentis decus singulare ac sumnum solatium. Caeterum in nullo historiae nostrae saeculo magis quam hisce temporibus fuit haec unio cum supremo Ecclesiae pastore tam firma et arcta vel toties

manifestata. Cum enim octo abhinc annis ad aures nostras pervernerit notitia illa infesta quod homines perditissimi in principatum Tuum civilem manus sacrilegas injecissent, quanto cordis dolore perculti fuimus, nulla verba satis explicare possunt. In tuis tunc tribulationibus participes effecti sumus, in dolore tuo dolentes, cum tuisque lachrymis lachrymas nostras permiscentes. Caput enim dolebat et membra eo magis ipsi compatiebantur. Pater ingemuit, et filii fideles eo magis eum diligebant. Pastor percussus est, et oves eo pressius circa eum sese aggregabant. Neque hic dolor tantum fuit internus, sed et exterius sese manifestare cupiens in plura testimonia amoris erga Sanctitatem Tuam erupit, quae licet exigua et ad intimos animi affectus exprimendos plane insufficientia, tamen ostenderunt nos fideles tuos Hibernos cum Sanctitate Tua intimo nexu consociatos esse, imo pro tutela Principatus Tui civilis cum sanguinis effusione atque vitae dispendio decertare paratos.

Huic expressioni amoris erga Sanctitatem Tuam Confraternitas nostra supradicta suam debet originem. Cum enim primo nuntium de sacrilegio incursu in principatum Tuum civilem acceperimus, Eminentissimus ac Reverendissimus Card. Archiepiscopus Dublinensis hanc instituit Confraternitatem cui munus esset voluntarias oblationes fidelium hujus Dioeceseos colligere, easque ad Sanctitatem Tuam transmittere. Ab eo usque tempore permagnum hujus Societatis privilegium fuit triginta quinque millia libras sterlinas circiter (£95,000) ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae deponere; ex qua summa tria millia quatuor centum librae sterlinae (in quibus sex centum octoginta duae librae a Diocesi Kildariensi, sexaginta autem a vicariatu Apostolico Regionis Occidentalis Promontorii bonae Spei) paucis abhinc mensibus collectae sunt, cum nempe tranquillitas Principatus Tui iterum periclitabatur; hujusce ultimae collectae maximam partem jam ad Sanctitatem Tuam deferri curavimus, reliquam vero nunc per manus Reverendissimi Rectoris Collegii Hibernorum ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provoluti deponimus scilicet, 200 Libras Sterlinas.

Has caeterasque quas fecimus, vel in posterum faciemus oblationes, precamur Te, Beatissime Pater ut acceptare digneris, non ratione munieris ipsius quod sentimus quam sit exiguum, sed ratione amoris, venerationis, et reverentiae quibus una cum caeteris omnibus Hibernis Sanctitatem Tuam prosequimur. Maiores nostri hunc amorem erga Cathedram Sancti Petri semper servaverunt et exhibuerunt, eundemque amorem Hibernos semper praestituros esse confidimus. Interim haud immemores praecepti quod nobis dedit gloriosissimus noster Apostolus, Sanctus Patritius, "Sicut Christiani ita et Romani sitis", nos Beatitudini tuae, idest Cathedrae Petri, communione consociatos esse cum Sancto Hieronymo declaramus; Te quippe Petri successorem, totius Christiani gregis Pastorem, ac Christi in terris Vicarium agnoscimus et veneramur.

Perquam opportunum vero nobis videtur nomina eorum adjecto libello exhibere, qui hac occasione in hoc exiguo amoris, et venerationis erga Sanctam Sedem testimonio praestando convenerunt.

Denique ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provoluti, pro Eminentissimo ac Reverendissimo Confraternitatis patrono, pro omnibus ejusdem Confraternitatis sociis et pro nobis praesertim vero pro fidelibus quorum nomina in libello exhibentur, ac pro eorundem familiis Apostolicam benedictionem humiliter imploramus.

Datum Dublini, in die festo S. Brigidae, 1868.

PATRITIUS F. MORAN,
GUILLEMVS PURCELL,
THOMAS J. O'REILLY, } SECRETARI.

II.

Letter of our Most Holy Father to the President and Secretaries of the Peter's Pence Association, in reply to the above Address.

“Pius Papa IX.

“Dilecti Filii, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Hiberniae vestrae fides et religio commendatae semper, clarius etiam enitetur inter adversa aliquot ab hinc saeculis, sicut aurum quod igne probatur. Per haec vero prostrema tempora novo quoque fulgore splendescere visae sunt, dum, hac Sancta Sede fraude et armis impedita, alii e vestratis patriam deseruere sponte convolatuli ad Nos, et sanguinem daturi pro Ecclesiae causa; alii vero, utut annonae rerumque omnium difficultate pressi, stipem liberaliter contulere suam, in jurium Nostrorum defensionem et inopiae Nobis factae levamen. Id autem acceptissimam Nobis fecit adjectam amantis- simis litteris vestris eorum nominum syllogem, uti nobile religionis vestrae ac filialis in Nos pietatis monumentum, novumque patriae vestrae decus. Ipsi itaque, grati animi sensu perciti, uberem coelestium munerum copiam, omniaque simul necessaria subs dia adpreciamur, sodalitati autem vestrae nova semper gratiarum et propagationis incrementa. Horum vero auspicem, et paternae benevolentiae Nostrae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem Vobis universis peramanter impertimus.

“Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 29 Aprilis, 1868, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo-secundo.

“PIUS PAPA IX.

“Dilectis Filii,

“Rectori et Secretariis Sodalitatis Sancti Petri, Dublinum”.

III.

Letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, on Mixed Schools.

EMINENTISSIMO E REVERENDISSIMO SIGNORE MIO OSSMO,

La erezione di Scuole e Convitti misti di Cattolici ed Eterodossi, che da qualche tempo sventuratamente si va rendendo ogni giorno

più comune, ha indotto la S. Sede, desiderosa di provvedere alla sana istruzione dei fedeli, a richiamare in proposito i giusti principii, dare le opportune regole, e porgere i necessarii avvertimenti sia per organo del S. Offizio, che della S. C. di Propaganda, secondo i casi che alla medesima sonosi denunciati. Nel presente foglio si è creduto conveniente di redigerne un compendio.

Sebbene siasi differenza tra le scuole Protestanti e Scismatiche, e generalmente parlando maggiori forse siano i danni che hanno a temersi dalle prime, pur tuttavia non lasciano anche le seconde di essere grandemente pericolose per la gioventù cattolica. Onde con circolare dei 20 Marzo 1865 la S. Congregazione di Propaganda mentre rendeva avvertiti i Vescovi Orientali del gravissimo pericolo, al quale sono esposti i giovinetti cattolici nel frequentare le anzidette scuole dirette dagli Scismatici e Protestanti, che vanno aprendosi, or più che in altra epoca nelle principali città dell' Oriente; ne eccitava altresì lo zelo ad impedire energicamente siffatta costumanza, impiegando anche all'uopo tutto il nerbo della loro ecclesiastica autorità. Ai Vescovi principalmente ed ai Parrochi incombe l' obbligo di usare le più solerti ed efficaci cure, onde persuadere i padri di famiglia non potere far essi cosa più pregiudizievole alla loro prole, alla patria ed alla nostra santa Religione, che coll' esporre i propri figli ad un così manifesto pericolo, che sarebbe anche maggiore, qualora le scuole medesime fossero istituite col diretto intendimento di fai proseliti all' eresia ed allo scisma. Ognun conosce quanta forza eserciti sull' animo giovanile l' autorità dei precettori, e come potentemente lo induca ad approvar tuttocid che in essi scorge, e da essi ascolta. Quindi avviene che in un coll' insegnamento contraggia senza quasi avvertirlo i loro errori, e concepisca disprezzo della Religione cattolica. A ciò si aggiunga il giornaliero e familiare tratto coi giovani Protestanti e Scismatici, i cui costumi sovente corrotti, la indocilità, il mordace parlare contro la nostra santa Religione e contro le pratiche della Chiesa pervertono la mente, e corrompono il cuore dei condiscipoli cattolici. Nè si creda già che da ogni pericolo vadano immuni quelle fra le anzidette scuole, il cui insegnamento riguarda la elementare istituzione, ovvero materie meramente profane; imperocchè oltre ai medesimi pericoli ch' esse presentano pel consorzio e familiarità coi condiscipoli educati nella eresia e nello scisma, porgono altresì ai precettori il mezzo d' ingannare la giovanile semplicità con arti quanto meno apprese altrettanto più efficaci. Tuttociò trovasi trattato in una recente analoga istruzione emessa dalla Suprema Congregazione del S. Officio per la Svizzera sotto il giorno 26 Marzo 1866.

Si è discorso fin qui dei giovani cattolici che frequentano le scuole Protestanti e Scismatiche. Passando ora a parlare dei giovani Scismatici e Protestanti che frequentano le scuole cattoliche, egli è chiaro che in questo secondo caso non esistono pei giovani cattolici tutti quei pericoli, che si dissero concorrere nel caso precedente: imperocchè essendo cattolico il precettore, cattolici gl' insegnamenti e i libri, nulla v' ha a temere da questo lato. Ed e perciò che questa S. Congregazione di Propaganda si è mostrata altre volte indulgente a tol-

lerare o anche ad ammettere che nelle scuole cattoliche istituite nelle Missioni e dirette dai Missionari si ricevessero ed ammaestrassero dai precettori cattolici anche gli eterodossi. Non disconosceva però la stessa S. Congregazione che anche in tali scuole per direzione e per insegnamento cattoliche non mancherebbe qualche grave pericolo per l' ammissione dei detti giovani Scismatici e Protestanti a motivo principalmente del quotidiano contatto che questi avrebbero coi figli dei Cattolici. Laonde nel permettere tale promiscuità fu sollecita di prescrivere alcune cautele necessarie specialmente a rimuovere dai giovanetti Cattolici il pericolo di perversione, come pure dagli acattolici il pericolo d' indifferentismo. Gioverà indicare talune risoluzioni prese in proposito da questa S. Congregazione. Una particolare adunanza tenutasi ai 18 Decembre 1742 fu di avviso potersi permettere ai Missionari Cappuccini di Moscova che oltre alle scuole di lingue straniere e di scienze indifferenti, che allora si tenevano pei soli figli dei Cattolici, altre ne potessero tenere per tutti gli acattolici che volessero concorrervi, destinando all' uopo una camera separata. Certamente la separazione di camera elimina o almeno rende assai rimoti gli anzidetti pericoli che nascono dalla promiscuità di giovani Cattolici ed acattolici, e che formane appunto la principale difficoltà delle scuole miste, se pure possano darsi propriamente tali nel caso che si assegni luogo distinto e separato ai discepoli eterodossi. Un tal metodo però di separazione assai difficilmente potrebbe adottarsi ovunque si per mancanza di locale e di mezzi, come pure per la esigenza di più maestri, di cui havvi ordinariamente scarsità nei luoghi di Missione.

Sul finire dello scorso secolo i Padri Riformati Missionari nell' Egitto superiore aveano aperto delle scuole in varie stazioni di quella Missione pei giovanetti Cattolici, e ad esse concorrevano ancora i figli dei Copti scismatici. La Congregazione generale adunatasi ai 29 Agosto dell' anno 1791 opinò potersi ciò tollerare per allettare gli eretici Copti al cattolicesimo e non irritarli, aggiungenda però che "periculum perversionis per magistrorum diligentiam removeatur". Analogamente a questa risoluzione del S. Consesso fu scritto al Prefetto di quella Missione, non doversi far difficoltà che i figli degli eretici vadano alle scuole Cattoliche. Ma che siccome talvolta qualche giovanetto discolo eretico potrebbe pervertire alcuno dei cattolici, perciò i maestri debbano avere di ciò cura e non ammettere nelle scuole i giovanetti eretici licenziosi. All' opposto moltissimo bene si deve sperare dalla frequenza degli eretici alle scuole Cattoliche, potendosi così imbevere dei sodi principi della nostra vera Religione, e potendo i maestri insinuarsi nel loro spirito per guadagnarli alla Chiesa.

Omettendo altre consimili risoluzioni giova riferire come nell' anno 1853 i Vescovi Armeni della provincia ecclesiastica di Costantinopoli riuniti in conferenze avendo annoverato fra i mezzi opportuni per la conversione degli scismatici nazionali anche quello di dare accesso ai loro figli alle scuole Cattoliche, la Congregazione generale di Propaganda ordinò si scrivesse all' Arcivescovo Primate significandogli che il mezzo proposto ravvisavasi molto acconcio a procurare la

conversione degli scismatici, ma si richiedeva però un metodo assai prudenziale per non far nascere degli inconvenienti; che due sono i pericoli che possono derivarne, il primo che i giovani Scismatici pervertano i giovanetti Cattolici, se non si prendono tutte le cautele per impedire che parlino a lungo fra loro. Imperocchè avvenendo naturalmente che fra gli Scismatici sianvi dei giovani astuti, di talento, radicati nello scisma in forza della domestica educazione, e che tra gli allievi Cattolici ve ne siano alcuni di scarso talento e di poco sentimento religioso, facilmente i primi pervertirebbero i secondi. L'altro pericolo è di rendere ipocriti i giovanetti Scismatici, se venissero obbligati ad intervenire agli esercizi religiosi, al pari dei figli de' Cattolici, perchè in tale caso vi sarebbe pericolo che simulassero la professione del cattolicesimo contro la erronea loro coscienza; e si renderebbero proclivi all'indifferentismo. Si avvertì poi lo stesso Monsig. Arcivescovo che non s'intendeva parlare di ammetterli ai Sagramenti, perchè in tal caso dovrebbe precedere la formale abiura, e la sincera dichiarazione di ritornare alla religione Cattolica. Per ultimo s'insinuò ai Vescovi dell'anidetta provincia, che per tener lontani tali pericoli dalle scuole, in cui insieme ai giovanetti Cattolici, ricevansi anche gli Scismatici, allorquando si riunirebbero in Concilio Provinciale formassero un apposito regolamento per siffatte scuole miste da sottoporsi all'approvazione di questa S. Congregazione.

Resta finalmente a dirsi qualche cosa intorno all'ammissione dei giovani Scismatici e Protestanti nei pensionati e convitti Cattolici. Non potrebbe però darsi una norma adeguata e sicura applicabile a ciascun collegio, convitto o pensionato senza aver prima particolari ed accuratissime notizie sopra tutte quelle circostanze, dalla cui cognizione dipende appunto il giudizio che deva portarsi sull'anidetta promiscua convivenza di Cattolici ed Eterodossi. Sarebbe quindi necessaria di conoscere il preciso scopo dei convitti, la condizione e l'età di quelli che vi si ammettono, la qualità e il grado d'istruzione che vi si dà, il regolamento onde è ordinata l'interna disciplina, specialmente per ciò che spetta alle relazioni le quali passano fra i fanciulli (o fanciulle se trattisi di convitto di sesso femminile) di diverso culto; se possano liberamente trattare e parlare tra loro, se sia ad essi proibito di ragionare intorno a punti religiosi. Altro articolo assai necessario a conoscersi è il modo, con cui gli acattolici vengono diretti in materia di religione, vale a dire se vengono educati nella religione Cattolica con o senza il consenso dei genitori; qualora non sono educati cattolicamente, se è dato loro il permesso, od anche imposto l'obbligo di assistere in un coi Cattolici alla S. Messa ed alle pratiche di pietà, se debbono astenersi sempre dal riceverli qualche volta nelle loro chiese Scismatiche, e chi ve li accompagni. Interessa ancora sapere quale sia in ciascun convitto il numero dei Protestanti e Scismatici e in quale proporzione si trovi con quello dei Cattolici.

Occorrerebbe pertanto che i Superiori delle verre Missioni si procurassero possibilmente e rimettessero alla S. C. le suaccennate

notizie intorno a quei convitti misti che si trovassero dipendenti dalla loro giurisdizione per quindi riceverne le analoghe istruzioni adattate alle peculiari circostanze di ciascuno di essi. Frattanto però non sarà del tutto inutile riferire una risoluzione emessa recentemente dal S. Offizio pel caso di un convitto misto di giovanette Cattoliche di rito Latino, e di Scismatiche di rito Orientale. Pria però di esporla fa d' uopo dare un cenno dell' interno regolamento del convitto medesimo, sensa di che non protrebbe ben comprendersi la portata dell' anzidetta risoluzione. Nello stesso stabilimento diretto da Religiose in un colle giovanette Cattoliche vengono educate anche le Scismatiche di rito Orientale. La proporzione del numero fra le une e le altre non fu sempre la medesima; da cinque anni però a questa parte le Scismatiche costituiscono presso a poco la terza parte dell' educandato, e vengono esse instituite non solamente nelle scienze profane, ma eziandio nella religione Cattolica, quante volte i lori genitori Scismatici ne faciano espressa richiesta. Oltre alla istituzione Cattolica le ridette educande Scismatiche hanno in commune colle Cattoliche pie lezioni, esercizi spirituali, ed assistono con esse quotidianamente alla S. Messa. In addietro pregavano anche insieme, ma presentemente per disposizione dell' Ordinario onde evitare la comunicazione *in divinis*, pregano separatamente dalle Cattoliche di rito Latino le une e le altre nella loro lingua nazionale. Presso dimanda dei genitori le giovanette Scismatiche una o due volte all' anno sono condotte sotto la vigilanza di persona di fiducia alla chiesa Scismatica per ricevere i Sagramenti, le altre si astengono dal frequentarle. E da notarsi che gli Ordinari diocesani *pro tempore* non approvarono mai il metodo finora descritto, che si osserva nel suaccennato convitto, ma lo tollerarono per la speranza che le fanciulle educate cattolicamente tornate alle loro case e divenute *sui iuris* abbraccerebbero la religione Cattolica, vi condurrebbero i propri mariti e vi educherebbero la prole, come di fatti già dieci di esse abiurarono lo scisma, ed una convertì il suo marito; e quand' anche non tutte si convertano, tuttavia speravano quei Prelati, che la educazione ricevuta cattolicamente farebbe loro deporre i pregiudizi contro la Chiesa Cattolica, l' odio ed il disprezzo contro i Cattolici; nè d' altra parte vi è a temere, come assicurava l' attuale Ordinario diocesano, che le giovanette materialmente Scismatiche, addivengano tali formalmente, atteso il tardo loro ingegno, secondo che attestano i Superiori del rimentovato stabilimento, il quale d' altronde se non ammettesse le giovanette Scismatiche, mancherebbe dei mezzi sufficienti per mantenere le Religiose che lo dirigono, e non si troverebbe in grado di diminuire la retta alle convittrici latine d' ordinario povere e bisognose.

Presso tale relazione la Suprema Congregazione del S. Offizio rispose come siegue.

Feria VI loco IV die 1 Iunii 1866.

“Tolerari posse ut puellae schismatica in collegium admittantur quod Sorores dirigunt, dummodo bonam praeseferant indolem, iuxta

exposita instituantur, nec tamen obligentur ad assistendum Missae Sacrificio aliquisque functionibus ecclesiasticis, verum id earum arbitrio relinquatur, vetito quidem ne umquam disputationes cum pueris catholicis habeant de rebus ad religionem spectantibus; ne templum adeant schismaticum a ministris schismaticis sacramenta recepturae; quod si in aliquo casu id impediri nullo modo possit Sorores passive se habeant, et pariter vetito, ne puellae ab amicis et coniunctis, exceptis parentibus et tutoribus, absque licentia Ordinari visitentur; de quibus omnibus clare et explicite instructi fiant, et in iis consentiant parentes vel tutores eorumdem puellarum, antequam ipsae ad collegium admittantur. Idque scribatur R. P. D. Archiepiscopo (Ordinario) cum advertentia ut curet omnium horum executionem, et bonum spirituale puellarum quoad fieri poterit, etiam post egressum e collegio, et instruantur Sorores quod si aliqua ad fidem catholicam converti petat, res ad ipsum Archiepiscopum erit deferenda, qui iuxta casus adiuncta prudenter providebit, et sedulo caveat ne ex admissione schismaticarum ullum ne minimvm quidem persionis vel indifferentismi periculum pueris Catholicis subsit".

(*To be continued.*)

NOTICE OF BOOK.

Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual, regarding the sacraments in general, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, by the Rev. James O'Kane, Senior Dean, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Second edition, Duffy, Dublin, 1868, pp. 527.

This second edition of Rev. James O'Kane's *Notes on the Rubrics* comes before us with a *Prologus Galeatus* in the shape of an important Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which declare; the work to be a *vere commendabile et accuratissimum opus*. This is high praise indeed, and coming from such a quarter, leaves nothing to be added by us. The Sacred Congregation of Rites draws attention to four passages in the first edition, and directs some changes to be made therein. It is unnecessary to say that these directions have been accurately carried out. With the exception of these four passages, of one other change made in consequence of a late decision (n. 639), and of the addition of a foot-note and an instruction, the second edition is an exact reprint of the first. It is highly creditable to the author that his work, entering, as it does, into such minute and detailed particulars on a very wide range of subjects, upon which so many rules have been issued, should have passed through the searching examination of the Congregation of Rites, and received the approbation of that body.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1868.

THE BISHOP OF ARGYLL ON THE EARLY CELTIC CHURCH.

A COSTLY volume in quarto, bearing the title *Iona*, was issued some months ago from the London press. It consists of two parts: one of these is *architectural*, by the distinguished artists MM. Bucklers, and presents in a series of drawings, admirably executed, all that now remains of the old Abbey Church and monuments of Iona. With this portion of the work we have no fault to find. It was manifestly a labour of love to the able men who undertook the task, and their holy toil has been already in part repaid by St. Columba, who since these drawings were made, has gathered one at least of the illustrious artists into holy Church.

The larger part of the work, however, has Dr. Alexander Ewing, the Bishop of Argyll, for its author, and in it he proposes to himself to give some "account of the early Celtic Church". This historico-theological treatise should never have been published in conjunction with the artistic part, with which it has scarcely a single point of contact: and Dr. Ewing must certainly be condemned for violating the Scriptural proverb by adding his modern tinsel patchwork to the rich old golden web of Celtic faith.

Had he confined himself to general statements about the traces of "his own countrymen and long-forgotten sires", which are still to be met with "among the MSS. of Bobbio and in the cathedral of Tarentum", we would have smiled at his poetry. Neither would we be surprised at his puritanical remarks about monasticism and the Apostolic age. But it is too bad that the

hallowed religion which inspired our old Celtic saints should be maligned in his pages, that the venerable monuments of Celtic learning and Celtic piety should be ignored, and that doctrines and practices should be attributed to our early Church, which are wholly repugnant to the faith and teaching of our fathers.

The Bishop of Argyll dwells repeatedly on the liturgy of the Celtic Church. This subject indeed would merit careful treatment at his hands. There are abundant materials now within the reach of the historical student for illustrating on this head the doctrine and practice of our sainted forefathers, and we ourselves are proud to have published in our past numbers more than one tract on the subject, composed in the Gaelic language a thousand years ago, and translated by the best of Celtic scholars, Eugene O'Curry. It is not fair, perhaps, to expect that these tracts would be read by the Scottish bishop: neither could it be expected that he would consult the fragments of Milan, Berne, and Zurich, or pore over the dusty essay of O'Conor, and the more recent paper of Dr. Todd, regarding the Stowe Missal. It would be fatiguing for him to journey to Cambridge to consult the Book of Deer, and he would fear perhaps some bodily harm did he travel over to Ireland to inspect the Books of Dimma and Moling, and the other precious monuments which happily are still preserved in the libraries of this city. But nothing of all this was needed, and the most primary handbook of our antiquities would have sufficed to preserve him from the fatal blunder into which he falls, when he declares that we cannot question "*the antiquity of the fragments of early liturgies, such as those contained in the books of Moling, Dimma, and Deer, which carry us back to the fourth and fifth, if not to the third centuries*" (pag. 5), and yet for this he refers to the interesting work of the Bishop of Brechin, *'The Missal of Arbutheus'*.

Now the Bishop of Brechin makes no such statement: he speaks indeed of the books of Dimma, Moling, and Deer; but so far from assigning to them such an early date, he expressly states that the two former belong to the ninth or tenth century (pag. x.), whilst of the Book of Deer he writes, that "the sacred part is referred by Celic scholars to the ninth century, the same date as the Book of Armagh, whilst the remainder of the volume belongs to the twelfth century" (pag. xiv.). The true date of these valuable monuments of the piety of our fathers might, indeed, without difficulty be more accurately defined, as Dimma closed his life about the year 620, and St. Moling died before the close of the seventh century: but the words of the Bishop of Brechin suffice for the present to convict the Bishop of Argyll of an egregious blunder. It is an equally fatal error to appeal to

these books of St. Moling, Dimma, and Deer, as presenting the most ancient type of the Celtic Liturgy. They have no pretence to present the type of *any* liturgy. They are copies of the Four Gospels, and each of them in addition preserves only a special form of prayer to be used when visiting the sick and administering to them the holy Viaticum. This is the only reference to either ritual or liturgy that can be found in these venerable books; and they afford no data whatever for determining what were the characteristic features of the liturgy in use in our early Church. We do not wish, however, by these remarks to lessen in any way the importance of the hallowed fragments of our Celtic ritual, which have thus been preserved to us: we cherish them as records of the faith and discipline of our fathers, and we receive them as monuments of the piety of those who by their virtues and learning shed lustre on the first ages of the Celtic Church. We hope to print in full these fragments in some of our next numbers: in the mean time we may remark that they clearly establish among other doctrines—

a) the real presence of our Divine Lord in the Holy Eucharist:

b) the use of the sacrament of Extreme Unction in the early ages of our Church:

c) and the custom of reserving the Blessed Eucharist for the viaticum of the sick.

Not content with the mistakes already referred to, Dr. Ewing further adds, at page 27: "These fragments, or *books* as they are called, of Moling, Dimma, and Deer, contain portions of liturgies, in the *Celtic language*, of not later date than the fourth or fifth century". The learned author must have been suffering under some delusion when he penned these words. Had he the original books of Moling, Dimma, and Deer before him, he might be pardoned for mistaking the Irish characters in which they are written for liturgical fragments in the *Celtic language*; but whilst he professes to derive his knowledge of these books from the work of the Bishop of Brechin, who published these fragments in full in their *original Latin*,¹ how can we excuse his error? could it be that he was anxious to afford some grounds to his zealous clergy to assert, that as early as the fourth or fifth century, and perhaps even the third, the Celtic race enjoyed the sacred liturgy in the vulgar tongue?

At page 26, the Bishop of Argyll lays down another startling proposition: "The customs of the Celtic were at variance with those of the Roman Church on certain important particulars—as to the time of celebrating Easter, the celibacy of the clergy, the tonsure of the head, and other subjects".

¹ *Missal of Arbuthnot*, pref. page x. seqq.

Were we to admit that on the three subjects which he names there existed a disciplinary variance between the Celtic and Roman Churches, it would not follow that our island had in any way severed itself from the communion of Rome. At the present day there exists in the Greek United Church a peculiar discipline on all these heads, and yet no one dreams that these oriental Christians are thus cut off from the Holy See. As regards, however, the Celtic Church, there has existed much misapprehension on all these subjects.

And first, as to the time of celebrating Easter, the peculiar usage of the Celtic Church, as the most learned of our antiquaries have proved, was precisely the custom followed in Rome at the time that St. Patrick received his mission to evangelize our island. Under St. Leo however the system of calculating the Paschal time was somewhat perfected in Italy, whilst, as Bede remarks, there was as yet but little intercourse between Ireland and Rome, and hence the Scottic Churches, separated by seas and mountains from the centre of their faith, remained unconscious of the disciplinary change that had occurred, and continued to pursue the system which they had received from their first missionaries.

As regards the rite of tonsure, we may remark that at the present day there exists a far greater variance between the Irish Catholic clergy and the clergy of the continent than there ever existed in olden times between the Celtic and Roman clergy. Hence, such a variance cannot imply a severance of the bond of union between these Churches. The form of tonsure is a mere disciplinary usage, which may vary with time and place, and leave intact the unchanging principles of Catholic morality and Catholic faith. The important fact in this matter is, *the existence and use of the rite of tonsure* in the Church of our fathers. It is an uncontested fact that it was introduced by St. Patrick, was continued by his successors, and was universally used among the Irish clergy. Dr. Ewing himself publishes among his specimens of early Celtic compositions some verses of Muiredhach, translated from the old Celtic by Dr. Skene, in which the poet describes himself and his companion entering on a religious life by the reception of the tonsure :

“ Murdoch, whet thy knife, that we may shave our crowns to the Great King.

“ Let us sweetly give our vow and the hair of both our heads to the Trinity.

“ I will shave mine to Mary; this is the doing of a true heart.

“ To Mary shave thou these locks, well-formed, soft-eyed man.

"Preserve our shaved heads from cold and from heat, gentle daughter of Joachim."

"Preserve us in the land of heat, softest branch of Mary"!¹

We may be permitted to ask, do the Protestant clergy of Argyll receive the tonsure "in honour of God and of the daughter of Joachim"? and do they, when entering on their religious life, invoke the patronage and protection of the Immaculate Mary? Thanks to the blessing of God, and the benign protection of the "gentle daughter of Joachim", there is a Celtic clergy that still invokes the aid of Mary, and begins its ecclesiastical career by receiving the tonsure "in honour of God and of Mary"; but such are not Dr. Ewing and his clergy of Argyll.

The celibacy of the clergy, however, is the chief point to which the Bishop of Argyll refers, in proof of variance having existed in olden times between the Roman and Celtic Churches (p. 26). Indeed this is so favourite a topic of our Protestant pamphleteers, and so persistently have they repeated that the law of celibacy in regard to the clergy was unknown in the early Celtic Church, that now the assailants of our Catholic usages almost assume it as an axiom, and scarcely deign to adduce a single argument in proof of it.

But the Bishop of Argyll should at least have made an exception in favour of St. Columba and his disciples. He at every page refers with eulogy to the learned work of Dr. Reeves, which he adopts as his text and guide; and surely then it is not fair to banish the law of celibacy from Iona without assigning some special reason, or at least without acquainting his readers that on this important point he no longer follows in the footsteps of the editor of *Adamnan*; for Dr. Reeves expressly writes: "There can be no doubt that celibacy was strictly enjoined on the community of Columba, and that the condition *virgo corpore et virgo mente* was held up for imitation".² Indeed the words of Adamnan remove all doubt as to the great father of Celtic monasteries, for he expressly states that St. Columba resting in peace, was numbered among the virgin choirs who robed in white follow the Lamb, "being himself an immaculate virgin, free from every stain", *virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer labe*. There is a beautiful and ancient Irish legend connected with Columba's infancy which illustrates this feature of our Saint's life. It tells us that at the bidding of his guardian angel he prayed that *virginity and wisdom* might be granted to him:

¹ *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, edited by Dr. Skene. *Iona*, by the Bishop of Argyll, pag. 43.

² *Reeves's Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pag. 344.

"Forthwith three maidens of wondrous beauty stood before him, and as he shrank from the caresses which they would lavish upon him, 'Know you not', they asked, 'whose love and kisses you reject? we are three sisters whom our Father has betrothed to you. Our Father is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, and we are called Virginity, Wisdom, and Prophecy: we shall never leave you, and we shall love you with a love which can know no change'!"

This choice of St. Columba epitomized his whole career, and the last biographer of this great saint does not fail to reckon the observance of celibacy among the most prominent features of the religious who adopted his rule:

"An honest and careful examination", writes Montalembert, "of all monastic peculiarities to be found in the life of Columba reveals nothing in the way either of observances or of duties, which runs counter to the rules adopted by all the religious communities of the sixth century from the traditions of the fathers of the desert. But what we see clearly is: first, the necessity of the vow or solemn profession to mark the definite admission of the postulant into the society after a trial of whatever duration; and, secondly, the absolute conformity of the religious life followed by Columba and his monks with the precepts and rites of the Catholic Church in all ages. Texts indisputable and undisputed prove the existence of auricular confession, of the invocation of saints, the universal trust in their protection, and in their action on temporal affairs, the celebration of the Mass, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the celibacy of the clergy, fasting and abstinence, prayers for the dead, the sign of the cross, and a most diligent and profound study of the Scriptures. So fall the fancies of writers who think that in the Celtic Church they discern a primitive Christianity beyond the pale of Catholicism; so once more is the lie given to the absurd but inveterate prejudice, which accuses our fathers of having ignored or forbidden the study of the Bible" (*Monks of the West*, vol. iii. pag. 301.)

But why should we restrict the law of celibacy to the monasteries of St. Columba? If his disciples were in this an exception to the other religious communities of Ireland, his biographers or contemporaries would not fail to make some reference to so remarkable and so exceptional a case; and hence Dr. Reeves, though excluding the secular clergy from the law of celibacy, does not hesitate to extend it to all the *regulars* of our island.¹ The religious rules and other monuments of our Church that have been preserved to us, afford ample testimony of the universality of this law. Thus St Cummian, in his *Penitential*, expressly condemns "the monk or cleric who, having devoted

¹ Colgan, *Trias*, pag. 394.

¹ Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, loc. cit.

himself to God, should return to the world and take to himself a wife", and sentences the delinquent "to separate from the woman he had married, and to do penance for ten years, during three of which he should fast on bread and water"; if he refused to perform this penance he was "to be excommunicated in accordance with the decree of the holy synod or of the Apostolic See".¹ St. Columbanus, too, in his monastic rule, expressly commands religious celibacy, and treats of its due observance:

"The true chastity of a religious", he says, "should extend also to his thoughts, and whilst He to whom you have consecrated your lives examines your vow, you should tremble lest He find some abomination in your soul. For, what does it avail to be a virgin in body unless you be virgin also in your mind? for, God, who is a Spirit, dwells in the soul and mind of him who is immaculate, in whom there is no adulterous thought, no stain of corrupted mind, no spot of sin".²

And so fervent were the monasteries of St. Columban in observing this law, that the Rev. R. King, who surely will not be accused of bias in favour of the Catholics of Ireland, does not hesitate to write:

"Within less than twenty years from the death of Columbanus, Luxeu alone produced five bishops, whose sees were situated in different parts of France; and as for monasteries under his rule there was no end of them . . . And so much did the mischievous rage for monastic celibacy come into fashion generally at the time, that almost all France became studded over with convents, not only for men but for women also".³

The rule of St. Comgall of Bangor, which is still preserved in our old Irish MSS., and which we hope to present some day to our readers, commemorates in detail the various duties and observances of the religious life. In its third strophe it prescribes:

"Constancy in purity,—a noble treasure,—
Charity constantly abiding,
Meditation upon death every day,
Good deeds towards every person".

In obedience to this rule, St. Molua, an illustrious disciple of St. Comgall, not only prescribed the strictest celibacy for his

¹ "Si quis clericus aut monachus postquam se Deo voverit, ad secularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit aut uxorem duxerit, x annos peniteat, tres ex his in pane et aqua et nunquam postea in coniugio copuletur: quodsi noluerit, sancta synodus vel sedes Apostolica separavit eos a communione et convivio Catholicorum". *Penit. S. Cumaniani*, cap. 8^o can. 4^o.

² Fleming's *Collectanea*, pag. 5, b.

³ *Primer of Irish Church History*, vol. i., pag. 277.

religious, but refused moreover to permit any woman to pass the threshold of his monastery.¹

For our present purpose it would indeed suffice to prove that the law of celibacy was observed by the religious communities of our island. The early ages of our faith were emphatically the ages of monastic fervour, and repugnant though such a state may be to Protestant prejudices and Protestant principles, yet the Bishop of Argyll is forced to admit this monastic feature of our early Church. Thus, after commemorating some ancient Celtic poems, he says:

"In these poems there is a picture of the early Christianity of the islands. . . . We see that the religion introduced by the early missionaries into Ireland and Scotland was monastic, full of ritual observances" (*Iona*, page 7).

Yet there is something more to be said on this question of the celibacy of the Celtic priesthood, and we contend that not only the religious but also the secular clergy in the higher orders were bound by the same sacred law. In this, it is true, we find arrayed against us, not only the every day scribblers of Protestant fancies regarding the Irish Church, but even Dr. Reeves, who, in his justly eulogized edition of *Adamnan*, allowed himself to be misled by educational prejudice, and asserted that "marriage existed among the secular clergy" (pag. 344). Now there is no instance of a bishop's or priest's wife being named in our annals. We have the pilgrimages of the Irish clergy accurately registered: we have the history of their missionary labours both at home and abroad: our annalists enter most minutely into all the details connected with them: we have the genealogies of the saints, and even a special work on the genealogies of the mothers of the saints; yet, nowhere is there even an incidental mention of the wives of these missionaries. Now were the present Anglican system in force in the early Celtic Church, such a silence would be impossible. If a Protestant bishop at the present day sets out for a distant mission, as Bishop Gobat for Jerusalem, why the narrative of his expedition is sure to present full particulars about his lady and the episcopal progeny. The ancient biographers of our sainted prelates, as regards almost everything else, are more full in their details than the modern chroniclers, but on the one point of those prelates' wives they are wholly silent. This silence can only be explained by the fact, that there were none such to share the mitres and the toils of our hierarchy in the olden times.

But in addition to this we have the clearest positive proof that the law of celibacy was in force in the early ages of our Church.

¹ See Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pag. 206.

In the Brehon laws (Bodleian Lib. Oxford, MSS. Rawlinson 487, fol. 53), as translated by the late Professor O'Curry, we find the following passage:

"There are seven circumstances which debar a church from receiving either fine or penance for any injury or insult which it has received. One of these is a church which has been reduced to a den of sinners, for it is not lawful for the grades of the church to have wives; but, however, it is lawful for the airchinnech (that is, the lay manager of the church lands) to have a wife, although he counts as a grade of the church".

And again (*ibid.*, fol. 54):

"There are seven descriptions of men who are debarred from contracting marriage, that is, whose marriages are null, and whose wives may demand their dowries and leave them. One of these is a man in holy orders, that is, a priest or a bishop".

Similar enactments are made in other fragments of the Brehon laws, as in Egerton MS. 9, fol. 8, British Museum: and throughout the whole Brehon code "a man in holy orders" is supposed to be free from the marriage bond.¹

What would the Anglican clergy say if these Brehon laws were still in force? If their marriage discipline is identical with that of our forefathers, they should not shrink from allowing sentence to be awarded in accordance with the laws which were inspired and dictated by the faith of our fathers. A few months ago the faithful of Dublin were edified by the announcement that a Protestant bishop led a fair daughter of Erin to the hymeneal altar in this city. We do not blame him: but had he been a Celtic bishop, and had this occurred in the ancient Church of Ireland, what would be the judgment of our Brehons? They clearly tell us in their laws that such a marriage would be *null and void*, and long and painful would be the penance which, together with degradation from his high office, would await the misguided dignitary.

In the *Leabhar Breac* there is a very ancient fragment entitled *Sermo Synodalis*, i.e. a discourse which a bishop should address to his clergy, when assembled in synod. It is given in that venerable repository of the remains of our early Church at fol. 124. r. 2. and as it has never been published, we are happy to insert it in full in our pages:

¹ In St. Aileran's poem on St. Patrick, amongst the themes of eulogy it is especially commemorated that "he ordained three hundred virgin priests", *cet c̄umthip n-og*, and this passage from St. Aileran is repeated by Aengus and other ancient writers.

"Fratres¹ prespeteri, et sacerdotes Domini cohoperatores nostri ordinis estis. Nos quidem quamvis indigni locum Aaron tenemus, vos locum Helestarii et Intamartis. Nos vice xii. Apostolorum fungimur. Vos ad forman lxx. discipulorum estis. Nos pastores vestri sumus. Vos pastores animalium vobis commissarum. Nos de vobis rationem reddituri sumus summo pastori nostro Domino Iesu Christo: vos de pleibus commendatis. Et ideo carissimi videte spiridum vestrum. Admonemus itaque et obsecramus fraternitatem vestram ut quae vobis suggerimus memoriae commendatis et opere exhibere studeatis.

"Imprimis admonemus ut vita et conversatio vestra irreprehensibilis sit, scilicet ut cella vestra sit juxta Ecclesiam et in domum vestra feminas ne habeatis. Omni nocte ad nocturnas surgite. Cursum vestrum horis certis decantate. Missarum celebrationes religiose peragite. Corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri cum timore et reverentia sumite. Vassa sacra manibus propriis abluite et extergite.

"Nullus cantet missam nisi jejunus, nullus cantet qui non communicet, nullus cantet sine amictu, stola, alba, fano, et cedula. Et vero vestimenta nitida sint et ad nullos alias usus sint: nullus in alba qua in suos usus utitur presumat missam cantare. Nullus in ligneo vel in vitro calice audeat missam cantare: nulla femina ad altare Domini accedat

Brothers, Presbyters, and Priests of the Lord, you are the assistants of our order. We indeed, though unworthy, hold the place of Aaron; you, that of Eleazar and Ithamar. We discharge the office of the xii Apostles; you walk in the steps of the lxx disciples. We are your pastors; you are the pastors of the souls entrusted to your charge. We have to render an account for you to the Chief Pastor, our Lord Jesus Christ; you (shall render an account) for the people subject to you. Therefore, most beloved, see what your spirit is. We admonish and beseech you to hold in mind, and diligently to carry into effect, the exhortation which we are about to address to you.

In the first place we exhort you to be irreprehensible in your life and demeanour: that is, let your residence be near the church, and let no woman be in your house. Each night arise for nocturns: chant the liturgy at stated hours: devoutly perform the celebration of Mass: receive with fear and awe the Body and Blood of our Lord: purify and cleaunce the sacred vessels with your own hands.

Let no one chant the Mass, unless he be fasting: let no one chant it without communicating: let no one chant it without amict, stole, alb, maniple, and chasuble. Let the vestments moreover be clean and not used for other purposes: let no one presume to chant Mass in an alb which he employs as his daily dress: let no one attempt

¹ The following heading is marked with rubric in the margin: "Est enuntianus sermo sinodalis in singulis sinodis parrotianis prespeteris". We retain the characteristic though barbarous orthography of the MS.

nec calicem Domini tangat: corporale mundissimum sit. Altare sit cohupertum de mundis liniethis. Super altare nicil (sic) ponatur nisi capsea et reliquia, aut forte quatuor Evangelia, aut pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum infirmorum; cetera in itido loco recondantur. Missale plenarium, lectionarium et antiphonarium unusquisque habeat: locus in secretrario vel juxta altare sit preparatum ut aqua effudi posset, quando vassa sacra abluntur et ubi vas nitidum cum aqua dependeat: et ibi sacerdos manus lavet post communionem. Ecclesia cohoperta et camerata et atrium sit sepe munitum.

to chaunt mass with a wooden or glass chalice. Let no woman approach the altar of the Lord, nor touch the chalice of the Lord. Let the altar be covered with clean linens: on the altar let nothing be placed except the *capsea** and relics, or perhaps the Four Gospels, or the pixis with the Body of the Lord for the communion of the sick: all other things should be set aside in a clean place. Let each one have a plenary Missal, a Lectionary, and an Antiphonary: let a place be arranged near the sanctuary or adjoining the altar, where the water may be poured which is used in washing the sacred vessels, and where a clean vase with water may be suspended, and there let the priest wash his hands after the communion. Let the church be roofed and vaulted, and let the porch be protected with a fence.

Let no one chaunt Mass outside the church, in private houses, in occult places. Let no one chaunt Mass alone. Let each priest have a cleric or scholar, to read the epistle and lesson, to answer at Mass, and with whom he may sing the psalms. Visit the sick and absolve them, and in accordance with the apostle's words anoint them with holy oil, and give them the communion with your own hand, and let no one presume to give the communion to a layman or to a woman to bear it to the sick. Let no one require a reward or gift for baptism of infants, or ab-

"Nullus extra Ecclesiam per domus in locis inconspectis missam cantet. Nullus solus missam cantet. Omnis prespiter clericum habeat vel scolarem qui epistolam vel lectionem legat et ad missam respondeat cum quo psalmos canteat. Infirmos visitare et eos reconciliamini et juxta apostolum oleo sancto unguite et a propria manu communicate et nullus presumat tradere communionem laico aut feminae ad deferendum infirmo: nullus vestrum pro baptistandis infantibus aut infirmis reconciliandis aut mortuis sepeliendis premium aut munus exigat. Videte ne per negligen-

* *Capsea* here probably means the case in which the sacred vessels were kept, and which was commonly called *ministerium*. In one of the letters of Dungal (circa 814) mention is made of his having sent some silver to a certain abbot that a *ministerium*, with a chalice and paten, might be made of it. See *Monumenta Carolina*, by Jaffé. Berlin, 1867, p. 435.

tiam vestram nullus infans sine baptismo moriatur. Nullus vestrum sit ebriosus vel litigiosus quia servum Domini non oportet litigare : nullus gemma ferat in vestitu quia gemma vestra spiritualia debent esse : nullus canum aut avium jocis inserviat : nolite in tabernis bibere : unusquisque vestrum quantum sapiat plebi suae de vangelio vel epistola die Dominicō vel festis diebus annuntiet.

" Quiunque ad conficiendum sacrosancte altaris ministerium ordinatus est, licet ab omnibus peccatis se quovere debeat, precipue tamen studendum est illi ut castitatem cusodiat et quicquid se ad immunditiam allicere poterit a se sollicitus repellat. Hiram namque Dei super se provocat qui immunda conscientia et polluto corpore ad illud accedere presumat. O quam tremendum est pollutis manibus tractare dominum".

solution of the sick, or burial of the dead. Be attentive lest through your negligence any infant should depart this life without baptism. Let no one be guilty of ebriety or litigiousness, for it is not becoming in a servant of God to be litigious : let no one bear in his dress gems for ornament, for yours should be the spiritual gems : let no one devote himself to sports of dogs or birds : do not drink in taverns : let each one of you according to his ability instruct his flock from the Gospel or Epistle on Sundays and festival days.

Although those who have been ordained to minister at the most holy altar should guard themselves against every sin, yet should they be particularly watchful to preserve their chastity, and to banish with all solicitude whatever could lead them to uncleanness. For he brings down the anger of God upon himself, whosoever presumes with an unclean conscience and impure body to approach that altar. Oh ! how dreadful it is to touch the Lord with sinful hands".

Were there no other document handed down to us from our early Church, this synodical discourse alone would suffice to establish in all its characteristic details the Catholic faith and discipline which characterized the Church of our Fathers.

In opposition to all this evidence, what is the proof advanced by Dr. Reeves to support his novel theory ? It is simply this, and we shall state it in his own words: " When St. Patrick required a *varina n-eppcuij, materies episcopi*, a man fitted for the episcopal office, to be placed over the Lagenians, he asked for a person who, among other qualifications, was *pepi oenfetche, a man of one wife*" (*Lib. Armac*, fol. 18.).¹ From this, he thinks, it evidently results that the clergy were allowed by our Apostle to embrace the married state. We do not admit this conclusion. We think he should rather conclude that St.

¹ Reeves's *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pag. 344, note a.

Fiecc had indeed been married, but was now a widower, and hence, like many other distinguished ornaments of our Church in ancient as well as in modern times, was free to be enrolled among the members of the hierarchy. The question is simply this: is such a meaning compatible with the phrase, *a man of one wife*? We maintain that it is, and in illustration we may refer to a similar phrase which occurs in the Irish Collection of Canons, made under the guidance of Flann Febhla about the year 700. Several canons are there laid down for the assistance and guidance of widows, and it is added that they apply only to the *mulier unius viri*, i.e. a *woman of one husband*, which phrase manifestly refers to one who was left a widow by the death of her first husband; and hence in like manner the corresponding phrase, *a man of one wife*, may justly be interpreted as referring to him who has been left a widower by the death of his first wife.¹

There was, however, another reference sometimes implied in this and similar phrases, viz., to those who were *spiritually widowers*, i.e., when man and wife by mutual consent had agreed to perpetual separation, the better to devote themselves to deeds of piety and penance in the service of religion; such men even as at the present day could be promoted to Holy Orders; and if we may judge from the many special laws that were made regarding them in former times, constituted a very numerous body in our early Church. This special legislation for such a class is an additional proof of the sacredness and inviolability with which the law of celibacy was regarded by our fathers. We will give a few instances to illustrate this subject.

St. Finnian, in his *Penitential*, in the twenty-seventh canon, enacts:

"If any ecclesiastic who, having lived in the world, was subsequently promoted to deaconship or other grade, should live with his sons and daughters and his helpmate,² and should be overcome by concupiscence and have a child from his helpmate, let him be assured that he has committed a heinous crime, and that his sin is no less grievous than if he had been a cleric from his youth; because they committed sin after their vow and after having consecrated themselves to God, and thus they violated their vows: let him do penance for three years on bread and water, according to the allowed portion, and for three other years let him abstain from wine and flesh-meat, and let them dwell separately, and in the

¹ MS. Coll. Hib. Can. xlvi. 7.

² The word *clientella* is used instead of *uxor*, as if to imply that she was no longer to be regarded as his wife, but only as living under his protection.

seventh year they may be restored to communion and to their former grade.¹

St. Columbanus, in his *Penitential*, almost repeats St. Finnian's words, declaring that such a crime would be *adultery*, and enacting for its expiation a penance of seven years on bread and water.

St. Cummian has two special canons regarding the law of celibacy; one of them we have already given, the other bears on the case we are now considering. It enacts: "If any ecclesiastic of high grade, who had been in the marriage state, should, after his ordination, cohabit with his former wife, let him know that he commits adultery, and must do penance according to what is ordered for that crime".²

The Bobbio *Penitential* also treats of this subject, and has the following canon: "If any cleric, who had been married, should, after entering holy orders, again live with his former wife, he is guilty of adultery".

Nothing can be clearer than these disciplinary canons of our ancient saints; they prove that the law of celibacy was strictly enjoined upon the clergy, and they describe, as subject to this law, even those who, from the state of marriage, had been promoted to holy orders. It is, however, a striking fact, illustrative of the feeling of our early Church, that though all the clergy in holy orders were thus bound alike by the law of celibacy, yet far higher honour was decreed to a virgin-bishop and virgin-priest than to the bishops and priests who were chosen from the marriage state. We will give one instance from the Brehon laws. In the tract on "Injury and insult to ecclesiastics" (MS. H. 3. 18. T. C. D fol. 17. a.), the various penalties or *dirés* are assigned for injuries done to the clergy: "In Erin", it asks, "what is the highest *diré*? It is the *diré* of him who is a virgin-bishop and has all the due qualifications that are required from him". The various punishments are then given in detail to be inflicted upon those who offered insult to the virgin-bishop. Three culprits were to be hanged for each hand that wounded him. Those who witnessed the deed and did not afford him protection and assistance, should pay the fine of seven *cumals*.³ If blood flowed from his wound,

¹ Si quis fuerit clericus, Diaconus aut alicujus gradus et laicus ante cum filiis et filiabus suis et cum cleventella sua propria habitet, et redeat ad carnale desiderium et gennetur filium ex cleventella sua, sciat se ruina maxima cecidesse. tribus annis peniteat cum pane et aqua etc." Can. 27.

² "Si clericus vel superioris gradus, qui uxorem habuit et post confessionem vel honorem clericatus iterum eam cognoverit sciat sibi adulterium commississe, etc." cap. 3, can. 2.

³ A *cumal* was a fine of three cows; its equivalent was a year of penance deducting Sundays and holidays.

the aggressor was to be hanged for it. If the wound was in his face, "the breadth of his face of a silver plate is to be paid, and the breadth of the crown of his head of gold, and his due for having to appear with this blemish among people, for the three ensuing years, is one *cumal*, unless he forgives it". It is added that, "The virgin-priest is second to the virgin-bishop, and so on with every order of virginity until we come to the virgin clerical student. . . . The bishop of one wife rates at two-thirds with the virgin-bishop in every honour and in every *dire*, and the same proportion is to be observed with the priest of one wife and the marriage-clerks through every grade".

We have entered more fully than was perhaps necessary into this question of the observance of the law of celibacy in the early Celtic Church. We hope, however, to have proved beyond the reach of controversy that this law existed, that it was enforced with the greatest rigour, and that it was regarded with special veneration by our sainted forefathers.

We now take leave of Dr. Ewing. The island of Iona is indeed by law of the land subject to his episcopal rule, but no royal prerogative or parliamentary enactment can invest him with the mantle of St. Columba, and the remarks which we have made will suffice, we trust, to prove that he inherits neither the spirit nor the faith of that great apostle of Argyll.

LORD MAYO AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

WE deem it of the greatest importance that our readers should be fully acquainted with the purport of the late correspondence between the Bishops of Ireland and her Majesty's Government respecting Catholic University Education. Many attempts have been made to misrepresent the action of the Prelates; and it is necessary that all should clearly understand that that action was no other than the only course open to those "whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God".

We will first briefly resume the history of the question of Catholic University Education for the last three years.

On the 20th of June, 1865, the O'Donoghue, M.P., brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for a Charter for the Catholic University. The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Gladstone, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, while opposing the motion, declared the intention of her Majesty's government to redress the grievances complained

of. In the month of August following, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland held a meeting in Dublin; and the four Archbishops asked, and on the 30th November following obtained, an interview with the government. At that interview there were present the four Archbishops, and the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Home Secretary, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, and the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce. The result of the interview was reported to the other Prelates, and on the 14th January, 1866, the Prelates addressed to Sir George Grey a statement, from which we make the following extracts:—

“Considering these, and the other circumstances we have mentioned, and calling to mind all the past sufferings and privations to which Catholics have been subjected, we respectfully submit that our University is entitled to all the privileges conferred upon other academical institutions, and especially to that of conferring academical degrees, a privilege enjoyed for nearly three hundred years by the Protestant University of Dublin, for the advantage of a small minority of the people of Ireland.

“However, understanding that her Majesty’s Government does not intend for the present to advise her Majesty to grant to us what we have a claim to, but proposes to introduce modifications in the existing system of academical education, which will enable Catholic students to obtain University degrees without that sacrifice of principle or conscience of which we complain, we shall be thankful for such changes if they do not interfere with Catholic teaching, and if they tend to put us on a footing of equality with our fellow-subjects of other religious denominations. . . .

“Looking on the proposal of the Government as an earnest of good-will towards our flocks in the matter of education, we profess our willingness to coöperate, as far as we can, in carrying it out, because we entertain the confident expectation that, when the Government come finally to consider it, they will embody in it the following concessions:—

“1st. That the University founded by the Roman Catholic Bishops will be chartered as a college within the new University, in such a manner as to leave the department of teaching Catholics altogether in the hands of Catholics, and under the control of their Bishops, its founders. . . .

“2ndly. That in order to place this new Catholic College on a footing of equality with other institutions, a suitable endowment be given to it; since it will be frequented by the great mass of Catholics, and it would be manifestly unfair to oblige them to tax themselves for the support of their own College, while institutions which they on conscientious grounds condemn and shun are supported out of the public funds, to which they contribute equally with others.

“3rdly. That for the same reason Burses and Scholarships be provided, either by the application of existing, or the erection of

new endowments, so as to place the rewards of merit equally within the reach of all.

"4thly. That the Catholic University College be empowered by charter to affiliate Colleges and Schools to itself.

"5thly. That the tests of knowledge be applied in such manner as to avoid the appearance of connecting, even by the identity of name, those who avail themselves of them, or coöperate in applying them, with a system which their religion condemns.

"6thly. That these tests of knowledge be guarded against every danger of abuse, or of the exercise of any influence hostile or prejudicial to the religious principles of Catholics; that they may be made as general as may be consistently with a due regard for the interests of education, the time, manner, and matter of examinations being prescribed, but not the books or special authors, at least in mental and social science, in history or in cognate subjects; and that, in a word, there be banished from them even the suspicion of interference with the religious principles of Catholics.

"7thly. That the Queen's Colleges be re-arranged on the principles of the denominational system of education".

Sir George Grey's answer is dated 30th January, 1866. He says:—

"With regard to the general question of University education, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the system of education in the Queen's Colleges, and the results which have attended their foundation, there can be no doubt that those Colleges were established, and the Queen's University was subsequently founded, with the sincere desire, and the real object on the part of the Government, of affording to all classes in Ireland higher or University education on equal terms.

"Her Majesty's Government are still of opinion that the principle upon which those Colleges were founded, namely, that of offering such an education in common to the Protestant and Roman Catholic youth of Ireland, is a sound one, and they are unable to concur in the belief expressed in the memorial that these Colleges have been a signal failure.

"They have, therefore, no intention of proposing any alteration in the principle on which those Colleges are conducted.

"Her Majesty's Government, at the same time, freely admit the fact that a large number of persons in Ireland entertain a conscientious objection to the principle on which these Colleges were established, and to the mixed system of education adopted in them. Neither are they insensible to the disadvantages to which such persons are exposed if they aspire to a liberal profession, by their inability to obtain a degree from any University in Ireland, unless they connect themselves either with Trinity College, Dublin, or with one or other of the Queen's Colleges".

To remove these grievances, the Government proposed, Sir G. Grey continues:—

"To assimilate the Queen's University in principle to the London University, by which lay degrees are conferred on students of every religious denomination, without any suspicion, as far as the Government are aware, of any interference with their religious principles".

Having thus bluntly refused the Bishops' petition for a remodelling of the Queen's Colleges on the denominational principle, and gratuitously pronounced a glowing eulogy on those institutions, so justly condemned by the Catholic Church, and having explained their own scheme, the Government proceeds to deal one by one with the other demands of the Prelates, and, as will be seen, to refuse them.

The Home Secretary continues:—

"I have already informed you that her Majesty's Government are willing to advise her Majesty to grant a Charter of Incorporation as a College to the Institution founded in Dublin by the Roman Catholic Archbishops, for the higher education of youth.

"But having had under their consideration the draft of the Charter contained in the Memorial, her Majesty's Government regret that they are unable to advise her Majesty to grant it in the form which is there proposed.

"With reference to the other points adverted to in the Memorial, I have to inform you that her Majesty's Government do not intend to propose to Parliament that an endowment should be given to the Roman Catholic College, but they are willing favourably to consider the proposal that Parliament should be asked to grant a sum, as is done in the case of the London University, for the purpose of providing bourses or scholarships open to competition to all students without distinction, who are members of the University.

"Her Majesty's Government are not aware that power has ever been granted by Charter to any college to affiliate to itself colleges or schools. A Charter giving such a power appears to be appropriate exclusively to a University.

"Her Majesty's Government are not sure that they clearly apprehend the meaning of the two paragraphs in the Memorial as to 'the tests of knowledge', but if, as they desire, the Senate of the University should be so constituted as to entitle it to the confidence of persons of different religious denominations, they think that it may safely be entrusted with the regulation of all matters of detail as to the time, manner, and matter of examinations".

On the 11th February the Archbishop of Dublin, on the part of the Irish Prelates, acknowledges Sir G. Grey's letter, and says:—

"Having communicated your reply to those prelates, I regret to say that they are all of opinion that the promises held out to them in that document are far from corresponding to the hope which they

had entertained, that the present Government, so liberal and enlightened, would have taken some effective step to place them and their flock on a footing of equality with their fellow-subjects of other religious denominations in regard to education.

"However, they are not willing to give any decided opinion upon this matter until they shall have seen the proposed Charter of the new University, and the draft of a Charter for the Roman Catholic consider admissible. May I take the liberty to request of you to give orders that copies of these two documents should be sent to me". University College, in the form which the Government would con-

Of the two documents alluded to by the Archbishop of Dublin, one—viz., the Government scheme of a Charter for the Catholic University College—never saw the light. Some suggestions were made to the Prelates by the Government, but these suggestions were of such a nature as to be utterly inconsistent with the position due to the Bishops in a University College, which had been founded and was to be maintained entirely by their exertions, and for whose teaching and discipline they were to be responsible, while little, if any, control was to be left to them for the prevention of evil.

The other document, subsequently known as the "Supplemental Charter of the Queen's University", was issued in the following month of June. At the same time six vacancies, which then existed in the Senate, were filled up by the Government, which at that moment was about to give place to the present administration.

The Supplemental Charter authorised the Senate to prescribe courses of study, examinations, etc., and to admit to the degrees of the Queen's University persons who would not have studied in any of the Queen's Colleges, in such manner and on such conditions as the Senate would fix. There was no recognition in any way of the authority of the Bishops, no security for the doctrinal or moral soundness of the course of studies to be prescribed by the Senate, no guarantee of the permanency of educational arrangements satisfactory to Catholics. No Catholic could say that the scheme was in accordance with Catholic principles, or was a good one; and the utmost that the Catholic body in Ireland could have done in such a state of things was, to avail themselves of the system until something better would offer, or until such abuses should grow up under it as would render it no longer bearable.

As a matter of fact, the 7th of January, 1867, was appointed as the day for a matriculation examination under the Supplemental Charter, regulations having been first drawn up by the Senate. These regulations were far from unobjectionable, although it is certain they were framed with a view to meet as far

as possible the wishes of Catholics. Of course there was inherent in the plan one paramount evil, from which no effort of the Senate could free it: there was no mention, and there could be no mention, of Catholic education, as such. Persons who had received a Catholic education were admitted to privileges, but the Catholicity of their education had nothing to do with their success; the academical honours they might receive would be a guarantee that they were educated men, not that they were educated Catholics.

However, even the paltry advantages offered by the Supplemental Charter were grudged to the Catholics of Ireland. The Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, on the application of three graduates of the Queen's University, granted an injunction, prohibiting the Senate from making any use of it.

The question remained in this state until the mouth of July, 1867, when the M. P. for Brighton, Mr. Henry Fawcett, brought forward in the House of Commons a motion for throwing open all the honours, emoluments, and other advantages of Trinity College and of the University of Dublin to all her Majesty's subjects without religious distinction. The effect of this resolution would be to convert the Protestant University into a huge Queen's College, and to throw into the scales on the side of mixed education all the weight of the antiquity, the wealth, and the literary *prestige* of that ancient institution. In a House of over two hundred members, the honourable gentleman's resolution was rejected only by the casting vote of the Speaker.

The alarm of the friends of Trinity College was justly excited by the imminent danger of utter ruin which that Protestant institution had thus escaped. Hence, during the past twelve months, many schemes have been proposed as remedies for the grievance under which, it is now admitted on all hands, the Catholics of Ireland labour in respect to University Education. With these schemes we have at present nothing to do, except with the one proposed by her Majesty's present advisers. With respect to the others, suffice it to say, that some of the defenders of Trinity College, among whom the Rev. Professor Haughton holds a distinguished place, admitted the justice of the claims of Catholics to educational equality, which does not and cannot exist in that institution. Others, however, were not so just in their views, but would maintain the educational ascendancy, which is a part of "Protestant Ascendancy", the prolific source of every evil to our afflicted country.

The proposal of the present Government was announced in the House of Commons by the Earl of Mayo, on the 10th of March last. It is fully explained in a memorandum which the same nobleman sent to the Most Reverend Archbishop of Cashel

on the 14th of the same month. In this document the Right Hon. the Secretary for Ireland admits that a just claim exists for the creation of a University of a denominational character, and continues:

"It is proposed to found a new university, which should, as far as circumstances would permit, stand in the same position to Roman Catholics that Trinity College does to Protestants; that is to say, that the governing body should consist of, and the teaching should be conducted mainly by, Roman Catholics, but that full security should be taken that no religious influence should be brought to bear on students who belonged to another faith.

"The success of a university depends very much on its independence, its self-reliance, its autonomy. Direct government control over the conduct of a great educational institution would not in this country be successful.

"If, therefore, a Roman Catholic university is founded, it should be constituted in such a manner as, while it would be almost independent of state control, it would be subject to the constant influence of public opinion, and governed by a body who, acting in the light of day, would be likely to frame its rules and conduct its teaching so that the new university would enter at once into active competition, on equal terms, with the older universities of the world.

"The proposal now made is as follows:—

"That a charter for a Roman Catholic university should be granted to the following persons, to be named in the charter:—A chancellor, a vice-chancellor, four prelates, the president of Maynooth, six laymen—the heads of the colleges proposed to be affiliated—and five members, to be elected one by each of the five faculties in the affiliated college or colleges.

"The future senate should be formed as follows:—

"A chancellor to be elected by convocation. A vice-chancellor to be appointed by the chancellor. Four prelates to be nominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the President of Maynooth. Six laymen to be elected by convocation—the heads of the affiliated colleges. Five members to be elected by the faculties, as before mentioned. The senate would be twenty in number, all being members of the Roman Catholic Church. Convocation to consist of the chancellor, senate, professors, and graduates.

"Until the colleges are firmly established, it may be proper to postpone the question of endowment. It is one of great difficulty, and need not form an indispensable portion of the plan.

"It may, however, be necessary to ask Parliament to provide a sufficient sum for the payment of the expenses of the examinations, for the foundation of a certain number of university scholarships, and the giving away of prizes; and also the payment of the salaries of certain officers and servants of the university, and perhaps some provision for a university hall and examination rooms".

On the 24th of March the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Clonfert had an interview in London with the Earls of Malmesbury and of Mayo, at whose request the Prelates committed to writing their views on the proposal of the Government.

The letter in which they do so, is dated March 31st: in it they say, in the first place, that the plan most acceptable to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland would be a modification of the existing Catholic University. In other words, they allude to the fact that in the Government scheme, the existing University, founded by the Hierarchy of Ireland and sanctioned and endowed with the privileges of a Catholic University by the Holy See, was ignored—its existence was not even mentioned. However, waiving this objection, and willing to coöperate in any system in which the faith and principles of Catholics would be protected, the Prelates state, one by one, their chief objections to the scheme of the Government, having premised, that in their judgment “the new University ought to be not simply a University for holding examinations and conferring degrees, but ought furthermore to be a teaching University, having its own full staff of professors”.

The objections of the Prelates may be reduced to two; their suggestions are also two in number.

First, They object to the authority which it is sought to assert over the affiliated Colleges, by giving the University Senate a veto on the appointment of their Heads, their Professors, etc. This would be, the Prelates remark, an undue and uncalled for interference with their liberty, and scarcely justifiable in the supposition that the Colleges would be unendowed by the State.

Secondly, They object to the election by the Convocation, and not by the Senate, of the Chancellor and of the six lay members of the Senate itself.

They suggest:

First, That the Chancellor should always be a Bishop, the first Chancellor being Cardinal Cullen.

Secondly,

“As faith and morality may be injuriously affected either by the heterodox teaching of professors, lecturers, or other officers, or by their bad moral example, or by the introduction of bad books into the university programme, the very least power that could be claimed for the bishops on the senate, with a view to the counteraction of such evils, would be that of an absolute negative on such books, and on the first nomination of professors, etc., etc., as well as on their continuing to hold their offices after having been judged by the bishops on the senate to have grievously offended against faith & morals”.

These objections and suggestions seem very simple, and are grounded on very plain principles. We shall confine our remarks to the last suggestion. It embodies the whole principle of Catholic Education. Without its realization, at any rate in practice, if not in theory, the name "Catholic University" would be a misnomer.

In fact, what do we mean by a "*Catholic University*"? If the name means anything, it means a University founded on Catholic principles; a University furnished with every safeguard which the Catholic religion supplies for the maintenance of sound faith and pure morality in the minds and hearts of youth. Now, a University in which Episcopal authority is not admitted in questions regarding faith and morals, is not founded on Catholic principles; therefore such a University does not deserve in this respect the name of Catholic. The doctrine of the Catholic Church on this point is clearly laid down in the letter of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Clonfert, to which we have so often referred. They say:

"All Catholics must acknowledge them (the Bishops) to possess (the right) of pronouncing authoritatively on matters of faith and morals. That right belongs to them, and to them alone, as compared with laymen, and even ecclesiastics of the second order. According to the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, it is not competent for laymen, not even for clergymen of the second order, however learned, to judge authoritatively of faith and morality. That is the exclusive province of bishops".

Again, suppose the case of a Catholic parent, solicitous for the safety of his son's faith and morals, and at the same time desirous to give him the advantages of a University Education. He resides at a distance from the seat of the University, but knows that it bears the name of "Catholic", and that Bishops have to do with its management. He unhesitatingly entrusts his son to the care of such an institution; but what security, I ask, has he for the prudence of such a step, if the divinely-appointed guardians of faith and morals, the Bishops, have no power over the teaching of the University? How can he, as a Catholic, feel assured that those who have the moulding of his son's mind, are themselves men thoroughly imbued with Catholic principles, unless he has the guarantee of the Prelates of the Church, to whom the spirit of wisdom and understanding has, as his faith teaches, been specially given, that they may feed the sheep of Christ? How can the Catholic body, clergy and laity, have confidence that their University will guard the deposit of faith, unless in all things appertaining

to faith and morals it be under the guidance of those to whom, and to whom alone, in the person of the chosen eleven, it was said: "Going therefore teach ye all nations" these very precepts of faith and Christian morality, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world".

Having in view these principles, which to every Catholic clearly establish the necessity of episcopal control over Education in all things appertaining to faith and morals, and show the paramount position which the prelates of the Church must always occupy in the holy work of forming the minds of youth, it seems to us that the Government shows little acquaintance with, or concern for, the feelings of our Catholic people, when, in reply to the prelates' suggestion, that the chancellor of the new University should be a bishop, the Chief Secretary for Ireland says:

"This, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, would be inconsistent with one of the fundamental principles of such an institution, namely, that the future head of the governing body should be elected by the university at large.

"It would be impossible to recognize fully this principle were the choice of the electors to be limited to the members of any single profession or class.

"In the nomination of the first chancellor, it was intended to name a layman of rank, influence, and position.

"Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that ample provision is made for the admission to the board of the members of the hierarchy, and they are not disposed to add to the number of the bishops already named in the proposal".

But what shall we say of the concluding words of the same letter?

"The proposition that the episcopal members of the senate should possess any power greater than that of their lay colleagues, is one that Her Majesty's Government *cannot entertain*.

"It would establish a system of education essentially different from that which was intended, and, therefore, the Government cannot agree to give to any of the members of the senate a power over teaching, books, discipline, or appointments, which is not enjoyed equally by all.

"The object of the Government was to create an institution which, although denominational in its character, would be *thoroughly independent*, self-governed, and *free from any external influence*, either political or religious.

"The proposals made in your letter would strike at the very root of these principles, and I am therefore, with extreme regret, obliged to inform you that the recommendations contained in that letter *cannot be entertained*".

Forsooth the object of the Government was to create a Catholic institution, which would be thoroughly independent of episcopal control, even in faith and morals! A university which would be free from any external religious influence, even from the influence of the teachings of the Church and the authority of our prelates, and still would meet the conscientious requirements of those Catholics who object to Trinity College, because it is a Protestant university, and to the Queen's Colleges, because they are condemned by the Pope and our Bishops!!

That the inconsistency of these words with the first professions of the Government may appear still more manifest, suffice it to remark, that in the memorandum, which the Earl of Mayo sent to the Archbishop of Cashel on the 14th of March, the only proviso with respect to religious influence was, that it should not "be brought to bear on students who belonged to another faith"; but now we are told that "Catholics must be thoroughly free from any external religious influence"!

But can the religious influence of the Church be called an external influence? It would certainly be so in the sense of being independent of the university, and exercising control over it. But, most assuredly, it would not be external in the sense of being anything distinct from the Catholic spirit and principles and submission to authority which must ever pervade and animate a truly Catholic university.

When our rulers have before them again the question of University Education for Catholics, we beg to commend to their consideration the words of the Protestant Professor of History, Hubert, in his learned work on the English Universities:—

"No line of demarcation could have been practically made between the royal and papal privileges in regard to the Universities. . . . In the full powers given to the papal protectors, who were appointed for the English or other universities, mention is never made of any such limits and distinctions, even at times and upon subjects in which the points of opposition between the spiritual and temporal powers were the most sharply defined. . . . *No party thought of denying that the Papal See* (that is, the authority of the Church) *"was the last and supreme authority concerning the studies, belief, discipline, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Universities"*—(Hubert, *English Universities*, London, 1843).

We shall take an early opportunity of returning to this question of University Education, in order to show its momentous importance with respect to the future of our country. We now conclude for the present. In doing so we wish to trace the moral of the tale we have just told.

That moral seems to us very plain. It is no other than that our rulers have yet to learn the rudiments or first principles of

the science which ought to guide them in governing Catholic Ireland. They have to learn what Catholic principles are respecting Catholic Education; and they have further to learn this simple rudimentary truth that if they wish to make Ireland, which is a Catholic nation, no longer a source of weakness to the empire, but rather, as it ought to be, its right arm, they must govern her in accordance with these principles. These Catholic principles may be distasteful to them and to the masses of the English people; they may regret that we hold them; but still they must admit the fact, and until they are prepared to deal with it as a fact, there can be no peace for this distracted country. For our part we regret that England is Protestant: we regret that Protestant principles prevail there: but still we admit the fact, and we admit as a consequence, that England must be governed as a Protestant country, and that any statesman who would do otherwise, would be a fool. Scarcely less great is the folly of those, who forget that Ireland is a Catholic nation, or who would seek to impose upon her by using the word "Catholic", while ignoring the fundamental principles of the Catholic religion.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN IRELAND DURING ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

THE Protestant archbishops and bishops in Ireland presented some few months ago a loyal address to our most gracious Sovereign, deprecating the disestablishment and disendowment of their church. It is not to the disinterested motives which impelled them to pursue such a course that we now wish to refer, but rather to some of the historic grounds on which they rest their claim to have this monstrous Establishment perpetuated amongst us. The Protestant church, they say, has been enabled by the rich religious endowments which it holds 'to set forth divine knowledge'; it has administered its funds 'in the interest of the nation'; it has been for three centuries 'a witness for Christ in this benighted country'; whilst at the same time it has ever been 'a bright jewel' in the crown of England.

If all this were true it would not still suffice to palliate the injustice of forcing the Catholics of Ireland to support an alien religion which they repudiate. As an English garrison in this country it is no longer of any use: on the contrary, it has done more to promote Fenianism and to embitter the minds of Irishmen against the sister isle, than all the revolu-

tionary propagandism from America could effect in a hundred years. If, however, it is to be maintained as an ornamental appendage to the British crown, let those who benefit by its ministrations contribute funds for its support, but let it no longer prey upon the vitals of Irish Catholics, and absorb those endowments of our fathers which were intended for works of charity and religion.

It may be well, however, whilst the statements of the Protestant dignitaries are yet fresh in the memory of our readers, to interrogate history, that we may see how far the Established Church is justified in claiming to itself the important functions thus emphatically set forth, for, the manner in which it discharged its duties during the past is declared to be the sure guarantee for their fulfilment in the future.

A remarkable book, just published by the indefatigable Dr. Maziere Brady, being a collection of *State Papers* of the reign of Elizabeth, furnishes us with authentic data to decide how far the Established Church, whilst yet in the full ardour of its youth, and during the first half century of its existence, "set forth divine knowledge", and "righteously administered the religious endowments of the country". We shall not appeal to enemies and opponents as evidence of its condition and influence, but we will appeal to its best friends, its own leading agents and supporters, and our references shall only be made to official documents which were presented to the Government of the day, and for three centuries have been jealously guarded in the archives of the kingdom.

In 1577 a "commission of faculties" was appointed by the Crown to inquire into the condition of the Irish church. The commissioners were George Ackworth and Robert Garvey, and in their first report they especially dwelt on the abuses committed by some of the Protestant dignitaries in this kingdom. The bishops in reply accused the commissioners of simony in their dealings with the clergy: this gave occasion to a detailed statement by Mr. Commissioner Garvey, on January 2nd, 1579.¹ The motive why the commissioners were authorized to summon even bishops before them, was, he declares, that "all such as bear the name of bishops in Ireland, live not in that order and degree of dependancy of her Majesty's authority and law as the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin and the Bishops of Meath and Ossory do: and for as much as some men do without letters patent intrude themselves into the bishopricks in that land, as Cornelius O'Brenan, a layman, did into the bishoprick of Ross Carberry in the county of Cork, and of Tirlagh O'Brien, a

¹ *State Papers*, page 29, seqq.

layman likewise, into the bishoprick of Kilfenora in Thomond ...it is very necessary that her Majesty's commissioners should have authority to call such before them". As to the accusation of having dispensed in the crime of simony with Sir William Kehoe, archdeacon of Ossory, Garvey answers:

"The said Keho, when the Archdeaconry of Ossory became void, being a living of the bishop of Ossory's collation, was a suitor to Christopher [Gafney], late bishop there [from 1565 to 1576], for the same, and because the bishop would not bestow it upon him without consideration, although he was a grave, learned, antient and sufficient man for such a living, he gave the bishop some money.—And doubting the same should afterwards be laid to his charge, and he therefore deprived of his living, he obtained dispensation for the said simony of the most reverend Father Edmund, now bishop of Canterbury [Edmund Grindal, abp. Cant. 1576 to 1583] before her Majesty's commission for Faculties was granted in Ireland. In which dispensation certain defects were found by the learned council of the said Keho. And after her Majesty's commission was granted in Ireland, the said Keho sued them to have a like dispensation, but with the addition of material words left out of his said former dispensation, whereunto the Commissioners assented, both for that it might be done by law, and that of such dispensations they had seen the former precedent and other precedents besides, and also that the fault was more the bishop's that urged him to it, than his that unwillingly paid the money. Of which sort of bishops there be some more in Ireland, and namely Matthew, [Sheyne, bp. 1572 to 1582] bishop of Cork, who being charged by the said Commissioners and detected unto them that he sold the livings of his diocese to horsemen and kerne, answered both privately to them, and openly in a sermon, made in the Church of Cork before Sir Wm. Drury, knight, Lord President of Munster, [from June 1576 to 1578] and the said Commissioners and the whole audience then present, that except he sold the livings of his collation he were not able to live, his bishopric was so poor".

The next accusation made against the commissioners was that they allowed a clergyman named Robert Gafney to exercise his office in the diocese of Ossory, although he had publicly gone to receive his orders from the Papal bishop. To this Garvey replies, "that the said Gafney took his orders by the license and with the commendation of his ordinary, the late Bishop of Ossory, who never gave orders himself, and had execution of them a good while after he took them, both by his ordinary and metropolitan".¹ He adds that the bishops had admitted to livings, "*boys, kearn, laymen, and other incapable persons*", and that some of them were deprived by the commissioners, as for instance, "George Cusack, a lay servant man", who held Kentstown in Meath; and "Lucas

¹ *State Papers*, p. 82.

Plunket, prentice to a vintner in Dublin", who had Killavy; and " Robert Nugent, a horseman of the Baron of Delvin's retinue", who was in Galtrim; and " John Barnewall, a young boy of Dublin", who had Kilnessan.

These last abuses all refer to the diocese of Meath, and yet the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, a few years before, declared that this was the best administered diocese in the kingdom. He set out "on a progress" through Ireland, towards the close of 1575, and after journeying for six months through the four provinces, he forwarded two reports, one to Walsingham, the other to her Majesty, regarding the condition of the kingdom. The former is full of details regarding the administration of the government, and suggests various matters for reformation: "The first head", he says, "is the Church, now so spoiled, as well by the ruins of the temples as the dissipation of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers, as so deformed and overthrown a Church there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed, and preposterous it seemeth to me to begin reformation of the politic part, and neglect the religious".² In the report to her Majesty (April 28th, 1576), he is more diffuse on this subject, she being by act of parliament the head of the Church. He thus writes in this important document:

" May it please your Most Excellent Majesty—I have in four several discourses, addressed unto the Lords of your Highness' most honourable Council, certified them how I found this your Highness' Realm at mine arrival into the same, and what I have seen and understand by my travel these six last months. In which I have passed through each Province and have been almost in each countie thereof. The which I would not send unto your most excellent Majesty immediately to be read by the same, lest they should have seemed too tedious, partly through the quantity of the matter, but chiefly through the bad delivery thereof by pen—not doubting but your Majesty is by this time advertised of the material points contained in them.

" And now, most dear Mistress and most honoured Sovereign, I solely address to you—as to the only Sovereign Salve-giver to this your sore and sick Realm—the lamentable estate of the most noble and principal limb thereof:—the Church, I mean, as foul, deformed and as cruelly crushed as any other part thereof—by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least amended. I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole Realm, and was advertised of the particular estate of the Church in the bishopric of Meath being the best inhabited country of all this Realm by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godly Minister for the Gospel and a good

² *Ibid.*, pag. 14.

servant to your Highness, who went from church to church himself and found that there are within his diooese 224 parish churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sundry possessions now of your Highness—and all leased out for years or in fee farm to several Fermors, and great gain reaped out of them, above the rent which your Majesty receiveth. No Parson or Vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve therein. Among which number of curates, only eighteen were found able to speak English. . . . There are 52 other parish churches more in the same diocese [of Meath]—who have vicars endowed upon them—better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are 52 parish churches more—residue of the first number of 224—which pertain to divers particular Lords. And these, though in better estate than the rest, commonly are yet far from well. If this be the estate of the churches in the best peopled diocese, and best governed country of this your Realm (as in troth it is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no Reformation, either of Religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them.

"Yea; so prophane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publicly before me that the sacrament of Baptism is not used among them, and truly I believe it. If I should write unto your Majesty what spoil hath been and is of the archbishoprics, whereof there are four, and of the bishoprics, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the Potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter. But your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case. The misery of which consisteth in these three particulars:—1. The ruin of the very temples themselves: 2. The want of good Ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified: 3. Competent living for the Ministers, being well chosen".

Andrew Trollope was another agent sent to Ireland in July, 1581, to inquire into the state of this country. On the 12th of September, 1581, he reports to his master, Walsingham, that he had safely arrived, kept secret his mission, and was now lodged with an Irish lawyer in Dublin. He adds:

"Another lawyer, who married the gentlewoman's sister of the house, a man of a very mild countenance, smooth tongue, familiar and affable, as all Irishmen are, came to me and carried me into the garden, where he subtly sought to understand my gifts of nature, bringing up, ability, cause of travel, and what news in England. I fed his humour as much as I might, and thereby learnt of him the miserable state of Ireland, and that all judges of the law, her Majesty's Chancellor [John Bathe] and Barons of the Exchequer, and counsel learned, and such as execute inferior offices (with few exceptions), were all Irishmen, and Papists as all Irishmen be. And it is most

certain that the Irishmen so little regard God and less her Majesty and her subjects, as if they cannot, dare not, or will not seem to be rebels, they will by no means do her Majesty or Englishmen good, except it be by colour thereof to work a further mischief, as the killing of M [illegible] and McCartie by John of Desmond, who was gossip to the one and sworn brother to the other. If the Irish Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen were as dutiful as they would seem, then roguish rebels could never have spoiled her Majesty's subjects, country, and treasure, as they have done".

"No doubt but that if it please her Majesty and her honourable council, with less loss of subjects, treasure or travail than her Highness hath sustained within this year past, all the Irish open rebels might be destroyed, and the secret close rebels so kept under that all would be honest and civil subjects.

"The cause why it hath not so been is that Irishmen have been in over much authority, too much trusted, favoured and preferred. For a great part of these two years the direction of her Majesty's soldiers has been committed to Irishmen which have done little good. Where any Irishman is put in trust, there shall never Englishman, spiritual or temporal, dwell long in quiet by him. If he be not murdered, he shall be by some means robbed or spoiled, as the burning of the bishop [Hugh Allen] of Down's house and all that he had.

"Their device to be put in trust is to further some mischief or to let some good. Many are of opinion that her Majesty and her council would not have the Irish rebels all subdued and conquered and Ireland inhabited with mere English, which I cannot believe, or else must think that they are ignorant of the state thereof.

"At this instant the Irish men, except in the walled towns, are not christian, civil or human creatures, but heathen or rather savages and brute beasts. . . . For they never serve God or go to any church, and in most parts of the country they have neither ministers nor churches, or those which are decayed and never used. . . .

"They have no knowledge of God or his word, or any kind of religion, but in all things shew themselves more barbarous and beastlike than any other infidels, without any regard or mind of salvation, to the great dishonour and displeasure of God, and procurement of his punishment, not only on themselves but on those magistrates under whose government God hath committed them. Whereof he sheweth manifest signs, for there be as many good blessings of God in Ireland as in most realms in the world—good grounds—rich mines—good waters well replenished with all kinds of fish—good mold and many woods, which notwithstanding, the people which are there (which are not half a quarter of those which England continually maintaineth) live very hardly, yea for the most part most miserably, and many have, and many more would have, starved for good (albeit that many live with grass in the field like brute beasts and spend no corn) if great store of victual had not been sent thither out of England. Ireland is a moth and canker daily consuming the treasure and com-

modities of England. Her Majesty's Irish rebels daily increase as well in knowledge and furniture as number of men.

"We must all pray God to move her Majesty to look to these things—to put away all Irish authority and appoint magistrates with English hearts.

"I know not the ten thousandth part that is amiss in Ireland, but among those I do know, I cannot forget the Commission of faculties, which gives licences to some one to have three, perhaps four benefices—not only to spiritual but some temporal men—and by reason thereof, though there be not many churches and fewer bells in Ireland, some of them ring but they neither call nor bring ministers nor parishioners to serve God. I know but few ministers in Ireland, yet one of them which is an Irishman—a common table player and alehouse haunter—which can scarce read the service—hath three benefices. How he serveth them I know not. I have been credibly told there hath been Mass said in some of them since he had them.

"A man told me that on the 27th of August, being Sunday, he was at Dundalk, one of the largest country towns in Ireland, and hearing the bell ring went to church, and stareing there could see long nobody but the clerk, and at length asked him when the people would come to church, and he told him they should have no service there that day for their minister had other benefices, and he used to say service there but seldom.

"I was certified and I find it very likely to be true, that my Lord Bishop of Dublin is a partner in the profits of the commission of faculties, and anything almost will be suffered in Ireland for gain and friendship, or else the bishop of Meath [Hugh Brady] (an Irishman, and not the best subject in Ireland, who married a very honest gentleman's daughter, * and will seem an earnest Protestant and yet they say cherisheth many a Papist) could not have continued one of the Council.

"My Lord Bishop of Dublin sure I think be a good subject, but he hath many children and is so desirous to prefer them as he hath married one daughter to one Mr. Warren, another to one Mr. Cowley, another to one Mr. Usher, and it is said gave £500 a piece in marriage with them, and bought land in Kent (some say as much as is worth £200 a year) and keepeth one of his sons at the temple in London, and hath other sons and daughters, all which have made him take up money at interest, as he did £400 of Sir William Drury; and to pay this and defray all charges and get more money for his sons and daughters, many think maketh him have a cheverelle conscience".

In 1579, Sir William Pelham was lord justice. He too thought it necessary to remind Walsingham of the sad condition of the Protestant Church in Ireland:

"I desire, he writes from Trim, to put you in mind of the miserable state of the clergy of this land, among whom I cannot but marvel to see so few able ministers, or so little order taken for their main-

tenance. I have heard it constantly affirmed by the bishop of Meath [Hugh Brady] in whose diocese this town standeth, that some one of her Majesty's farmers of parsonages inappropriate near to this place, hath sixteen benefices in his hands, and amongst those not one vicar or minister maintained that can read English or understand Latin, or give any good instruction to his parishioners".

Five years later, another friend of the Established Church writes to the same from Dublin:

"There are here even in that part of the country which should be best reformed, so many churches fallen down, so many children dispensed withal to enjoy the livings of the church, so many laymen (as they are commonly termed) suffered to hold benefices, so many clergymen tolerated to have the profits of three or more pastoral dignities, who being themselves unlearned, are not meet men (though they were willing) to teach and instruct others—as whoso beholdeth this miserable confusion and disorder, and hath any zeal of God in his heart, must not chuse but make the same known, especially unto such as bestow their whole care and travail to reform these enormities, and would, no doubt, be glad to see those decays of religion built up again.

"I trust my Lord will so countenance the Lord Primate, or rather join with him in this great and good work, that ere long the ragged and deformed church of Ireland shall look with a more comely face and form, than it doth at this present; but encouragements continually from thence is thought will be the best means to bring to good success their good purposes here" (*St. Pap.*, pag. 86).

The prebendaries of St. Patrick's, Dublin, also found it necessary to complain of the irreligion which was rapidly spreading throughout the kingdom, and which was mainly due to the ministers themselves. In December, 1584, they write to the lords of the council in England that:

"The only cause of all stealths, Robbins, murders, tumults, and rebellion in Ireland, is the want of the knowledge of God.

"The cause thereof is only idleness—first in the Laity, which are generally given to idleness—then in the Ministry, which is unlearned. There is not one in that land to be found which can or will preach the Gospel, four bishops and the Prebendaries of St. Patrick's only excepted. This is lamentable with God's people.

"There is an infinite number of inappropriate churches in Ireland, all being in her Majesty's hands and her farmers. There is not in any one impropriation a preacher. There is scant a minister to be found among them but rather a company of Irish rogues and Romish priests, teaching nothing but traitorous practices—all in a manner enemies by profession to God's true Religion.

"This cometh chiefly by the wantonness of her Majesty's farmers, who for the most part allow not the minister above 40s. or £3 by the year, and therefore seeketh a priest that will serve his cure cheapest, without regard to the person or quality, and then this curate, to make his stipend as he may live upon, travelleth like a lackey to three or four churches in a morning—every church a mile or two miles asunder—and there once a week readeth them only a *Gospel in Latin*, and so away—and so the poor people are deluded".

Many similar passages will be found in the *State Papers* of Dr. Brady. Walsingham himself, in a letter to the Archbishop of Armagh, intimates that that prelate had written in the same strain: "By two letters of your lordship, dated the 7th of June and the 8th of July, I have been made acquainted with the miserable state of the Church of Ireland, which grieveth me much to think upon, and the more so that I see no hope of any remedy to be applied to it", (December, 1585, *State Papers*, p. 102). The Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam too, in 1587, declares that his views regarding the Church were precisely the same as those of his predecessors:

"The most principal matter is to take order that the church in all places be presently repaired—that prayers be there publicly said, every Sunday at the least, and the people on penalty compelled to repair to the same. For it is most true and lamentable that between Dublin and the furthest end of Munster there is not one church standing, convenient to repair unto, except it be in the Haven towns. And although for the most part the incumbents are unlearned, yet might they be inforced to read the Lord's Prayer and the belief in English, and teach the same to his parish, or if he himself can read no English, then to learn it them in Irish, for so much is already translated, which might be tolerated, till it may please God to bestow upon them greater blessings".

These few extracts will, we trust, suffice to show in what manner the Protestant Church, in the golden era of Elizabeth, set forth "the truth of Christ", and diffused the "blessings of religion" through the kingdom. They fully justify what Spenser wrote a little before his death, in 1598: "The clergy are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered. . . . Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, you may find in Ireland, and many more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, incontinence, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides all these they have their particular enormities; for all Irish ministers that now enjoy

Church livings, are, in a manner, mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do; they neither read the Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion . . . only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings" (*View of the State of Ireland*, by Spenser, pag. 139-140). And subsequently he adds, contrasting the zeal of the Catholic clergy with the conduct of the *reformed* ministers:

"It is a great wonder to see the odds between the zeal of Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospel; for *they* spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no rewards or riches are to be found, only to draw the people to the Church of Rome: whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and esteem thereby opened unto them without pains and without peril, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm nests to look out into God's harvest".

We cannot take leave of the *State Papers* of Dr. Brady without inserting a most remarkable letter written in October, 1582, by Miler M'Grath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel. It not only reveals to us the grasping character of that unfortunate man, but it suffices of itself to dissipate for ever the delusion that the people of Ireland forsook without delay the faith of their fathers and embraced the reformed tenets:

"Most humbly sheweth to your excellent Majesty, your faithful subject Milerus, archbishop of Cashel.

"Whereas in the Realm of Ireland are sundry courts of diverse authorities and jurisdictions, appointed for the administration of justice and laws, wherein sometimes certain officers, judges, barristers, lawyers and ministers of the law, are known to be, or at the least are vehemently suspected to be, Papists and recusants, not sworn to your Majesty's supremacy, according to the statute provided in that behalf, and sometimes many good subjects and Protestants accused by such malicious Papists before such judges, officers and lawyers of that sort, who will try the said embracers of the gospel by papistical suborned inquests and witnesses, and the same their doings, maintained by the said officers and lawyers, to the great danger and overthrow of your Majesty's faithful subjects—all sorts of the said Papists being fully persuaded to have and enjoy the Pope's blessing and authority to be forsown, in case they might overthrow any Protestant or favourer of your Majesty's proceedings. In consideration whereof, it may

please your Majesty to direct general instructions to the Lord Deputy and Council, not to suffer any judge, temporal or spiritual, to judge, or any jury, or witness, to pass or be accepted in any matter, where anything is to be enquired, or judged, against any of your said subjects and known Protestants, but such judges, barristers, and lawyers, as are or shall be sworn to your Majesty's supremacy, and have received the Holy Communion once in the year before, according to God's and your Highness' laws in that case provided, and your Majesty's suppliant, with the rest of the few members or Protestants and furtherers of your Majesty's godly proceedings, which no doubt by these means will increase in that land, shall continually pray for the preservation of your Majesty's most Royal person in all felicity.

"First—Forasmuch as many now within the realm of Ireland, and especially in the province of Munster, as well officers and ministers of the law, head officers of towns and cities, principal lords and gentlemen, as justices of the peace and assizes, and *prelates of the Church*, are appointed and elected in their several offices and callings there, *being never sworn to the oath of her Majesty's supremacy* (underlined in the original) according to the statute in that behalf provided, although every of them presumeth to exercise their several callings without punishment, a thing very dangerous and worthy to be looked unto, may it please your honourable lordships to grant authority to your suppliant, or to some others well affected in such a case, to take and receive the said oaths from all manner of persons".

To this was added the following petition of the same prelate, which is endorsed "Certain motions and requests of the Archbishop of Cashel":

"Item—Forasmuch as the sufferance hitherto used with Friars, Monks, Nuns, Jesuits, and seminary Romish priests, *and bishops in general*, is the only mother and nurse of rebellion and disloyalty in all Ireland, and especially in Ulster, and in that part of Connaught where they remain unsuppressed as yet, it may, therefore, please your honourable lordships, to grant to your suppliant and other fit persons a commission in like sort, with some ability to execute the same, and to suppress all such abbeys and monasteries, and to apprehend and commit to prison, all persons of the afore named sort, and to seize on all their goods to her Majesty's use.

"Item—For that it is a part of a good subject's duty to shew and declare his good will towards his prince, as well by words as by deeds, according to his ability, therefore your suppliant, considering that all the livings and other spiritual promotions within the most part of the province of Ulster, are yet untaxed, and by that means no manner of benefit growing to her Majesty out of any of them, but the same *wholly by the Pope's usurped power and authority maintained* and occupied by such as derived their title from him,—if therefore it shall please your Lordships to grant the custodiam of all livings so detained by any manner of persons within the province of Ulster to your suppliant, with authority to grant every of them (except bishop-

rics), for certain years, to such that will get sufficient security to pay first fruits and twenty parts to her Majesty, yearly, during that time, to her Majesty, and that your suppliant's custodiam shall be ended in every bishoprick as soon as any man shall be had by the State that will accept the bishoprick and observe her Majesty's laws and injunctions, he will endeavour himself, being a man born and well friended in that country, not only to diminish the Pope's authority there, but also to increase God's glory and her Majesty's revenues.

"Item—For that the inhabitants of the towns of Cashel and ffdidens, being not only of the diocese of Cashel but also parcels and members of the said archbishopric, are willing always to receive such bishops as cometh from Rome, as appeared by their doings in your suppliant's predecessor's time (who, being captive, was brought out of his own house within a mile of Cashel, by one Morris Reogh, then from the Pope appointed archbishop there, the said Morris was admitted and conducted by the said townsmen of Cashel to say a Mass in the Cathedral church of Cashel), and now in like sort had received peaceably such bishops as came from Rome of late, wherefore it may please your honours, not only to set down what punishment shall be thought fit for their doings, but also give directions that the Head Officers and Burgessess and every one being in age in the said towns shall be compelled to put in securities before the Lord Chancellor to come to church and receive the Holy Communion, which hitherto they have refused to do".

DOCUMENTS.

I.

ALLOCATION OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER PIUS IX. IN CONSISTORY OF 21st JUNE, 1868.

VENERABILES FRATRES,

Nunquam certe fore putavissemus, Venerabiles Fratres, ut post Conventionem a Nobis cum Austriae Imperatore et Rego Apostolico, bonis omnibus exsultantibus, tredecim fere ab hinc annis initam cogemur hodierno die gravissimas deplorare aerumnas, et calamitates, quibus inimicorum hominum opera nunc in Austriaco Imperio Catholica Ecclesia miserandum in modum affligitur ac divexatur. Siquidem divinae nostrae religionis hostes non destiterunt omnia conari, ut eamdem Conventionem destruerent, et maximas Ecclesiae, Nobis, et Apostolicae huic Sedi inferrent iniurias. Etenim die vicesima

prima mensis Decembris superiori anno infanda sane ab Austriaco Gubernio veluti Status fundamentum lata lex est, quae in omnibus Imperii regionibus etiam Catholicae religioni unice addictis valere, et vigere omnino debet. Hac lege omnis omnium opinionum, et librariae artis libertas, omnis tum fidei, tum conscientiae, ac doctrinæ libertas statuitur, et civibus cuiusque cultus facultas tribuitur excitandi educationis, doctrinaeque instituta, et omnes cuiusque generis religiosae Societates aequiparantur, et a Statu recognoscuntur. Evidem ubi primum id dolenter agnovimus, Nostram vocem statim attollere optavissimus, sed longanimitate utentes tunc silendum censuimus, ea praesertim spe sustentati fore, ut Austriacum Gubernium iustissimis Venerabilium Fratrum Sacrorum in Austria Antistitum expostulationibus dociles praebens aures vellet saniorem induere mentem, et meliora suscipere consilia. Sed inanes Nostræ fuere spes. Namque idem Gubernium die vicesima quinta Maii hoc anno aliam edidit legem, quae omnes illius Imperii populos etiam Catholicos obligat, et iubet, filios ex mixtis coniugiis natos sequi debere patris religionem, si masculi sint, si vero feminae religionem matris, et septennio minores debere parentum a recta fide defectionem sectari. Insuper eadem lege plane omnis deletur vis promissionum, quas merito, atque optimo iure Catholica Ecclesia omnino exigit, ac praescribit antequam mixta contrahantur matrimonia, et ipsa apostasia tum a Catholica, tum a Christiana religione ad civile ius elevatur, et omnis Ecclesiae auctoritas in sacra coemeteria de medio tollitur, et Catholici coguntur humare in suis coemeteriis haereticorum cadaver, quando iidem haeretici propria non habeant. Ipsum praeterea Gubernium eadem die vicesima quinta Maii huius anni non dubitavit de Matrimonio quoque legem promulgare, qua leges ad commemoratae Nostræ Conventionis normam editas plane abolevit, et in pristinum vigorem restituit veteres Austriacas leges Ecclesiae legibus vehementer adversas, et matrimonium etiam, ut dicunt, civile omnino improbandum asseruit, confirmavit, quando cuiusque cultus auctoritas deneget matrimonii celebrationem ob causam, quae nec valida, nec legalis a civili auctoritate recognoscatur. Atque hac lege Gubernium idem omnem Ecclesiae auctoritatem, et iurisdictionem circa matrimoniales causas, omniaque tribunalia de medio sustulit. Legem quoque de scholis promulgavit, qua omnis Ecclesiae vis destruitur, ac decernitur supremam omnem litterarum, disciplinarumque institutionem, et in scholis inspectionem, ac vigilantiam ad Statum pertinere, ac statuitur, ut religiosa dumtaxat institutio in popularibus scholis a cuiusque cultus auctoritate dirigatur, utque variae cuiusque religionis Societates aperire possint peculiares, et proprias scholas pro iuventute, quae illam credendi normam profiteretur, utque eiusmodi quoque scholae supremæ Status inspectioni subiiciantur, ac doctrinæ libri ab auctoritate civili approbentur, iis tantum libris exceptis, qui religiosae institutioni inservire debent, quique ab auctoritate cuiusque cultus approbandi sunt.

Videtis profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, quam vehementer reprobandæ, et damnandæ sint eiusmodi abominabiles leges ab Austriaco

Gubernio latae, quae Catholicae Ecclesiae doctrinae, eiusque venerandis iuribus, auctoritati, divinaeque constitutioni, ac Nostrae et Apostolicae huius Sedis potestati, et memoratae Nostrae Conventioni, ac vel ipsi naturali iuri vel maxime adversantur. Nos igitur pro omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine Nobis ab ipso Christo Domino commissa Apostolicam vocem in amplissimo hoc vestro consessu attollimus, et commemoratas leges, ac omnia, et singula, quae sive in his, sive aliis in rebus ad Ecclesiae ius pertinentibus ab Austriaco Gubernio seu ab inferioribus quibusque Magistratibus decreta, gesta, et quomodolibet attentata sunt, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica reprobamus, damnamus, et decreta ipsa cum omnibus inde consecutis eadem Auctoritate Nostra irrita prorsus, nulliusque roboris fuisse, ac fore declaramus. Ipsos autem illorum auctores, qui se Catholicos esse praesertim gloriantur, quique memoratas leges, acta vel propnere, vel condere, vel approbare, et exequi non dubitarunt, obtestamur, et obsecramus, ut meminerint Censurarum, poenarumque Spiritualium, quas Apostolicae Constitutiones, et Oecumenicorum Conciliorum decreta contra invasores iurium Ecclesiae ipso facto incurrendas infligunt.

Interim vero summopere in Domino gratulamur, meritasque tribuimus laudes Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Austriaci Imperii, qui episcopali robore tum voce, tum scriptis Ecclesiae causam, et praedictam Nostram Conventionem impavide tueri, ac defendere, et gregem officii sui admonere non destiterunt. Atque vel maxime optamus, ut Venerabiles Fratres Hungariae Archiepiscopi, et Episcopi egregia eorum Collegarum exempla imitantes, vel int pari studio et alacritate omnem in Ecclesiae iuribus tutandis, et in eadem Conventione propugnanda impendere operam.

In tantis autem, quibus Ecclesia luctuosissimis hisce temporibus ubique affligitur, calamitatibus, non desinamus, Venerabiles Fratres, ardentiori usque studio in humilitate cordis nostri Deum exorare, ut omnipotenti sua virtute velit nefaria omnia suorum, et Ecclesiae suae sanctae inimicorum consilia disperdere, impiosque eorum conatus reprimere, impetus frangere, et illos ad iustitiae, salutisque semiitas sua miseratione reducere.

II.

Letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, on Mixed Schools.

(CONTINUED.)

Da questa risoluzione rilevasi il sentimento della prelodata S. Congregazione, e le cautele da essa prescritte in proposito; sebbene però il riferito Decreto non possa darsi per regola generale applicabile a qualunque altro convitto misto, attese le varie circostanze di ciascun caso particolare sulle quali, siccome si disse, conviene avere esattissime notizie per adattarvi le analoghe provvidenze ed istruzioni.

Coerentemente alle sovraesposte norme con lettera diretta sotto il giorno 16 Gennaio 1841 ai Metropolitaniani Irlandesi da comunicarsi ai loro suffraganei si dichiarò che siccome dal sistema di educazione nazionale d' Irlanda nelle scuole secondarie o nelle classi inferiori promosso dal governo inglese per la gioventù appartenente a qualunque comunione Cristiana sembrava non essere derivato alcun nocum-
ento alla Religione Cattolica durante il decennio, da che il sistema medesimo era stato introdotto; perciò questa S. Congregazione avea giudicato non doversi proferire sull' argomento alcun definitivo giudizio, rimettendo piuttosto un tal modo d' insegnamento al pru-
dente arbitrio ed alla religiosa coscienza dei Vescovi; essendoché il successo di esso dipendeva necessariamente dalla cura vigilante dei Pastori, dall' uso di varie cautele, e dalla esperienza del tempo av-
venire. Peraltro la stessa S. Congregazione ammoniva seriamente i Vescovi Irlandesi quanto fosse necessario *che* si rimuovessero dalle scuole tutti i libri nocivi alla fede ed ai buoni costumi: *che* il Precet-
tore nazionale dei Pedagoghi cattolici nella classe religiosa morale ed istorica fosse cattolico, ovvero non ve ne fosse alcuno: *che* sarebbe cosa più sicura d' insegnare le belle lettere nelle sole scuole *promiscue* di quello che insegnare ristrettamente i così detti articoli fondamen-
tali e comuni della religione Cristiana riserbando una speciale istruzione separatamente alle singole sette: ed in fine *che* i Vescovi e Parrochi fossero vigilanti onde dal succennato sistema nazionale d' istruzione non abbia a contaminarsi alcuno dei fanciulli Cattolici, e si adoperassero energicamente per ottenere dal Governo un ordinamento migliore, e più eque condizioni. Indicò ancora la S. Congregazione a quei Prelati che sarebbe cosa utilissima che le stesse località delle scuole restassero in potere dei Vescovi o dei Parrochi, e che di affare sì grave si trattasse dai Prelati riuniti in sinodo provinciale, coll' obbligo eziandio di rendere consapevole la S. Sede di tutto ciò che fosse per avvenire in contrario.

Nell' anno 1857 poi in occasione che voleasi stabilire nelle città d' Irlanda scuole più alte sotto la esclusiva giurisdizione del Consiglio detto d' insegnamento nazionale, cosa (siccome veniva esposta alla S. Sede) piena di pericolo pel carattere protestante che presentavano coteste scuole, e per lo scopo che attribuivansi al governo di pervertire in esse i Cattolici, con lettera dei 20 Febbraro dello stesso anno 1857 si eccitò a nome della S. Congregazione la sollecitudine e lo zelo dei Vescovi a difendere il loro gregge ed a vegliare su di esso con tanto maggior cura e diligenza, quanto più grave era il pericolo che dal nuovo sistema ridonderebbe alla salute delle anime, procurando con opportune ammonizioni, con prediche e lettere pastorali che fosse perservata la purità della fede dal contagio degli errori.

Per ciò poi che spetta alle scuole Universitarie e collegi misti istituiti dal Governo Inglese collo stesso sistema per la istruzione scientifica della gioventù la prelodata S. Congregazione con lettera dei 9 Ottobre 1847 manifestò ai Vescovi Irlandesi il suo timore che da tali collegi fosse per derivare gran pericolo alla fede cattolica, e che li riputava dannosi alla religione; onde li ammoniva di non pren-

dere veruna parte a siffatta istituzione, e li eccitava invece a far fiorire maggiormente i già istituiti collegi Cattolici, ed a procurare la erezione di un' Accademia Cattolica. Il governo Inglese per sedare i concepiti timori modificò alcuni statuti del ridetto sistema; in seguito di che esaminatasi nuovamente la cosa, la medesima S. Congregazione non per ciò credette mitigare la già presa e testè riferita risoluzione, sui ridetti collegi in vista dei gravi ed intrinseci loro pericoli, siccome indicossi ai Prelati d' Irlanda con lettera degli 11 Ottobre 1848.

Gioverà per ultimo aggiungere come la rimentovata S. C. di Propaganda nella generale adunanza dei 31 Agosto 1863 esaminando le regole dell' Istituto delle Suore di N. S. di Sion eretto in Francia e parlando delle giovani convittrici del relativo Educandato decise doversi rispondere al Fondatore "essere intendimento della S. C. che nelle scuole delle pensionate non si accolgano per massima generale se non giovani Cattoliche. Che se per grave ragione occorresse di ricevere donzelle di altre confessioni *da educarsi però cattolicamente* debba rendersi di ciò inteso il Vescovo diocesano, affinchè di concerto colla Superiora stabiliscano con ogni diligenza le regole necessarie per evitare ogni pericolo di seduzione o perversione, fra le quali regole non si ometterà di prescrivere che nelle visite che ricevono le suddette donzelle dai loro parenti debba trovarsi ognora presente una Suora".

Tanto ho creduto di recare a notizia di V. S. onde abbia sicure norme in un argomento che specialmente oggidì ha una suprema importanza per la integrità della fede e della morale cattolica, e senza più prego il Signore che la conservi e la prosperi.

Dalla Propaganda li 25 di Aprile 1868.

Di V. Eminenza

Affmo. per servirla,

AL. C. BARNABO, Pr.
GIOVANNI SIMEONI, Segretario.

III.

Description of the County Kerry in 1673 (extracted from "The Mac Gillicuddy Papers", edited by W. M. Brady, D.D. 1867).

Report on the state of the County of Kerry and the Baronies of Bere and Bantry. Dated, March 27th, 1673.

To His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In obedience to your Excellencie's order of the 24th March last, we, the undernamed Justices of the Peace for the Countie of Kerry, have considered the state and condition of the three Baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerran, Glanerought, within the said county, unto which wee conceive the condition of Beare and Bantry to be very like, and doe upon the whole matter finde that the said four baronies are obnoxious unto the following evils, viz. :

1. To be preyed upon by any enemies shipping Pickaroons, and that the people thereof are under many temptations, and have many opportunities to correspond and comply with such vessels for their

relief and refreshment, as may appear by the situation of the land, condition of the people hereafter mentioned, and several late instances.

That the said country being inhabited, for the most parte, by such people as are concerned to oppose the present laws, and that others being not enough in number to procure the execution of what the Magistrate commands; it hath happened that the Ministers of Justice have been so abused in their persons and goods, that they have been either terrified from proceeding in their duty, or wearied into a compliance with, or connivance at, those whom they before sought to punish.

The cause of which two General Evils wee humbly conceave to be as followeth, viz.:

1. For that the remotest parts of these Baronies are 180 English miles from Dublin, and near 40 miles from where Assizes and Sessions are held, and the way for the last 30 or 40 miles are the worst of all Ireland, unpassable in the winter time, and require an hour's riding, with much trouble and danger, for each mile, so as the Ministers of Justice cannot, from the inhabitants of those places (who are very poor), find any satisfaction for their troublesome journey after them. Nor will the causes wherein these poor people are concerned bear the chadge of sending men to make affidavits, or to be witnesses, etc., in them. Nor are there yet Manors enough erected in a sufficient order to try small matters upon the place.

2. In all the said Baronies, being 100 miles in compass, there is resident but one minister, and he without Church-wardens or Service Booke, officiating only now and then in one place, and who, although he have above £300 due to him, is now ready to perish for want of maintenance, and so vexed by the injuries and abuses done him by the papists, that he findes it easier to suffer than to seeke relief; whilst the country aboundeth with unnecessary Priests and Officers, and Friars, exacting large allowances from the people, and with youth learning of needless Latin instead of useful trades.

3. The country is soe thin peopled that there is above sixty-six English acres of land for every man, woman, or child that is within it; and these soe poore that untill very lately there was not in them tenn houses of two chimnies in each, not one inhabitant in them all able to bear the office of Justice of the Peace, or Sheriff. Noe kinde of manufacture or fishing (but oysters at low water) even in this place, which before the discovery of Newfoundland was the fishery of Europe, and no employment but the grazing of small cattle in the summer time, without making any hay for the winter, but a general face of poverty and rudeness hath overspread it untill within these five last years that the Trades of Iron, Lead, Timber, Shipping, Rape-seed, and Fishing of all sorts, Tanning, and several other trades subservient thereunto, hath been with great difficulty introduced by one or two persons. Soe as the people, by reason of their poverty and the fastness of the country are irresponsible either by their bodyes or goods for anything they did

amiss. Nor was there any Magistrate upon the place to examine their actions.

4. The said country is not only thin peopled in general, but the proportion of English and Protestants is smaller here than in most parts of Ireland; for in the said three Baronies of Kerry, consisting of Thirteen Parishes, there are not at the time tenn Protestant families in Eleven of the said Thirteen Parishes, that is to say, not above one in 150 families of the Papists, as may appear by the Collector of Hearth Moneys for the said Parishes for the said countrey, nor were the other two Parishes better furnished till within these four yeaeres, Sir William Petty erected Iron Works in them.

5. The countrey was by the last Powers that subdued it, laid wast for many years, soe as it was death for any man, woman, or childe to be seen in it. Neither since the Militia hath been settled all over the Kingdom hath there been any notice taken of this place, either to protect it by part of the Army or by a Militia of its own, even from an enemy's long-boat which with 40 Musqueteers may do what they please with this country. Nor at this time of speciall danger is there a garrison in any other part of the county of Kerry, nor since the suspension of the Presidency (of Munster) are the forces which were here under any command that's clearly understood.

6. From the year 1657 to the year 1668 it is manifest that there hath been a strange destruction of woods, and vast numbers of Pipe, Hogshead Barrell staves exported, yet such was the universal confederacy of the Irish in this particular, that though they are all probably guilty, yet not one man can be convicted of what many hundreds must needs be guilty. Besides, many malefactors have fled into this countrey either to hide or shipp themselves away. Nor do the country people, for fear of their lives or burning of their houses, dare refuse to entertain such persons and other soldiers against whom there are express statutes in this kingdom. Nor are there here Justices of the Peace able to do what is fitting in this matter for one cause or other.

7. The Irish of this country are all branches of a few families, and chiefly of the Sullivans and Carthys—but most of the Sullivans—they having been late Proprietors of most of the Lands here, as may appear by the surveys upon record. And 't is certain that the Three Chief of the Sullivans themselves, namely, O'Sullivan Meore, O'Sullivan Beare, and MacGillicuddie, although neither of them were adjudged Innocent, nor have any benefit under the late Act of Settlement, do nevertheless *variis modis* enjoy considerable parts of their Estates, and that without paying Quit Rent unto His Majestie for the same as even Innocents are obliged to do, whereby they are enabled to engage great numbers of their names and families to assist them in such their trespasses and intrusions. Besides, the last of these three had lately acted as Justice of the Peace himself, whilst the English, to whom these lands are passed

in Certificate, cannot legally come by them, Patents having been stopped from passing upon such Certificates.

8. The greatest part of these lands are, by a mere misunderstanding of the survey, contrary to the intention of the Explanatory Act, severall of his Majestie's decrees in the Exchequer, and against common sense itself, chardged with tenn times more Quit Rent than the lands were worth at the time of the first chardging of Quit Rents, which had occasioned many Pursuivant seizures and Liverys to issue against this countrey. All of which have taken little effect, by reason it was impossible to pay what was required: But have occasioned many violences and illegal actions by severall persons (and) was the reason of the first generall evill aforementioned, that is to say, of the countrey's being infested with enemy's shipping and their being tempted to favour Pickaroons in the remoteness and fastness of the countrey. It's situation upon the ocean and the multitude of its creeks and harbours: The poverty, thinness, and insolvency of the people, as also their confederates' ill will towards those who have gotten their lands, together with the plenty of cattle which are a refreshment to such shipping: And lastly, the fair excuses they can make for their so doing, as that they were surprised at their fishing and forced to ransom themselves with a little refreshment, etc.

And the reason of other generall evils, vitz., the baffling and eluding of the laws and Magistracy, are the aforementioned irresponsibleness of the people both in their bodyes and goods to answer Lawes—The multitude and confederacy of the Transgressors too many to be punished—The stopping of Patents upon Certificates, whereof the old proprietors doe and their adherents doe take advantage; And lastly, the exacting of more Quit Rents than can be paid or than the intention of the same requires, and the not settling of the same for all in generall, as hath been done in many particular cases an those not the hardest, which hath necessitated and provoked persons concerned to use extraordinary shifts for their natural preservation:

For Remedy of all which is humbly offered as followeth:—

1. That the ways of the countrey be mended which (although it seems a vast and monstrous undertaking) yet it hath appeared feasible by an effectual experiance of this present yeare.

2. That the owners of the lands in these baronies might be called upon to erect manors for the use of the people in their small suits.

3. That there be above one hundred English Protestants in these three Baronies able to bear arms, and above thirty of them able and experienced souldiers.

4. That the said Englishmen, with as many more of the best affected Irish, may be formed into a Troupe of Dragoones and a Company of Foote to defend the country from foreigners, and that the several fisheries being restored and encouraged, the fishermen now belonging to them, which be about two hundred, and their boates, which may be thirty, may be able to deale with the enemy's long boats before they can land, as the Militia above-mentioned may do afterwards.

5. It is humbly offered for the strengthening of the said militia and containing the most suspected parts of them in their due obedience, that some central place of great naturall strength, not above thirty miles distant from the remotest part of the countrey, nor from the River Shannon on the one side and Timoleague Bay on the other side, be thought upon to be manued with a competent garrison for that purpose, which may by the equal distance be equally distant from the whole West of Ireland, there being such places.

6. That the Ministers, Churches, and Churchwardens, with their necessary appurtenances, may be had and maintained, to prevent the contempt of the Protestant party and their Religion, and also their degenerating into Irish and Papist.

7. That all possible endeavours be used to encourage the English and Protestant party to live in the parts especially about the Sea Coasts, upon account of the fishing; As also in some one central inland part of the whole, upon some proper manufacture, so as instead of 150 Irish families for one of English now in the Eleven Parishes aforementioned, there may not be above six for one as in the two other parishes already planted by Sir William Petty.

8. That by this encouragement of the English, at least two or three Englishmen of good estate and reputation may be enabled to reside in this countrey, who, by acting as Justices of the Peace, may break the practice of Idlers and Cosherers: And dividing the whole people into tithings of families as heretofore, may Cause the Chief of each titheing to be bound for the good behaviour of each person in it and each for the other, and for their forthcoming on occasion, and that Constables of Hundreds and Sheriffs' Bailiffs may, if possible, all be English.

9. That the stop upon passing Letters Patents upon Certificates be removed, and consequently that the old Proprietors may be dispossessed in form of law, and their numerous Kindred and followers not engaged to assist their usurpation any longer.

10. That the Quit Rents of this countrey may be settled according to the intention of the Law, the express words whereof are that it ought to be so moderate as to consist with the encouragement of Plantation; Moreover, besides the ordinary meanes above mentioned, It is humbly intimated the difficulty of regulating, civilizing, and securing this countrey may neede and desire some extraordinary helpe and consideration.

Lastly, We conceive that the rest of the County of Kerry and parte of the County of Cork are more or less in the same condition with the place above said, and require the same remedy: All which is humbly submitted by

Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Servants,
HERBERT,
JOHN BUTLER,
CADOGAN BARNES,

LITURGICAL QUESTION.

On Masses de Vigilia or de feria at an altar where the B. Sacrament is exposed.

DUB. Aliquando contingere solet infra Octavam Corporis Christi vel aliis diebus, quod, exposito Sanctissimo Sacramento in altari maiori ecclesiae Cathedralis, occurrat praeter primam Missam de festo altera conventionalis de Vigilia sive de Feria decantanda in eodem altari, quae quidem iuxta praescriptum rubricarum celebrari debet in paramentis violaceis, cantuque feriali et sine musica, cuius moestitia obsistere videtur pretioso festivoque decoramini in Coeremoniali Episcoporum pro altari expositionis praescripto: proindeque dubitatur utrum servandus sit usus canendi predictam Missam feriale in altari maiori, ubi expositum patet Sanctissimum Sacramentum. Et quatenus negative, utrum eadem de causa prohiberi debeat ut Sanctissimum Sacramentum patenter exponatur in Quadragesima et Adventu, quando Missa de tempore celebratur?

R. *Ad primam partem: Affirmative. Ad secundam: Provisum in prima.*

(Dr NICARAGUA, num. 5336, ad IV, die 27 Sept., 1864).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.

De Regno Hiberniae, Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius.
Authore Ill. ac Revmo. Dno. D. Petro Lombardo, Hiberno, etc. Edited, with a prefatory Memoir of Most Rev. Dr. Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, etc., by Rev. P. F. Moran, D. D. Dublin: James Duffy, 1868.

We welcome the publication of this important work of Dr. Lombard. Its merit and value are well known to all students of Irish history; for, it presents in detail the many resources of our island; it commemorates the virtues and the labours of our apostle, and of those holy men who made Ireland an *insula sanctorum*; it dwells upon the chief features of the English invasion, and describes in a most vivid and thrilling narrative the great achievements of Hugh O'Neill, which marked the closing decade of the sixteenth century. The printed text of the former edition of this work was remarkable for its inaccuracy

and errors; nevertheless, it is priced in Thorpe's catalogue at seven guineas.

The present edition is copied from the original MS. preserved in the Barbarini Archives, Rome; the text is most accurately printed, and an invaluable prefatory Memoir of the illustrious author registers every fact of interest connected with his eventful career, and with the see of Armagh during the twenty-three years of his episcopate.

II.

Irish Grievances shortly stated, by James Cotton Morrison, M.A. Oxon. London: Longmans, 1868.

Mr. Morrison is an English Protestant gentleman, and one of the most brilliant contributors to the *Fortnightly Review*. He had many prejudices against Ireland, and as late as January, 1867, wrote a bitter article replete with the usual misstatements of the writers of the sister isle, regarding this country. In the introduction to the present work he tells us, "that article was the too hasty expression of a set of opinions that sprang, in great measure, from national prejudice, from an inadequate knowledge—which he may perhaps also qualify as national—of the actual grievances of Ireland, and from insufficient meditation on their causes past and present. A visit to Ireland extending over several weeks, and devoted to the exclusive study of Ireland and her history, has wrought in the writer's mind a grave change of convictions. He deems it at least fairly presumable, that opinions which are the result of conscientious and painstaking inquiry are more likely to be correct than those which he formerly held (and which he observes many of his countrymen still hold) with little inquiry or none".

He divides his work into three parts, which are headed, *the Church, the Land, and the Nation*; and in them he deals fully with the main grievances which weigh down the energies of this kingdom, and are derived from the three sources of "the Church Establishment", "the Land Tenure", and "the wounded Nationality" of our people. As a specimen of the manner in which he treats his subject we here insert the opening paragraph of his first chapter:

"The long indictment of the Irish Church need not happily be repeated here. Reason, argument, statistics, ridicule, have long ago done their best and their worst upon that marvellous institution. Its continuance unto these days is a very pregnant and sobering

fact, warning us how little power justice and truth have among men if unassisted by the stronger allies of interest and passion. On looking at it one thinks of the cynical saying that the very theorems of Euclid would be disputed if it were worth anybody's while to dispute them. It is so unjust, and at the same time so futile, that it is not easy to rid the mind of the conviction that it could never have been intended for anything but an elaborate and cruel practical joke. One, however, which has cost us dear. As the Dean of Cork says, the world is weary of the subject, but not, perhaps, exactly for the reason which he supposes. We are weary of seeing the slain killed; we are weary of the lists and tabular statements of parishes containing "no Anglicans"; of others containing "under twenty Anglicans", of others under fifty, and so forth. It is our good fortune at this moment to be saved from the degradation of demonstrating over and over again the iniquity of injustice. A rapid and spontaneous ripening of public opinion has taken place on this topic, and declared with unmistakeable emphasis that the injustice shall no longer exist. It must be admitted that English opinion shirked the subject as long as it could. Everybody felt that the reopening of it would be nearly certain to plunge the world into a cauldron of heated controversy, to expose every one to a devastating invasion of fanatics opposed to Romish error, of fanatics of the loaves and fishes side of the question, as represented in comfortable bishoprics and rich sinecures. Sober and thoughtful men shuddered and winced at the prospect. After all, who could hope that reason and justice would meet with a success in the future which they had ludicrously failed to attain in the past? Nothing could be added to the unanswerable arguments of Sydney Smith, Hallam, Macaulay, or, for the matter of that, of Lord Lytton and of Mr. Disraeli. What is the good of proving that black is black if people cannot see it for themselves? "The eye sees only what the eye brings means of seeing". It is well perhaps that the public eye was trained to discriminate blackness from other shades in other directions than that of the Irish Church—to practise itself in tracing the lines of elementary justice in admiring foreign rebels against ecclesiastical oppression. However, no one could tell how far this training, or any other, had gone to enable the popular mind to take a fresh unbiased view of the subject again. Above all, no one could tell how far the manifest spread among the cultivated classes of a secular tone of thought had imperceptibly honey-combed the old ramparts and bastions of Protestant orthodoxy. And now we see that it had gone further than could have been expected, that for the first time in our modern history the old No Popery appeal has been made in vain. It must be admitted that under the smooth surface of the last thirty years reflection has not been idle—an encouraging fact amid much which is discouraging".

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1868.

SUBTERRANEAN ROME.

NO. II.

6. *List of the Christian Cemeteries of Rome, and their distribution.*—Before we enter upon our description of the peculiarities common to the early Christian cemeteries as such, it will be well to furnish a list of all those that are known to exist. No little confusion is caused in the mind of a reader by the varieties of nomenclature which occur in connection with the several catacombs. Thus, a monument may be referred to a cemetery known by various names at different periods of its history, and whoever is not familiar with the change of name may be thereby led into serious errors. We have mentioned above that the principal cemeteries are twenty-six in number, and the less important groups, sixteen, in all amounting to forty-two. The following table includes them all:—

THE PRINCIPAL CEMETERIES.*

EARLY NAMES.		NAMES IN PERIOD OF PEACE.
<i>On the Appian Way</i> —		
1. Of Callistus	{ of Lucina, of Zephyrinus, of Callistus, of Hippolytus,	of { S. Xystus. S. Cecilia. SS. Xystus and Cornelius.
2. Of Pretextatus	.	of { S. Januarius. SS. Urbanus, Felicissimus, Agapita, Januarius, and Quirinus.
3. The Catacombe (<i>ad Catacombas</i>),	.	SS. Tiburtinus, Valerianus, and Maximus. S. Sebastians.

On the Ardeatine Way—

4. Of Domitilla,	.	. of { S. Petronilla. SS. Petronilla, Nereus, and Achilleus.
5. Of Basileus,	.	. of Marcus and Marcellianus.

* De Rossi, vol. i. pag. 207.

<i>On the Ostian Way—</i>		
Of Commodilla . . . . .	.	of SS. Felix and Adauctus.
<i>On the Via Portuensis—</i>		
7. Of Portianus . . . . .	.	of SS. Abdon and Sennen.
Ad Ursum Pileatum . . . . .	.	of { S. Anastasius, Pope. S. Innocent, Pope.
<i>On the Aurelian Way—</i>		
8. . . . .	.	of S. Pancratius.
9. Of Lucina, . . . . .	.	of { S. Processus and Martinianus. S. Agatha ad Girulum.
10. Of Calepodius, . . . . .	.	of { S. Callistus viâ Aurelia. Julius "
<i>On the Flaminian Way—</i>		
11. . . . .	.	of S. Valentine.
<i>On the Clivus Cucumeris—</i>		
12. Ad Septem Columbas . . . . .	.	Ad Caput S. Joannis.
<i>On the Old Salarian Way—</i>		
13. Of Basilla, . . . . .	.	of { S. Hermes. SS. Hermes, Basilla, Protus and Hyacinth.
14. . . . .	.	of S. Pamphilus.
<i>On the New Salarian—</i>		
15. Of S. Maximus, . . . . .	.	of S. Felicitas.
16. Of Thraso, . . . . .	.	of S. Saturninus.
17. Jordanorum, . . . . .	.	of { S. Alexander. SS. Alexander, Vitalis, and Marti- alis, and Seven Virgins.
18. Of Priscilla, . . . . .	.	of { S. Sylvester. S. Marcellus.
<i>On the Nomentan Way—</i>		
19. Of Ostrianus, . . . . .	.	{ Cemeterium Majus. Ad Nymphas S. Petri. S. Peter's Font.
<i>On the Tiburtine Way—</i>		
20. . . . .	.	of S. Hippolytus.
21. Of Cyriaca, . . . . .	.	of S. Laurence.
<i>On the Labican Way—</i>		
22. Ad Duas Lauros. . . . .	.	of { S. Gorgonius. SS. Peter and Marcellinus. S. Tiburtinus.
23. . . . .	.	of Castulus.
<i>On the Latin Way—</i>		
24. . . . .	.	of { S. Gordianus. SS. Gordianus and Epimachus. SS. Simplicius and Servilianus. Quartus, Quintus, and Sophia.
25. . . . .	.	of S. Tertullianus.
26. Of Apronianus, . . . . .	.	of St. Eugenia.

The eleven minor cemeteries are: on the Appian that of Soter; on the Ostian, St. Paul's sepulchre *in praedio Lucinae*, St. Timothy's, St. Thecla's, St. Zeno's; on the Cornelian, St. Peter's in the Vatican; on the New Salarian, St. Hilaria's, the crypt of SS. Grysanthus and Daria, and the cemetery of Novella; on the Nomentan, St. Agnes' and St. Nicomedes'. To these we have to add five other cemeteries established in the period of peace, namely, of St. Balbina on the Ardeatine; of Damasus on the same; of Julius, or St. Felix, on the Portuennian; of St. Felix on the Aurelian, and of the SS. Quatuor Coronati on the Labican. These forty-two cemeteries make up the entire necropolis known as Subterranean Rome. The variety of nomenclature which is so remarkable in the list we have given owes its origin to several circumstances. Some of the cemeteries were called after one or two illustrious saints who were buried there, and who, as frequently happened, had given during life the ground in which the cemetery was excavated. Of these we have examples in the cemeteries of St. Agnes and St. Priscilla. Others took their names from some remarkable local peculiarity, as those *ad ursum pileatum*, *ad duas lauros*, etc. Others, and this is the largest class, took the name of the owner of the fields beneath which the excavations were made; or of those who had founded or enlarged the cemetery, as, for example, the cemetery of Doinitilla, of Balbina, of Callistus, of whom not one is buried in the cemetery that bears their respective names. To this class belong the cemeteries called after persons who are completely unknown, as the Jordani, Apronianus, and others. After the peace given to the Church by Constantine, it became customary to style the cemeteries after the sanctuaries of famous saints which they contained. Thus the cemetery of Callistus became that of St. Xystus, or of St. Cecilia.

De Rossi establishes with great solidity of argument the intimate connection that existed between the twenty-five *tituli*, or parish churches of Rome, and the same number of cemeteries during the period of the persecutions. Each *titulus*, or parish church, had its own cemetery for the burial of its own faithful, and the priest who governed the parish governed likewise the cemetery. Thus the *Liber Pontificalis*, in the life of Pope Marcellus, speaking of the works of reconstruction undertaken by the Pontiff after the ruins caused by the persecution of Diocletian, says: *XXV titulos in urbe Romana constituit quasi dicceses, propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum.* This connection supplies us with the principles that regulated the distribution of the cemeteries themselves. The times were

too full of peril to allow the Christians to convey the bodies of their brethren who were carried off by disease or by the sword, to a grave far removed from the place of their death. The body of a Christian who had died on the Quirinal or Esquiline, could not with prudence be conveyed beyond the Tiber for interment; nor could a funeral be brought from the Janiculum or the Aventine to the cemetery of Priscilla or St. Agnes. The inscriptions collected by Father Marchi, and which make mention of the places inhabited by the deceased when in life, go to prove that the interment took place in the cemetery which was most contiguous to their habitation. We give two inscriptions by way of specimen. In the cemetery of Callistus we have the graves of a lector of the Basilica of the Velabrum, and of a woman named Pollecta, who lived and sold barley in the Via Nova close to the same. Now from the Velabrum to the Appian Way, on which, as we have seen, the cemetery of Callistus was situated, the distance was very short.

LOCUS AVGVSTI
LECTORIS DEBELA
BRV.....

DE BIANOBA
POLLECTA QVE ORDEV BENDET DE BIANOBA.

7. The architecture of the Catacombs: the passages or galleries.
—Having treated of the origin of the early Christian cemeteries of Rome, of their history, and of their names and site, we now proceed to describe their formation and to give some account of the monuments they contain. This may be done in one or other of two ways. According to the first, we should follow the topographical order, and give the history of each of the subterranean cemeteries apart, and of the remarkable monuments connected with it, making each the object of a special monograph. The second method would lead us to dwell upon the features common to all the cemeteries alike, and to reduce to classes the various objects of interest scattered here and there throughout the entire system, so as to take in at a glance the testimony they give on the doctrine and practices of the early Christian Church. It would require the labour of a life to pursue the first of these methods, which may be called the analytical; and the two immense volumes already published by De Rossi, show at once the magnitude of the task and its sovereign importance. The second, or synthetical method, is better suited to our pages, and is, at the same time, singularly attractive and profitable, in as much as it collects the results

gathered with painful toil from the patient analysis of the monuments themselves. We intend to follow this second method.

The subterranean passages of the catacombs are excavated at a certain depth in the earth. Entrance to them is obtained by steep stairs, which from the surface traverse the upper soil and the strata of loose clay and sand which are superimposed upon the tufo in which the passages are hollowed out. The first net-work of galleries, or the first story, so to speak, of the cemetery, begins with the volcanic tufo; but several of the cemeteries have as many as five stories of passages, one placed over the other to the depth of not more than about twenty-five yards (at which depth the tufo generally ceases), and connected by flights of steps. Of the stairs that lead from the surface to the cemeterial passages, some were opened before the epoch of peace, and others at a later date. The height of these passages, or corridors, or galleries, as they are called, varies indefinitely according to the firmness of the tufo through which they run; their average width is about two feet seven inches and a-half, so that two persons could hardly walk abreast. Some of these passages run in a straight line for very considerable distances, but they are intersected at irregular intervals by others, which in their turn are met and traversed by new corridors, until the entire forms a labyrinth of the most intricate pattern, into which it would be rash to venture without a guide.

8. *The loculi or graves.*—These passages do not merely furnish means of access from one point of the cemetery to another; they constitute the cemetery itself. In these walls are hollowed out the graves, ranged one over the other horizontally, like the shelves of a book-case, the rows varying in number from three to twelve, according to the height of the passage and the nature of the rock. These sepulchral niches are called *loculi* or *loci*, and correspond in length to the body. Their interior is generally deeper and higher at the head and shoulders than towards the feet. For economy of space, care was frequently taken to bury near each other those of the same age, in order that the loculi being of equal length, no room should be wasted. Thus, in the cemetery of Cyriaca, we find within a narrow compass three parallel orders of graves; one for the full-grown, another for those of middling size, and a third for those of small stature. If the loculus was intended for two bodies, it was made much deeper, if for three or more, deeper still. A loculus intended for two bodies was called *bisomus*, for three bodies *trisomus*, for four or more *quadrismus*. In some, as many as eight and up to fifteen bodies have been found together. The graves of children were generally cut in the angles of the walls near the doors

and the openings of the galleries. By this precaution the walls were maintained sufficiently solid, and advantage was taken of every inch of available space. It is plain from inspection that in the beginning this parsimony of space was not practised. But when, in course of time, the excavations became more extensive, we find that the fossores came back upon their work and excavated a fresh grave wherever they found an unoccupied spot among the graves of an earlier date. Thus a grave of the fourth century is sometimes to be found among graves of the first or second century.

When the body was laid in the loculus the opening was closed by means of slabs of marble, or tiles, ordinarily three in number, hermetically sealed with mortar, so that no inconvenience should be felt from the decaying remains within. Upon these slabs or tiles the inscription was placed; the symbols and letters being sometimes chiselled out, and sometimes painted in red or dark colour. Sometimes, too, the letters were marked on the cement while it was yet soft; and gems, coins, small lamps, glass vases, or other objects were fastened into it.

It has been frequently asked, what became of the earth which was removed in excavating the immense galleries of the catacombs? The examination of the galleries themselves has supplied information of at least one means of disposing of this material. When the graves of a given corridor were all occupied, the *fossores* were careful to close up the corridor itself with the material extracted from some freshly extracted neighbouring passage. This they did, not indeed in the main passages or roads, but in lateral or remote ones which might be closed without much inconvenience. Passages closed up in this way are still to be found with all the graves intact, and all the paintings and inscriptions as perfect as when they were last visited by the excavators.

9. *The cubicula*.—Besides the corridors with their almost countless loculi, we find in the catacombs a great number of sepulchral chambers called *cubicula*. These chambers vary in form and construction. Some are circular, others semicircular, square, triangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, or octagonal. Some were lighted from above through an opening that reached the fresh air, others by means of lamps suspended from the ceiling or arranged round the walls. The *cubicula* were very numerous. F. Marchi counted more than sixty of them in the eighth part of the cemetery of St. Agnes. In the wall facing the door is to be found a tomb more striking in its appearance than the others, and more elaborately adorned. Its form is that of an oblong box, like a sarcophagus, hollowed out in the top, or built in masonry; or even a marble sarcophagus. It is covered with

a horizontal slab, surmounted by a semicircular niche, which has obtained for it the name *arco-solum*.

The *cubiculum* was undoubtedly a family sepulchre made to supply burial places to the different members of a household. This is certain from the inscriptions that have been discovered. Some of them would give space for about one hundred sepulchres. But it appears almost equally certain that the cubicula were something more. They were chapels in which the faithful used to assemble to celebrate the holy mysteries. The rite of burial was a religious rite, and the anniversaries were carefully celebrated with prayer and sacrifice. The tombs of the martyrs were favourite places of devotion, and the Holy Sacrifice was offered up on the tombs of those who had shed their blood for the faith of Christ.

Such tombs could not be private property: they were the common treasure of the faithful; and the *cubicula* in which they were placed, became to all intents a chapel where their devout clients met to celebrate their festivals on the anniversary of the day on which they had given their lives for Christ. The pontifical chair, cut out of the living rock, has been found in some instances by the side of the *arcosolia*. Besides, historical testimonies of every kind establish beyond a doubt that the *cubicula*, in several cases, contained altars, and served as places wherein to celebrate the holy mysteries.

De Rossi notices some difficulties which would seem to overthrow the opinion which holds that the cemeterial *cubicula* were used for religious meetings. Hardly any one of the *cubicula* could contain more than ten or fifteen persons at a time. On the other hand, the multitude of Christians, as is shown by the numberless graves, must have been very great. How then could so many persons assemble in a site so restricted? In reply, he observes, first of all, that the ordinary assemblies of the faithful during the intervals that occurred between one persecution and another, were held not in the catacombs, but in the twenty-five *tituli* of the city. These *tituli* corresponded, as we have seen, to our parish churches, and each *titular* priest had at least one colleague (*socius*) who assisted him in the administration of the church and of the cemetery. Whilst one celebrated the holy mysteries in the titular church, the other officiated in the cemeterial crypt, where those who belonged to the family of the deceased met to celebrate the funerals and anniversaries. This would explain how even the small *cubicula* could be used for religious assemblies. But besides the small ones there are large chambers grouped together beneath an opening which let in light and air from above, and these chambers are made of dimensions as large as the safety of the excavation would allow. In the vicinity of

these larger chambers there is to be found a series of smaller *cubicula*. Thus while a hundred persons could meet in the larger apartment, a still greater number of the faithful could be accommodated in the adjoining chapels, to whom the deacons and acolytes could distribute the Holy Eucharist. The monuments that remain fully bear out this view of the use of the *cubicula*.

10. *The Lucernaria*.—We have just mentioned that the larger *cubicula* were lighted from above by means of openings which reached the surface of the earth, and served as channels for the air and light. These openings are known by the name of *lucernaria* or *luminaria cryptae*. Many of these were excavated contemporaneously with the cemeteries themselves, others were opened in crypts and passages already in existence. The latter class is especially valuable as proving that from the beginning the *cubicula* were intended as places of religious assembly. Massive benches in *tufo* or in masonry running round the walls, episcopal chairs, recipients of water for baptismal purposes, in fine, the entire furniture of the *cubicula*, confirms this testimony. The *lucernaria* of later date were constructed during the period of the peace of the Church. They are most frequent in the places to which the crowd of pilgrims was most attracted. Wherever the stratum of *puzzolana*, sand, or soil, was not sufficiently strong, the *lucernaria* were protected by a wall of masonry. These walls were raised to some height over the earth around the opening, in order to guard against floods or landslips. In times nearer to us, the peasants, to prevent accidents from happening to their cattle, filled up these openings with stones and earth. De Rossi found in the cemetery on the Labican Way *ad duas lauros* one of these *lucernaria* still open, through which an ox had fallen a short time before the enterprising scholar had penetrated into the place.

We conclude this general description by transcribing the passages in which St. Jerome and Prudentius relate their personal impression of the cemeteries as they existed in their own day. In St. Jerome's *Commentary on Ezechiel*, lib. xii. cap. xl. v. 468, we read:

"At Rome when I was young and occupied in liberal studies, I was accustomed with others of the same age and pursuits to go round on Sundays to the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs, and to make frequent visits to the crypts, which are excavated in the depths of the earth, having as walls on either side, as you enter, the bodies of the buried, and where everything is so dark, that the saying of the prophet is almost fulfilled: *Let them go down alive into hell* (*Ps. liv. 16*), and the light sparingly admitted from above, through what is rather a rude opening than a window, just breaks the dreadful

darkness. And as you advance step by step in the darkness drear, the verse of Virgil recurs to the mind : ‘Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent’ (*Aeneid*, ii. 755).¹

And Prudentius, *Peristeph*, xi. 153, thus describes the cemetery where the relics of St. Hippolytus were laid :

“Haud procul extremo culta ad poemaria vallo
Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis.
Hujus in occultum gracibus via prona reflexis
Ire per anfractus luce latente docet,
Primas namque fores summo tenus intrat hiatu,
Illustratque dies limina vestibuli,
Inde ubi progressu facilis nigrescere visa est
Nox obscura, loci per specus ambiguum,
Occurrunt caesis immissa foramina tectis,
Quae jacunt claros antra super radios.
Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus
Arcta sub umbrosis atria porticibus :
Attamen excisi subter cava viscera montis
Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat,
Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
Cernere fulgore luminibusque frui”.

The Historic Crypts.—By this name De Rossi designates those *cubicula*, which, containing the tombs of famous martyrs or of popes, became, in the period of peace, the principal sanctuaries of each catacomb, and were frequently visited by the faithful. It was chiefly upon these crypts that Pope St. Damasus expended his care. The compilers of the ancient calendars were careful to record the names of the martyrs whose relics rested there, and to indicate at the same time the name by which the cemetery was then known. The pilgrims of the seventh and eighth centuries copied the inscriptions composed by St. Damasus, and inserted them in the *itineraria* which were drawn up to guide the pilgrims in their subterranean journeys. Thus, such crypts became a compendium of the history of each cemetery, and to discover one of them was really to bring to light the history of the cemetery, and to give to it its true name and place. Such discoveries were very rare. During three hundred years of researches, not more than

¹ “Dum essem Romae puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum caeteris ejusdem aetatis et propositi, diebus Dominiuia sepulcrorum et martyrum circuire; crebroque cryptas ingredi, quae in terrarum profunda defossae, ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora sepulctorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia, ut propemodum illud propheticum compleatur: *Descendant ad infernum viventes* (*Ps.* liv. 16): et raro desuper lumen admissum, horrorem temperet tenebrarum, ut non tam fenestram, quam foramen demissi luminis putet; rursumque pedestentim acceditur, et caeca nocte circumdat illud Virgilianum proponitur: (*Aeneid*, lib. 2.) ‘Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent’”

three historic crypts were brought to light, and, in every instance, the discovery was fortuitous.

De Rossi, keenly alive to the importance of this class of monuments, made it his study to discover some certain method which might guide him to the historic crypts lying hid in the immense labyrinth of the catacombs.

His first step was to collect all the information which could be gathered concerning the history and topography of these crypts, from the various kinds of ancient documents, and especially from the *itineraria*. These furnished him with materials wherewith to construct a map of the approximate position of the historic crypts, and of their bearing with respect to the consular ways, and of their distribution among the various cemeteries.

This first step having been made, the next point was, how to fix, more precisely still, the exact position of the long lost crypts. The judicious scholar reflected that, owing to the vast crowds who used to visit them, their approaches must have been wide and easy of access; that solid stairs must have been constructed, the porches enlarged, the *lucernaria* multiplied, and that to supply a solid foundation for the small basilicas which, at a later period, were erected over them, walls of masonry must have been constructed. Prudentius, describing the crowd of visitors at the shrine of St. Hippolytus, speaks of staircases inlaid with marbles, richly ornamented, and of the frequent *lucernaria*, through which light and air were admitted to the crypts below. When the catacombs ceased to be frequented, all these stairs and *lucernaria*, with the walls of solid masonry which had been constructed above, within, and around the crypts, must have fallen out of repair, or perhaps were wantonly ruined by the barbarian violence of the spoilers. This led him to the conclusion, that, therefore, the historic crypts must be literally buried beneath immense masses of rubbish, which rubbish is quite different from that piled up by the excavators or carried down by water. He had met with many such piles of rubbish in the course of his explorations, and had remarked, in the plans left by Bosio, indications of large apartments, and obstructed by rubbish, and supported by mason work, which appeared connected with stairs. These observations appeared to supply him with what he calls an Ariadne's clue to conduct him through the mazes of the cemeterial labyrinth.

The result fully realised those brilliant expectations. Our readers will peruse with delight, in his own words, the history of some of De Rossi's discoveries obtained through the application of this principle. "In the plan of the cemetery *ad duas lauros*, near St. Helen's, on the Labican Way, I observed many

places of this kind; but I judged especially remarkable the group of cubicula, 23, 24, 25, lighted by several *lucernaria*, and adorned with a painting that represented the historic martyrs of that cemetery. Father Marchi gave me permission to clear out the passages that seemed to lead towards that point. But the work proceeded slowly; and placing myself on my hands and feet, I worked my way just under the roof of the passage, on the top of the deposit of earth, and, after a considerable journey, I reached the desired spot. There, to my great surprise, I found one of the *lucernaria* still open; and through the opening, all kinds of filth and the dead bodies of animals had been thrown from above: among the rest there was the carcass of an ox, not long dead. But since the place was clearly one of the sanctuaries which were the objects of my anxious search, and since I could see even the traces left by numerous lamps, which, in former times, gave light to that sacred spot, I overcame my disgust, and closing fast my mouth and nostrils, I advanced and entered the *cubicula*. In one of these I saw painted on the roof the figures of the famous martyrs of that cemetery, marked with their respective names, Peter, Marcellinus, Tiburtius, Gorgonius.

Encouraged and instructed by this experiment, I determined to conduct on the same principles the excavations of the cemetery of Pretextatus, where the fossores of Mgr. the Pope's Sacristan were engaged as usual in searching for the relics of the martyrs. They were occupied at that time in the first level of that cemetery. I observed that, on the lower level among the ruins, there were traces of an arch constructed to support the passage, and towards that point I directed the excavations. Behind the first arch others soon made their appearance; then came heaps of ruins, which had fallen through several *lucernaria*, which were placed along the length of a passage, which had stairs at either end. In face of this passage was the entrance to a noble *cubiculum*, adorned with very rare paintings, belonging to the second century of Christ. Unfortunately, the *cubiculum* had been plundered of all its ornaments, so that we could not make out to what martyr belonged the tomb that had made it so remarkable. However, in the wall at the other end of the apartment I observed a wall, badly constructed, seemingly intended to conceal some precious deposit. The wall was demolished, and lo! behind it appeared an *arcosolium*, entirely lined in the interior with marble slabs. The table (of the *arcosolium*) was likewise of marble, furnished with two large bronze rings, by which it could be easily lifted up. It was lifted up in the presence of F. Marchi, and of Professor Tessier, director of the Vatican Numismatic Cabinet; and

within the coffin we beheld two bodies, one arrayed in cloth of gold, and the other in purple; and near the head of the second was a vessel of *terra cotta*, the contents of which were not identified. Every corner was searched, the arcosolium itself taken to pieces, every fragment of marble was examined once and again, but not a single letter was found to indicate the names of the illustrious deceased. We came to the conclusion that they were famous martyrs whose shrines had been designedly hidden from sight, when apprehensions were entertained of the profanations of the barbarians, and it was not thought proper to remove the bodies from the cemeteries, and who had afterwards remained forgotten and lost".¹

A second confirmation of his opinion was supplied to De Rossi, in the same cemetery of Pretextatus, in the year 1857. In that year, the masons who were employed in making repairs in the cemetery of St. Callistus, finding themselves short of materials, went in search of them in the underground passages of the neighbouring cemetery. In the course of their labours they effected an opening through the mass of rubbish that had fallen from the roof, and, on passing through this opening, they found themselves beneath an expansive vault, all painted with foliage, birds, and human figures, in various positions. "As soon",² writes our author, "as I received notice of this discovery, my thoughts and hopes went back to the historic crypts of the cemetery of Pretextatus; and everything seemed to promise that the new discovery would gratify my desire; for I had observed that, in the Roman catacombs, the heaps of stones and bricks were indications of the places in which the most noble and illustrious sepulchres were placed, and which, especially in the period of peace, had stairs of their own, *lucernaria*, wide approaches, with supports of solid masonwork; and above ground, sepulchres, porches, oratories, marble sarcophagi in great numbers, whence come the fragments, broken pieces of sculpture, marble, and bricks, which, precipitated by the stairs and the *lucernaria*, bury under enormous piles of rubbish the most remarkable monuments of subterranean Rome. In this hope, I climbed up the mound of stones, and with great avidity proceeded to examine the painted roof. I found the paintings most beautiful, both in point of art and of style, so as to recall to the mind of the beholder, not so much the age of Alexander Severus, in which St. Urban died, as that of the first Antonines, which is the epoch of the famous martyrdom of St. Januarius and his brethren. The precise year of that martyrdom, hitherto uncertain, has lately

¹ De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, tom. i, pag. 168-169.

² *Bulletino d'Archeologia Cristiana*, page 8, 1863.

been fixed by Borghesi in the year A.D. 162. With growing hope and expectation, I turned to look at the two or three sepulchres, which were the only ones not blocked by the rubbish, and I found them not to have been regularly excavated in the walls by the first excavators of the crypt, but to have been added at a later period, the workmen thereby mutilating the paintings under the arches that support the roof. This practice of hollowing out new sepulchres to the injury of the symmetry and of the ornaments of the apartments, arose perhaps from want of space. This want was felt, for example, whenever, in a cubiculum belonging to a Christian family, there was no more space, and yet other members of the family were to be interred in that room. But there was another motive which not unfrequently moved the faithful to have recourse to this plan of adding sepulchre to sepulchre. It is well known that the religious devotion of the Christians towards the martyrs, and the confidence they had in their prayers and patronage, excited in many an irrepressible desire to have their burial place as close as possible to that of the saints. It seemed to me that it was this latter cause that had led to the injuries done to the ornaments of the room in which I was. But there is no need of conjecture, since we have the rare advantage of the testimony of the very person who had caused one of the sepulchres to be opened. On the margin of a loculus which cuts in two a picture of the Good Shepherd, the mortar which fastened the tiles that had closed the sepulchre still bore a great part of the inscription which had been marked upon it while it was yet soft and at the very moment when the grave was being closed. The first two letters I read were what was half perhaps of M, and an I, which were the concluding letters of a word or proper name which it would be rash to attempt to restore. Next came REFERIGERI, a word which awoke in me great expectation of the words that were to follow. The word *refrigerare* was employed in the acclamations and prayers for the souls of the departed; and it is well known that in the ancient inscriptions we have *Spiritum tuum Deus refrigeret, tibi Deus refrigeret*; and in this very cemetery of Pretextatus I witnessed in 1851 the excavation of a sepulchre which, like the one under consideration, bore impressed in the mortar, which was still wet, in Greek letters the Latin inscription, *Deus Christus omnipotens refrigeret spiritum tuum*. On a slab in the cemetery of St. Hippolytus Bosio read *refrigeri tibi dominus Ipolitus*, which shows that the prayer for the refreshment of the soul was addressed and directed to the martyr near to whom the deceased were interred. This made me hope that in this case after the word *refrigeri* (that is, *refrigeret*), I should

perhaps find not *Deus* or *Christus*, but *Januarius*, or the name of some other illustrious martyr of the cemetery of Pretextatus. Continuing, therefore, to read the inscription slowly (for the loculus was high up, and I could not readily reach to it on account of the ruins), I hardly believed my senses when I saw, clear and well defined, the name *IANVARIVS*; and then, as if to show that this Januarius was in reality the martyr, and to increase the inestimable value of the inscription, I read two other names—*AGATOPVS*, *FELICISSIMVS*, and the title *MARTYRES* applied to all three. The entire description is to be deciphered and supplied thus: “*Spiritum . . . MI* (for example, *Maximi*, or any other proper name in the genitive case), *refrigeri* (vulgarily for *refrigereret*), *Januarius*, *Agatopus*, *Felicissimus*, *Martyres*: *May the martyrs Januarius, Agathopus, and Felicissimus refresh the soul of (Maxim)us*”. The vulgar expression *refrigeri*, which is quite Italian, is not without parallel in similar uses of other verbs, in inscriptions even more ancient than Christian ones: as *valia*, *perea*, for *valeat*, *pereat* on a wall in Pompeii; nor do the letters *AI* which go before permit us to read here *dent locum refrigerii Januarius*, etc. That *Agatopus* is clearly an error for *Agapitus* no one will doubt who has sought in ancient documents the true names of the illustrious martyrs deacons of St. Sixtus.

“Therefore the son of St. Felicitas, who was first among the most famous martyrs of the cemetery of Pretextatus, and the deacons of St. Sixtus the Second, who with him were arrested and butchered in the act of celebrating the sacred mysteries, were invoked on behalf of the deceased, to whom a grave was thus accorded to the injury of the ornaments of this noble apartment, and these martyrs certainly reposed either in this very *cubiculum* or in the neighbouring ones”.

But among the historic crypts thus discovered the one that most deserves our attention is the burial place of the popes of the third century in the cemetery of Callistus.

EDUCATIONAL DANGERS.

We hasten to redeem the promise made in our last number by endeavouring to explain the important bearing of the question of University Education on the future of this country.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, in his recent lecture to the Historical Society of the Catholic University, says:

"You are all aware that books destined for public instruction are oftentimes replete with dangerous errors; that modern history is a vast conspiracy against Catholic truth; and that works on metaphysics, political economy, and morals oftentimes inculcate the most dangerous principles of positivism or socialism, which shake the foundations of all rights, divine and human, and tend to exclude the operation of Providence from all human affairs. You are also aware that, in these times of free-thinking and indifferentism, those pernicious maxims are not unfrequently proclaimed from the professor's chair; and every one must admit that in this way, by the press and by public lectures, a great deal is done to corrupt the minds of unsuspecting youth. . . . A work published some weeks ago, by the illustrious Bishop of Orleans, gives most alarming accounts of the ravages occasioned in France by the causes referred to. Indeed, it appears that within the last month several hundred medical students, placed under the care of learned physicians, were so poisoned by their professors with bad maxims, that they frequently in their lecture halls cried out, 'Long live Materialism, long live Atheism!'"

The pamphlet of the great Bishop of Orleans, to which his Eminence alludes, is in the form of a letter addressed to one of the French cardinals, and is entitled, *Les Alarmes de l'Episcopat, justifiées par les faits*. Pastoral letters and private letters addressed by the other prelates of France to the illustrious author, over eighty in number, are appended. That small volume seems to us of the gravest importance at this moment, because, although the facts which it reveals as happening in France have not occurred in our country, still they ought to be a warning to us, and the lessons contained in those pages ought to be taken to heart by this country, and especially by the clergy of Ireland.

Our people has, through God's mercy, passed without loss of faith through a trial of suffering and persecution such as never before, perhaps, came upon a nation. The enemies of the truth have been taught by the experience of 300 years that such is the power of Catholic truth over the Irish mind that "tribulation, or suffering, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword cannot separate it from the charity of

Christ" nor from communion with the Chair of Peter. But there are two kinds of persecutors; one class is composed of those who seek to drag the truth from us by force: the other would fain rob us of that priceless treasure by chicanery and fraud. "*Duo sunt persecutorum genera; aliud palam scierientium, aliud ficte fraudulenterque blandientium*". The latter is, without doubt, the more dangerous of the two. This danger may also be called the trial of worldly prosperity, as contrasted with the trial of poverty and adversity. Now, it seems to us that this is precisely the danger which is reserved in these latter times for Ireland. She is happily emerging from the sea of sorrow; she has passed unscathed through the fiery ordeal; if brighter days are, as we hope, in store for her, if after the sufferings of ages, the great Giver of every good gift is about to bestow some earthly blessings upon her, the wily enemies of the truth will, we may be assured, seek to bring evil out of good, and to press upon our Catholic country with a (for her) new and more dangerous kind of persecution.

And towards what form of religious error will they and the enemy of all good endeavour to urge our people? The experience of the past proves to them that any attempt to spread in Ireland heresy, and especially the Anglican heresy, will be vain. But alas! another great Catholic and Celtic nation was once precipitated into the abyss of infidelity, and it is only after years of wanderings that France is returning to the paths of truth. France never became Protestant. She is called by excellence Catholic France, as Ireland is called Catholic Ireland; but great masses of her people became unbelievers. Have we no reason to fear a like catastrophe? Is there no danger that Ireland, like France and other countries, while retaining the name of Catholic, should one day find multitudes of her sons, aye and of her daughters too, arrayed against the Church and its sacred ministers, denying the fundamental truths of Catholicity, and sunk in the abyss of religious doubt or indifferentism? This, at least, is the fruit which the *Daily News* expects from the spread in Ireland of mixed education, of which it is one of the chief advocates in the English press.

"The priests", it says, "desire an exclusive system of education, because they know from experience that (under the mixed system), though the young men may continue good Catholics, they will not become Ultramontanes. As Mr. Fawcett said, 'It is a mistake to suppose the Roman Catholic hierarchy represent the laity'. He quoted, aptly enough, an article in the *Westminster Gazette*, which, speaking of the increasing number of Catholics who were going to Oxford and Cambridge, remarks, 'This liberalism is as contagious as scarlet fever. If the Catholic laity continue to send their sons to

these places, where they receive a mixed education, in fifty years' time where will be the friends of an exclusive system of Catholic education?' This is a candid confession. The *Daily News* then goes on to explain, with commendable candour, what it means by 'good Catholics who are not Ultramontanes, and what it hopes to obtain from a system of education which the priests do not desire. It grants that now, in consequence of the present system of education, 'Roman Catholic members, on ecclesiastical and educational matters, often represent rather the priests than the people', but that 'a few years of equality will probably create a liberal Catholic party in Ireland, such as that which in Belgium and Italy opposes the aggressions of the priests'.—*Westminster Gazette*, 18th July, ult.

To separate the laity from the clergy, to estrange the former from the Church and its sacred ministers, and to undermine their religious principles and diminish their attachment to Catholicity and its hold on their convictions, this is the work which it is calculated mixed education will accomplish. And who does not see how the broad road to infidelity would thus be opened to the youth of Ireland?

Let us now consider the engines which the enemies of all religion use in order to maintain and to spread more and more the principles of infidelity in France: let us see what those principles are with which they seek to impregnate the minds of youth: let us see the source from which this torrent of iniquity proceeds: and in fine, let us see how far all this is applicable to our own case in Ireland. We shall follow the Bishop of Orleans, and draw from the facts he states lessons for our own guidance.

"I see", says the illustrious prelate (page 7), "that for some time past the most extraordinary efforts are made in France to spread impiety, immorality, the most anti-social theories, under the pretext of spreading education. No longer, as formerly, is it in newspapers and books that religion, morality, and the eternal principles of good order are attacked; they are attacked with the most deceitful and formidable weapon of corrupt systems of education. Under cover of an excellent object—and here is the great danger, for we are deluded by this pretext—under the pretext of spreading education and waging war against ignorance, infidelity is spread, war is waged against religion; and thus, whether we will or no, we rush on to the ruin of all order, moral and social. And we, the bishops, who are as desirous as others, and perhaps more desirous than others, to see spread far and wide the blessings of education, the education of children, female education, the education of our whole people, for this is by excellence a Christian work, we are accused of being enemies of education, because we oppose anti-Christian and anti-social education".

The first fact mentioned by the Bishop is the existence of schools, which are called "*professional schools for females*", into which young girls are received at twelve years of age and upwards, for the purpose of continuing their education and learning a profession. These schools have been founded by women, who are free-thinkers, and who formally and expressly declare it to be their object to train the youth of their own sex in rationalism and infidelity. Mgr. Dupanloup tells us that the following incident first revealed to him the impious end for which these schools have been founded:—One of the principal teachers died, and over her grave her husband pronounced a discourse, in which we find these sentiments: "I will tell you, for it is my duty to tell you, that if this funeral is that of a free-thinker" (unaccompanied by any religious ceremony), "it is so, not only by my wish, but also and chiefly because such was the desire of my dear wife". He adds that she had devoted herself to "the great work of spreading education and *morality without religion*, because she had no faith, except *in learning and in justice*: she was of the number of those who, having once seen and comprehended these truths, can have no other beacon to guide her *in life or at the hour of death*". Round that grave, whose occupant had rejected religion and its ministrations in life and in death, stood 300 girls, pupils of these "*professional schools*", holding bouquets in their hands and throwing flowers on the coffin of their mistress. The schools are of a piece with the teachers. Ten hours a day are spent in them, but all religious instruction is strictly forbidden, under the pretext that they are free schools, "*open to children of all persuasions, without religious distinction*". The founders of these schools propose to give to the girls entrusted to them *a moral education, without ever speaking to them of religion! Morality without religion!!!* The French Minister of Public Instruction is aware of these schools (p. 15), has visited them, and has even been their eulogist in the Legislative Assembly! And this is the system of education which its administrative council is anxious to spread throughout France and even in foreign countries!! Let us hope they will not succeed in propagating it in ours. But can we feel confident that our people will escape the contagion when we remember that this system is no other than "*the mixed system*", and when we bear in mind the untiring efforts which are made to develope and consolidate that system in Ireland in every branch of education, from the university, through the model-school, down to the humblest village-school? Read the description of these schools, as given by the Bishop of Orleans, and say does it not apply to every school where the mixed principle is thoroughly carried out (p. 17):

"The printed prospectus of these schools cleverly explains the advantages of professional education, while it hides the religious danger under vague expressions of an apparent liberality, such as the following: '*The school is open to children of all persuasions, without religious distinction*'. The meaning of which words is no other than that in these schools, where children are kept from the twelfth to the eighteenth year of their age, and for ten hours every day (from eight a.m. to six p.m.), God and the Gospel shall be treated as if they never existed; not only religion shall never be mentioned, but these girls shall be taught morality independent of any dogmatical faith, of any religion. . . .

"And when the prospectus says '*that religious teaching is scrupulously left to each family*', we must surely look upon these words as merely derisive, and indeed the derision is beyond endurance, when we remember the declarations alluded to above. I assert then', concludes the Bishop, "without fear of contradiction, that 'the teaching of these schools, as far as the schools themselves are concerned, is nothing else but the practical abandonment of all religion'".

(*To be continued.*)

THE CONDEMNATION OF POPE HONORIUS.

THE history of the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the Sixth General Council (third of Constantinople) is briefly as follows. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, in the year 673, wrote to Pope Donus in these terms: . . . : "We exhort your paternal blessedness to send hither useful and moderate men, well-learned in all God-inspired doctrine, and skilled beyond gainsay in dogma, representing the Apostolic See, and furnished with all authority", to the end that, conferring with the Oriental bishops, they might take into consideration the controversies that were then disturbing the peace of the Church throughout the East. The successor of Pope Donus, St. Agatho, condescended to the emperor's wishes. He held a Council at Rome, and despatched to Constantinople, in the name of the Council, the three bishops, Abundantius, John, and a second John; and as his own representatives the priests, Theodore and George; the deacon, John; and the sub-deacon, Constantine. The pontiff takes care to add that it was not their extraordinary learning that led him to choose these ecclesiastics "non pro confidentia eorum scientiae quos dirigimus"; and, again, "non enim nobis eorum scientia confidentiam dedit". The question of the day was the Monothelite heresy, which commenced about A.D. 630, and was an offshoot of Eutychianism. As the Eutychians denied the existence of two natures in Christ, so

the Monothelites denied the existence in Him of two wills and operations. In the twelfth session the letters written by Sergius of Constantinople to Pope Honorius, to Cyrus, to Sophronius, were read, together with the reply of Honorius to the letter which had been addressed to himself. At the next sitting the assembled bishops pronounced judgment as follows:

Sanctum Concilium dixit : " retractantes dogmaticas epistolas, quae tanquam a Sergio quondam patriarcha hujus a Deo conservanda regiae urbis scriptae sunt, tam ad Cyrum, qui tunc fuerat Episcopus Phasidis, quam ad Honorium quondam Papam antiquae Romae : similiter antem, et epistolam at illo, id est, Honorio rescriptam ad eundem Sergium : hasque invenientes omnino alienas existere ab apostolicis dogmatibus, et a definitionibus sanctorum conciliorum, et cunctorum probabilium patrum, sequi vero falsas doctrinas hereticorum ; eas omnimodo abjicimus, et tanquam animae noxias execravimus. Quorum antem, id est, eorumdem, impia exsecramur dogmata, horum et nomina a Sancta Dei Ecclesia projici judicamus ; id est Sergii, quondam praesulis hujus a Deo conservanda regiae urbis, qui aggressus est de hujusmodi impio dogmate conscribere, Cyri Alexandriae, Pyrrhi, Petri et Pauli, qui et ipsi praesulatu functi sunt in sede hujus a Deo conservanda civitatis, et similia eis senserunt ; ad haec et Theodori quondam episcopi Pharan, quarum omnium suprascriptarum personarum mentionem fecit Agatho sanctissimus ac ter beatissimus Papa antiquae Romae in suggestione, quam fecit ad ... Imperatorem ; eosque abjicit, utpote contraria rectae fidei nostrae sentientes, quos anathemati submitti definitimus. Cum his vero projici a sancta Dei Catholica ecclesia, simulque anathematizari praevidimus (*οὐνείδους*) et Honorium ; qui fuerat Papa antiquae Romae, eo quod invenimus per scripta, quae ab eo facta sunt ad Sergium, quia in omnibus ejus mentem secutus est, et impia dogmata confirmavit".

In the acts of the Council, in the sixteenth sitting, we find the phrase, " Honorio heretico anathema". Honorius is condemned again in the definition of faith, in the acclamations, in the letter to the emperor, in the letter to Pope Agatho. The acts of the Council were received and confirmed by St. Leo the Second, who succeeded Agatho, and who anathematised Honorius, " who, instead of labouring to keep the Apostolic Church pure by the teaching of apostolic tradition, suffered it, the immaculate, to be polluted through his profane betrayal". The same sentiments are repeated in this Pontiff's letter to the Spanish bishops, and to Erwig, the Spanish king. The *Liber Diurnus* of the Roman Pontiffs contains several formularies unreservedly accepting what the Sixth Council accepted, and anathematising what it anathematised. The profession of faith made by each newly-elected Roman Pontiff condemns Hono-

rius by name. The Seventh and Eighth Ecumenical Councils anathematised Sergius, Honorius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, and their followers.

The condemnation of a Pope for heresy, of which these documents are the proof, is adduced by Mr. P. Le Page Renouf as utterly subversive of the theory of Papal infallibility now so generally held throughout the Church.¹ The pamphlet in which he urges his views has been very justly pronounced by a writer in the *Dublin Review*² to be passionate, shallow, and pretentious. Every reader, says the reviewer, will have been struck with its passionateness. Mr. Renouf says at p. 7 that the first apologists of Pope Honorius "cannot have sincerely believed" in their own arguments. "It is a simple untruth". "It is sheer dishonesty"; "nothing can be more grossly untrue"; "a lying account"; interested and mendacious; "stupid bigotry"; contemptible quibbling". These are some of the flowers of rhetoric which adorn Mr. Renouf's pages. But, omitting what may justly be alleged against Mr. Renouf's manner and method, we wish to call attention to the able refutation of his pamphlet which has appeared in the last number of the *Dublin Review*.

Before submitting to our readers the substance of that refutation, we wish to make a remark, which will not be without some interest. We have heard many persons express their painful surprise at finding on the title page of a work, written in language that must be called intemperate, against the doctrine of the infallibility of Papal definitions *ex cathedrâ*, the name of a man who, in the current Calendar of the Catholic University of Ireland, is described as Honorary Professor of Ancient History in that university. We have reasons for believing that Mr. Renouf's name was withdrawn from the list of professors shortly after the publication of his pamphlet, which, he must have felt, most assuredly did not harmonise with the teaching of the university.

The question of the condemnation of Pope Honorius as urged by Mr. Renouf, does not require a full statement of the many and convincing arguments by which Catholic theologians prove the infallibility of the Pope when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*. Indeed, Mr. Renouf's line of reasoning ignores the existence of such arguments altogether. He simply challenges us to show how thefeat of the condemnation of Honorius can be reconciled with what he calls the Ultramontane allegation of Papal infallibility.

To establish a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of Mr.

¹ *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, by P. Le Page Renouf. Longman. London, 1868. Pp. 46.

² "Mr. Renouf on Pope Honorius". *Dublin Review*, July, 1868, p. 200.

Renouf's facts, the reviewer maintains these three propositions.

I. It is certain that Honorius was never condemned for teaching heresy *ex cathedrâ*.

II. It is certain his letters to Sergius were not written *ex cathedrâ*.

III. It is certain that Honorius has never infallibly been condemned for heresy, nor has any infallible voice ever said, directly or indirectly, "Honorio heretico anathema".

The third of these propositions does not affect the question of pontifical infallibility. For even if it were true that Honorius had fallen into heresy without teaching it to the entire Church, it would prove nothing in favour of the Gallican theory. Again, even if it were true that the Eastern bishops really intended to decide synodically that Honorius had taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*, it would prove nothing unless it were also shown that some pontiff confirmed the decree in this sense. And even if Honorius had fallen into heresy without teaching it *ex cathedrâ*, and if some pontiff declared this *ex cathedrâ*, it would only prove that a pope may fall into heresy, but it would not show that a pope may teach heresy *ex cathedrâ*. The third assertion, therefore, though of great importance, does not involve the question of the infallibility of Papal utterances issued *ex cathedrâ*, since this will subsist even if the assertion be untrue.

The proofs adduced in support of the first assertion are these: The bishops did not intend to condemn Honorius for teaching heresy *ex cathedrâ*. There is no allusion in the acts of the Council to the idea that Honorius's error had been taught by him *ex cathedrâ*. Mr. Renouf's argument drawn from the word κυρώσαντα is of no weight, as we shall see in the sequel. The Council declared Honorius a heretic in the same sense in which it so declared Sergius, Cyrus, and the rest. Now, it assuredly did not intend to pronounce these men heretics in the sense that they had enforced heresy in the capacity of Universal Teachers. Therefore the council did not pronounce that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*.

There is in the acts one particular which favourably distinguishes the case of Honorius from the rest. In the thirteenth session the bishops say: "Having read the *dogmatic* letters written by Sergius. . . . likewise the *letter* written by Honorius", etc., etc.

Why this pointed distinction between the *dogmatic letters* of Sergius and the *letters* of Honorius? The obvious interpretation is, that these bishops, who understood the real facts of the case, regarded Honorius's letters as disciplinary or hortatory, and not *dogmatic*.

But even if the bishops had intended to condemn Honorius for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*, their condemnation would be of no weight unless it were confirmed by the popes precisely in that sense. Let us therefore consult St. Agatho. Mr. Renouf (p. 17) holds that St. Agatho's legates had been instructed by the pontiff, before they left Rome, to sanction Honorius' condemnation for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. Now, what are the words of St. Agatho in his letter to the Council? "The Lord and Saviour of all, whose gift is faith, who promised that the faith of Peter should not fail, admonished him to confirm his brethren in the faith, and *it is known to all*, that the apostolic pontiffs, my predecessors, *have always done this energetically*". How could these words be written by a pope on the occasion of sending his legates to declare that one of his predecessors had taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*, or in other words had commanded all Catholics to contradict the faith? Those who believe this will believe anything.

Now for St. Leo the Second. In what terms did he confirm the acts of the Council, so far as regards his predecessor's condemnation? "We anathematise also Honorius, who did not labour to preserve in its purity (*ἀγνοστή*) this Catholic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but permitted the immaculate to be polluted through his profane betrayal". Now these words are directly inconsistent with the supposition that St. Leo condemned Honorius for having taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. Had Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*, it would have been simply monstrous to say that he permitted the Church to be polluted by his *betrayal*, or (as St. Leo said to the Spanish bishops) *fostered* the heresy by his *neglect*. In that case he would have directly and by his *agency*, not by his *neglect*, have led the faithful into heresy.

The decrees of the Seventh and Eighth Councils have not the most superficial appearance of declaring that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. The fathers of the Eighth Council subscribed a profession of faith sent them by Pope Adrian the Second, which contained these: "In the Apostolic See the Catholic religion *has ever been immaculate*, and holy doctrine preached".

We now pass on to the second assertion, namely, that Honorius's letters to Sergius were not *ex cathedrâ*. Mr. Renouf holds that they were. But he shows in this part of his argument that he is ignorant of what is meant by teaching *ex cathedrâ*. A pontiff teaches *ex cathedrâ* always and only when he exhibits his intention of imposing on all Catholics an obligation of absolute assent. If, then, Honorius intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of believing that in Christ there is but one opera-

tion and one will, then he taught heresy *ex cathedrâ*. If he intended to impose on all Catholics an obligation of holding that the formula "two operations" is unsuitable for the expansion of Catholic dogma, then he taught *error ex cathedrâ*. But Mr. Renouf admits that he did neither of these things. He agrees with Luzerne's opinion, that the decree was purely "permissive", and commanded nothing at all. Therefore it could not have been *ex cathedrâ*.

But, argues Mr. Renouf, his letter was "an official document of the highest importance". Honorius's "private opinion was not asked for". "How could he have imposed silence on the contending patriarchs otherwise than in the full exercise of his pontifical authority?" We admit all this, but our admission does not prove that the letter was a definition *ex cathedrâ*. We grant it was an official document, but did it impose a doctrine on all Catholics? it imposed *silence*, but did it command *interior assent*? Before we proceed to examine the letter itself, there are some important remarks to be made. One of the signs of an *ex cathedrâ* definition is the fact of its *publication* to the Church. Now, it is certain that Honorius never thus circulated his letter to Sergius. In the West it was absolutely unknown for years. It was written in private by the secretary of Honorius, from whom alone Honorius's intention was afterwards gathered by his successor. And, as Cardinal Orsi remarks, it was never set forth for the signature of the bishops, as was then usual with all documents *ex cathedrâ*. It could not, therefore, be *ex cathedrâ*. Another argument is, that in these days it was the universal habit of the popes to consult some synod when they spoke as universal teachers; and that a pope omitted, in some given case, to do so, is a strong argument that in that case he did not intend to speak as universal teacher. Now it is certain from history that Honorius did *not* consult a synod before writing to Sergius; and therefore his letter was not *ex cathedrâ*.

But by far the most overwhelming evidence is derivable from Honorius's own language. Neither in his first letter, nor in those fragments of his second, which were synodically read at Constantinople, did Honorius state or imply either of the two following propositions: I. "All Catholics are under an obligation of believing that in Christ there is but one operation and one will". II. "All Catholics are under an obligation of believing that the phrase 'two operations' is an inappropriate expression of orthodox dogma". If his words imply either of these two propositions, then he taught heresy and error *ex cathedrâ*. If his words imply nothing of the kind, then he was not teaching *ex cathedrâ* at all.

Now, his words really imply nothing of the kind. Mr.

Renouf lays his greatest stress on the fragments of Honorius's second letter, which he quotes at some length, unaccountably, however, omitting the two concluding lines. The last sentence runs thus:—"As for those whom our aforesaid brother and fellow-bishop (Sophronius) sent, we instructed them that in future he should not continue to preach the formula of 'two operations'; and they entirely promised that they would so act, if only our brother and fellow-bishop Cyrus would abandon the formula of 'one operation'". Is it not plain from these words that the Pope did not require from Sophronius absolute interior assent to the proposition, that the phrase "two operations" was inappropriate? All which he desired to obtain was external conformity. He was quite satisfied with Sophronius' promise, that *he* would not talk about *two* operations if Cyrus would not talk about *one*. The pontifical instruction was exclusively disciplinary and statutory, not doctrinal in the slightest degree. He commanded the various patriarchs to abstain from a phrase, not to believe a doctrine.

The same may be said of the first letter, which remains entire. The last sentence sets forth the general drift of the document. Does it convey that all Catholics are obliged to embrace the *doctrine* that the phrase "two operations" is an inappropriate phrase? Most assuredly not. "We *exhort* you", says Honorius, "that you would avoid the newly-introduced expression of 'one or two operations', and preach in unison with us one Lord Jesus Christ, son of the Living God, true God, who worketh in two natures, the (respective) works of Divinity and Humanity". Here there is not a word implying an obligation to *believe* anything: he merely exhorts them to avoid the use of a phrase. Now, this can never be a definition *ex cathedrâ*. Even Mr. Renouf says that Honorius "imposed silence on contending patriarchs", p. 19; that "the decree was permissive", and "had no command to give". Now, to impose silence, to permit without commanding, cannot possibly be to teach *ex cathedrâ*.

The third assertion declares that Honorius was never condemned by an infallible authority for heresy. Even if we admit the fact that he was condemned by the bishops of the Sixth Council (Sessions 13th and 16th), we do not admit that this part of their acts has ever been confirmed by the popes. That there was no such confirmation we now proceed to show. But, before we consider what is the precise condemnation which Popes have passed on Honorius, it will be convenient to examine what kind of condemnation did the bishops of the Sixth Council intend to inflict on Honorius. Did they intend to condemn him in the same sense in which they condemned Sergius, Cyrus,

and the rest? Did they intend to condemn him as having expressed heretical tenets? Or, on the other hand, did they mean to decree no severer censure against him than that which (as we shall presently see) subsequent pontiffs have themselves sanctioned? There is something to be said on both sides of this question; to the reviewer it seems more probable that they did intend to condemn him precisely as a heretic. The reasons which influence him are these. First, the word "*κυρώσαντα*". According to Mr. Renouf's phrase, the Council condemned Honorius as having "officially confirmed, ratified, and stamped with authority" (*κυρώσαντα*) the impious dogmata of Sergius. This does not mean, of course, that he gave a definition *ex cathedrā*, as Mr. Renouf would wish, but that the bishops accounted Honorius as personally a Monothelite. Pope Adrian the Second confirms this: "Although," says Adrian, "anathemas were said to Honorius after his death by the Easterns, it should be understood, nevertheless, that he was accused on the ground of heresy (*super heresi*)". And here we may mention that Mr. Renouf, in quoting this passage, omitted the important words, "*by the Easterns*". Then, the language employed by the bishops is undoubtedly very severe. Honorius's letter is called "altogether alien from apostolic teaching", "following the false teachings of the heretics", "to be loathed as soul-destroying". Honorius, they say, "followed the mind of Sergius *in all things*, and stamped with authority his dogmata". "To Honorius, the *heretic* anathema". It is true, that the word *heretic* was often used vaguely to include the *promoters* of heresy. Perhaps the true account may be, that some bishops held one opinion and some the other, and that no attempt was made to pronounce accurately on the precise kind or degree of Honorius's complicity with the heresy.

But, whatever may have been the meaning of the bishops, the important points to be fixed are (1), what declarations of the bishops received pontifical sanction, and (2) in what sense they received it. There were but two pontiffs in relation with this council, namely, St. Agatho and St. Leo; we are, therefore, to consider the two questions in reference to these two pontiffs.

St. Agatho never sanctioned or approved any declaration whatever of the Sixth Council, for he did not live to receive his legates on their return. Mr. Renouf, indeed, alleges (p. 17) that they had received secret instructions from him to join in the condemnation of Honorius as a heretic; but he cannot adduce one particle of evidence for such an assertion. St. Agatho's letters are extant, both that to the Council and that to the emperor, and in neither is Honorius's name to be found. But there is more. Not only St. Agatho did *not* refer to Honorius as to a

heretic; he did expressly refer to that letter of his which the Council afterwards condemned, as the letter of a perfectly orthodox man. "My predecessors", says St. Agatho, "*thoroughly instructed* (*κατηρπισμένοι*) *as they were in the Lord's doctrine*, from the time when the Constantinopolitan patriarch endeavoured to introduce this heretical novelty into Christ's spotless Church, have never neglected to exhort and entreatingly press them, that they would desist from this heretical pravity, *were it only by keeping silence*". Now, no one has ever doubted that the concluding words here quoted refer to Honorius, who is therein declared to be "*thoroughly instructed in the Lord's doctrine*".

At the same time, however, it does appear that St. Agatho instructed his legates to permit the Council to examine for itself into the doctrine of Honorius's letter. But this was not inconsistent with his own belief in his predecessor's orthodoxy, nor with Catholic principle. There were, besides, various reasons of prudence which almost necessitated his doing so.

St. Agatho's confirmation, therefore, never was given to the 13th and 16th Sessions, or to the acclamations on which Mr. Renouf so greatly rests his case. We now proceed to show that neither were they included in St. Leo's confirmation of the Council.

That confirmation is entirely restricted to the Council's *definition*. In writing to the bishops of Spain, St. Leo tells them that he sends a Latin translation of the *definition*, of the *acclamations*, of the *emperor's edict*, and that he intends shortly to send the *acts*. Meanwhile he enjoins that each shall subscribe their names, not to the acclamations or the emperor's edict, but to the *definition*. "We exhort you . . . that by all the reverend bishops submission should be annexed to the *definition* of the venerable Council; and that each prelate of Christ's churches may hasten to enrol his name as in a book of life, and thus, through the confession of his subscription, unite, as though present in spirit, with ourselves and the whole Council in union of One Evangelical and Apostolic Faith".

The same declaration is to be found in his letter to the king of Spain, and again to Simplicius. It results from all this most clearly, that what received St. Leo's confirmation was precisely the *definition* of the Council, and that this definition is entirely exclusive of the *acts*, of the *acclamations*, and of the *emperor's edict*. Now, in the history of the eighteenth Session the definition is to be found. "Constantine, most pious emperor, said, 'Let the before-mentioned definition (*ὅπος definitio*) be read, and the reader . . . read the definition as follows'. It is subscribed by all the Eastern bishops, with the phrase, "*δρισας ὑπέγραψα*", "*definiens subscripsi*". This, and this

only, is that doctrinal declaration of the Sixth Council which received Pope Leo's confirmation, and if we would know the Council's infallible decree concerning Honorius, it is to this only that we must look. These are its words concerning him: "The devil, having found suitable organs for his design, Theodore, Sergius, etc., and Honorius, who was pope of the old Rome, and Cyrus, etc., etc., did not cease to raise up by their means, against the fulness of the Church, the scandals of error of one will and one operation in the two natures of One of the Holy Trinity, Christ our True God, disseminating among our orthodox people, by their novel language, a heresy harmonising with that of Apollinarius", etc.

This definition was thus solemnly confirmed by St. Leo the Second. "The holy, universal, and great Sixth Council, hath followed in all things apostolic doctrine; and because it hath perfectly declared that definition (*δόσης*) of the right faith, which the Apostolic Throne of Blessed Peter humbly received, therefore we—and through our ministry, this worshipful and Apostolic Throne—symbolise in heart and spirit with these things which *have been defined* (*διαθετοί*) thereby, and *confirm them* by the authority of Blessed Peter, as (fixed) on a firm Rock, which is Christ".

St. Leo, however, at once proceeds to remove all doubt as to the sense in which he confirms the anathema on Honorius. Having anathematised by name various ancient heretics, he passes on to those just condemned by the Council. "In like manner we anathematise the inventors of the new error, Theodore, Bishop of Pharan; Cyrus of Alexandria; Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, overthrowers rather than rulers of the Constantinopolitan Church; nay, and Honorius also, who did not labour to preserve in purity this Apostolic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but by profane betrayal, suffered the spotless to be polluted: and likewise all who have shared in this error".

Every one will here see that the holy pontiff draws an emphatic distinction between the other anathematised persons and Honorius. The others were active, Honorius was passive; they were inventors of the new error, while he *permitted* the spotless to be defiled. St. Leo did not condemn Honorius as a *heretic*; but he proclaimed the fact that Honorius had grievously injured the Church by his failure in that energetic resistance to heresy, which was the highest duty incumbent on a Roman pontiff.

He says the very same thing to the Spanish bishops and to the Spanish king. "Those who fought against the purity of apostolic doctrine, and have died, have been punished by an

eternal condemnation: that is, Theodore, Cyrus, etc.; together with Honorius, who did not extinguish at the outset the flame of heretical dogma, as became his apostolic authority, but by neglecting fostered it.

"All the *authors* of heretical assertion were cast out from the Church's unity; Theodore, Cyrus, etc.; and *with them* Honorius of Rome, who *consented* that the undefiled rule of apostolic tradition should be defiled, which he received from his predecessors".

Now, if Honorius had preached heresy by being himself a Monothelite, he would have promoted it in proportion to his activity, and his *neglect* would have retarded its growth.

There is another argument which tends principally to this conclusion. If St. Leo had intended to condemn Honorius as a heretic, it is most difficult to understand how he can have departed so widely from St. Agatho's judgment. But nothing can be more intelligible than his conduct on the other hypothesis. The legates would have given him a far stronger notion than any previous pontiff had entertained on the frightful evil which Honorius's letter had wrought in the East. Such a report could not affect the holy pontiff's opinion on his predecessor's *orthodoxy*, but it would profoundly affect his judgment as to the injury which that predecessor had inflicted on the Church's faith.

The received Roman doctrine of later ages was evidently that we have attributed to Leo the Second. Mr. Renouf quotes on his own behalf (p. 6), the "Liber Diurnus": but no words can be more expressly against him. Sergius, Pyrrhus, etc., are condemned as "authors of the new heresy"; but Honorius only as "having given an encouragement to their operations".

Mr. Renouf next cites (p. 6) the Seventh Council. But that Council speaks of the Sixth as having excommunicated Sergius, Honorius, etc., who did not will orthodoxy (*ἀθελήτους της ἐνσεβείας*).

By far his strongest quotation is taken from the Eighth Council (p. 7). There is not a word, indeed, in this sentence which implies that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedrā*. And although, of itself, the sentence may afford some ground for the opinion that Honorius was condemned for falling into heresy, still, all things considered, such meaning cannot be attached to it. For, it is quite incredible, that after an interval of two centuries, and with no practical bearing whatever, a Pope should (as it were) go out of his way to visit Honorius with a far severer censure than the earlier pontiffs had done. In fact, the Council only respects the words of St. Leo. Now, that pope speaks of "all these" who were condemned in the

Sixth Council as "*preaching one will and operation*"; and yet, in the very same sentence, he explains that Honorius had done this merely by means of his culpable neglect. When, therefore, the Eighth Council repeated St. Leo's very words, it is no unreasonable interpretation to understand them in St. Leo's very sense. Theodore, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and the rest combined in disseminating the Monothelite heresy: the others by actually teaching it, Honorius by not resisting, but rather forwarding their combined movement.

These remarks upon the condemnation of Pope Honorius fairly meet Mr. Renouf's challenge, and show how the acts of the Sixth Council, even if admitted to be genuine and unadulterated, are perfectly compatible with the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pontifical definition *ex cathedrā*. There is, however, much still to be said on the question of the integrity of the documents themselves. Nor have we touched upon the convincing argument to be drawn from an accurate examination of Honorius's letters themselves. Such examination plainly shows that Honorius did not write in an heretical sense, as if affirming only one natural will of Christ's Humanity and Divinity, but in an orthodox sense, namely, that there were not in Christ two opposite wills of the flesh and of the spirit, such as we all experience in our sinful nature. This is apparent not only from the context of the first letter itself, but also from the express testimony of St. Maximus (ep. ad Marinum Presbyt.), of the Secretary John, and of Pope John the Fourth.

We conclude by quoting as singularly appropriate in the case of Mr. Renouf's pamphlet some remarks made by F. Holtzglau, S.J.,¹ in reference to a similar work published against Honorius by a German writer of his day: "If I am to inquire what motive could have impelled the writer to attack Honorius and his defenders, I find it was because the vindication of Honorius would greatly disconcert the theory he had undertaken to defend concerning the Roman Pontiff. If I consider the tone in which he writes, every one remarks its lack of moderation; the author is unduly bitter, and has over-stepped the limits of literary politeness, showing no little contempt of others and conceit of his own powers. I envy not the victory that is won by these means. This is commonly the defect of men who are moved to write by a malicious purpose, or who undertake the defence of some doubtful cause. But it has ever been far from the habits of grave writers who, although they may differ in opinion from others, yet are careful to set forth their own views with dignity, and then abstaining from attacks upon their opponents, to leave it to others to pass judgment, without claiming for themselves the crown of victory".

¹ *Theol. Wirzburg.*, tome ii. p. 180.

CONVERSATIONS ON IRISH PRIESTS.¹

MR. SENIOR's essays, although they hold the last place in the title of his book, hold the first place in the book itself, and very probably in the author's mind. They are mainly reprints of papers written on Irish affairs, from a politico-economical view, during the period from 1835 to 1848. Had Mr. Senior left them in the dust-covered periodicals where so long they have slept a sleep undisturbed by men, he would not have inflicted any serious loss upon society. But, as he modestly expresses a hope that they will be found useful as historical documents, we have no great wish to quarrel with him on the score of their reappearance, and are content simply to pass them over in silence. Not so, however, with his journals, and the conversations therein recorded. Mr. Senior might have headed his journals with Montaigne's words: "All I have done is to bind together a bunch of strange flowers: only the string that ties them is mine". The flowers he has gathered together have come from all kinds of places, and from all kinds of persons. Wherever Mr. Senior went in Ireland during the several visits with which he honoured this country, he found much to say and much to hear, and in these volumes he has laid before us what he said and what he heard. He lost no opportunity of benefiting Ireland by his advice, which he gave with equal generosity whether in council with statesmen, or over the wine and walnuts, or as a squire of dames in riding parties, or in the village school addressing to the puzzled children observations of portentous depth on the subject of political economy. Not one of these precious oracles has been allowed to perish. And thus collected, they serve to string together the remarks which they elicited from others, or by which they themselves were occasioned.

For our parts, we are thankful for this unreserved generosity, and we desire to make his book better known to our readers. We cannot promise that they will find in it the charm that always attracts in the pages of French memoirs; we cannot say that the personage who is the hero of the book is either very important or very amusing; we cannot even hold out a hope that they may learn something about Ireland. It may be asked, if we find in the book neither ability, nor weight, nor information, why then do we recommend it to our readers' attention? We do so, we reply, because of its insolence, and because through its insolence there gleams one great and valuable truth, which in

¹ *Journals, Conversations, and Essays relating to Ireland.* By William Nassau Senior. In two Volumes. London: 1868.

justice to the author we must say he never intended to teach us. His book reveals all unconsciously the temper and the spirit of the class of *doctrinaires* to whom the management of public interests in Ireland has been confided, and the revelations it makes abundantly explain why Ireland is discontented. The conversations it chronicles, the principles it registers, the suggestions it contains show clearly that those who make our laws and put them into execution, those who constitute the ruling classes in Ireland, are too often thoroughly opposed in feeling to the feelings of the people. Their rule of action is simple enough. Their ideas are to be forced on us no matter how foreign to our habits they may be; their plans are to be carried out no matter with what suffering to us; before their will we are to bend in humble obedience, cheerfully sacrificing our interests, our convictions, our conscience itself, when they clash with the theories that have recommended themselves to their minds. They start from the principle that they are enlightened, and we in deepest night of error; that they are civilized, and we barbarians; that they are the salt, and we the dull brute earth to which they are to impart the savour. The Irish nation has a religion which it loves and whose ministers it reveres; they, the few, hate the one and dread while they despise the others. The Irish nation, standing far off from communism and socialism, and respecting the rights of property, asks support for the Irish people from the teeming Irish soil; they declare that the "*providential mission of the landlord is to keep down the population*". Millions of Irish children eagerly look for education; they will not grant it except in such form as may wean them from the errors of Popery. When the spirit of the dominant class is so diametrically opposed to the spirit of those whom they wish to govern; when the rulers are so cased in prejudice as to refuse to make account of the dearest convictions of the ruled, when on the side of those who have social weight there is hatred, contempt, and scorn for the masses who depend on them, can it be a matter of surprise that Ireland is discontented and distrustful?

These are hard words, and demand substantial proof for what they imply. It is the special value of Mr. Senior's book that it supplies proof which is overwhelming in its outspokenness. The interlocutors whose conversations it records are many and various, and represent every phase of the higher society of the country, bishops, peers, landlords, agents, and poor-law commissioners, and evangelical ladies. The reports of conversations have been in most cases revised by speakers, and are published with their knowledge. And here we wish to remark a curious discrepancy between the report of one conversation, as given in Mr. Senior's book, and as given in another work as

contained in Mr. Senior's notes. We allude to the now famous passage in which Dr. Whately, in defiance of his public declaration to the contrary, avowed that he secretly availed himself of the National System of Education as an engine of proselytism. In Miss Whately's life of her father it is given thus:

"Such I believe to be the process by which the minds of a large portion of Roman Catholics have been prepared, and are now being prepared, for the reception of Protestant doctrines. The education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church".

And again:

"I believe, as I said the other day, that mixed education is gradually enlightening the mass of the people, and that, if we give it up, we give up the only hope of weaning the Irish from the abuses of Popery. But I cannot venture openly to profess this opinion. I cannot openly support the Education Board as an instrument of coercion. I have to fight the battle with one hand, and that my best, tied behind me".

It will be observed that Miss Whately quotes these words as from Mr. Senior's notes. Now Mr. Senior omits every word of the above!

We ask what is the reason that the words have been omitted by Mr. Senior? Either they were uttered by Dr. Whately or they were not. If they were never uttered by him why did his daughter quote them as his? and why did she quote them on the authority of Mr. Senior's conversation book? If they were uttered by him, why did the editor of Mr. Senior's remains suppress them? why did he suppress them without a reason? We think we can assign the reason: namely the use that has been made, as against the National System, of Dr. Whately's admission, and the stain which the cynical confession of his own duplicity has fixed upon Dr. Whately's character. It is, however, now too late to hide the truth; the stain is for ever indelible; and the only result of the suppression in these pages of the ill-advised words will be, that the conversations herein recorded will be believed to have been, perhaps, in reality even harsher and more truculent than they are here set down.

Our readers will have noticed that we here propose to give only the conversations regarding the Irish priesthood, omitting all, or almost all, other topics. It is well to state the reasons that have led us to make this selection. First of all, our circle of readers is mainly composed of Irish priests. Some among

them are the very persons described and reviled in these pages, almost by name, by those high-bred gentlemen who have entertained them at their tables. Others are designated by letters and allusions which hardly conceal their names. Next, because, in reality, the conversations having priests for their subject constitute the great bulk of the book. And since it is true that *ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*, we must therefore believe that the deepest of Mr. Senior's anxieties came from the priestly enormities he saw and heard of in Ireland; and thus our choice could not be more happy, since he has set us the example. Finally, because it is the priest who always appears in these conversations as the great obstacle to all the beneficial plans of the *doctrinaires*. From their deep laid schemes for the preaching of the Gospel, to their politico-economical designs for keeping down the population, they are evermore perplexed and thwarted by a priestly monster whom Mr. Senior, and others since, is most anxious to "hire" because he cannot root him out. The priesthood of Ireland, in any case, would forgive the uncharitable insolence with which they are described; but we are convinced they will do more than forgive, they will feel grateful for the insult which seeks them out because they are the only obstacles that stand between the tyranny of a few and the lives and souls of millions of their poor Catholic countrymen.

The Priests' opposition to the Godless Colleges not sincere.

Thursday, September 30.—B. told us this morning, that he had been hailed a little while ago, when on one of the Shannon steamers, by an old acquaintance—Father L., a Roman Catholic priest. 'He asked me', said B., 'how we were going on in the Queen's College at—'.

"What is that to you?" I said. "You denounce us as a godless college, and threaten our pupils with purgatory, or worse".

'He looked round to see that we were not overheard, and then answered, "Of course we do; our lives would not be safe if we held any other language. But in our hearts we thoroughly wish well to you; and we rely on the good sense of the Catholic laity to protect you against the sincere bigotry of the lower orders, and against the assumed bigotry of the clergy".—Vol. ii. p. 21.

The Priests Corrupters of the Constabulary.

'I have been much struck', I said, 'by the appearance of the Constabulary'.

'They are fine young men', said Lord Rosse, 'but they are not to be depended on against the priests'.

'In Smith O'Brien's time', I said, 'they were staunch'.
'So they were', said Lord Rosse; 'but then the priests, except

the young ones, were with us. And the service is not one very much coveted, or very much valued. They are dismissed on very light grounds—for drunkenness, for instance; whereas a soldier may be drunk a hundred times with impunity, if he only keeps sober while on actual duty. I am inclined to think that the best plan would be to have a considerable interchange of Irish and English police, as you did with the Irish and English militias. Our people might be relied on in England, and *yours* in Ireland'.—Vol. ii. p. 24.

"They talked of the Constabulary.

'They are what they call themselves', said Francis Trench, 'a fine force. They are handsome, well-dressed, and well-behaved. They execute warrants, and serve notices; but they mix too little with the people, and therefore know too little about them to be either a detective or a preventive force. They are bad soldiers, because they have never been trained to act in bodies; they are bad constables, because they have never acted alone'.

'Are they to be depended upon', I asked, 'in case of insurrection?'

'Provided the priests do not join in it', he answered, 'I think that they are'.

The intellect of Irish Catholics injured by their Religion.

'Under any training', I said, 'Catholicism must be unfavourable to mental development. A man who has been accustomed to abstain from exercising his reason on the most important subjects to which it can be applied, can scarcely feel the earnest anxiety for truth, the determination to get to the bottom of every question that he considers, which is the principal stimulus to improvement in the higher branches of knowledge. This does not apply to higher laymen in France or Italy, for they do not believe in the peculiarities of Catholicism, but it must always injure the minds of the English and Irish Catholics, who do'.—Vol. ii. p. 68.

Dr. Whately on the Priests during the rebellion and the famine.

'Another explanation is, that it is owing to the conduct of the priests during the O'Brien rebellion. The priests, it is said, lost their popularity by exciting the people, and then deserting them. The fact is true, but it is not enough to account for conversions in many parts of Ireland which were not agitated by that movement. Another theory is, that it is mainly owing to the different conduct of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic clergy during the famine. The Protestant clergy literally shared their bread, or rather their meal, with their parishioners, without the least sectarian distinction. They devoted all their time, all their energy, all their health, and all that the Poor Law left them of their small revenues, to those who were starving round them. Their wives and daughters passed their days in soup-kitchens and meal-stations.

'The Roman Catholic clergy were not sparing of their persons: they lived, and a great many of them died, among the sick. But the

habit of that clergy is not to be charitable in money. There is a division of labour between them and the laity. They take faith, and the laity good works, at least as far as almsgiving is a good work. A great part of them, indeed, during the famine, had nothing to give. They starved with their flocks, when their flocks ceased to pay dues. But others had means of their own, and only a small part of their revenues is said to have found its way to the poor. Their incomes were spent during the famine, as they were spent before it and as they are now spent, on themselves, or hoarded till they could be employed in large subscriptions to chapels or convents. And this was not the worst. In some cases they refused to those who could not, or who would not pay for them, the sacraments of their Church. In ordinary times this may be excusable. A clergy unendowed and unsalaried must be supported by voluntary contributions, or by dues. In so poor a country as Ireland, voluntary contributions cannot be relied on. The priest might often starve if he did not exact his dues, and as he has no legal rights, his only mode of exacting them is to make their payment the condition on which his ministrations are performed. But during the famine, payment was often obviously impossible. When under such circumstances the sacraments, which the priest affirmed to be necessary passports to heaven, were refused, the people could not avoid inferring, either that the priest let men sink into eternal torment to avoid a little trouble to himself, or that absolution or extreme unction could not be essential to salvation.

'I believe that this explanation is not without its truth, and that the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy has been weakened by the contrast of their conduct to that of ours. But I am inclined to attach more importance to the acquisition by the Protestant clergy of the Irish language. Until within a very few years, Protestant doctrines had never been preached in Irish. The rude inhabitants of the remote districts in Munster and Connaught believed that English was the language of heretics, and Irish that of saints. "The devil", they said, "cannot speak Irish"—pp. 65-66.

Mrs. Whately and the Parish Priest.

Sunday, October 10.—Mrs. Whately is the patron of the Stillorgan National School. She told us to-day the story of her attempt to establish a class for hearing the Bible read. The regulations of the Education Board allow this, provided the parents do not object. She thought it advisable to have their express consent: as all the scholars are Roman Catholics, she took the Douai version. Most of the parents said that they had no objection—indeed, that they wished it to be done, but that they had rather not interfere. The parents of about twenty children, however, consented, and with them she began her readings. The priest soon took alarm. He told his congregation from the altar that he heard that the Bible and other dangerous books were used in the school, and warned them to prevent their children from attending such readings. His spiritual means produced little effect, and he took to carnal ones: incited the children

who did not attend to insult and illtreat those who did, and forbade his parishioners to have any dealings with the disobedient parents. Under this persecution the parents one by one withdrew their children. They said to Mrs. Whately that they did not know why the priest had become so much more wicked than he used to be, but that they must submit or be ruined. At last the Bible-class was reduced to one little girl. Her mother, a widow, who kept a small shop, came to Mrs. Whately, and said that she knew it to be her duty to allow her child to hear the Bible read; that she had stood out as long as she could, had endured insults and loss of custom, but that the priest had at last threatened to curse her from the altar. 'Now I know', said the woman, 'what that means. My husband was cursed from the altar twenty years ago, and was murdered a week after. I am so terrified that I cannot sleep. I must take away my little girl'—69–70.

The husband of this good woman was murdered twenty years before this conversation took place between herself and Mrs. Whately. And yet she speaks of "her little girl" who was in danger from the murderous priest, the late amiable Dr. Ennis! Do little girls of twenty years of age go to school at Stillorgan? Poor, simple Mrs. Whately.

An improving agent's view of the Priest.

'How did the priest act?' I asked.

'Opposed me', he answered, 'to the utmost, as they do every improver and every improvement. They have no sympathy for comfort, or for cleanliness, or for prudence. All that they desire is population, christenings, marriages, dues, and fees'—p. 82.

Catholics and Protestants contrasted; the priests reward agrarian conspirators by absolution.

'Of the two great hostile sects', said D. C. 'the Roman Catholics are perhaps the more active, the Protestants the more aggressive. Their abuse of the Roman Catholics is more insolent and more contemptuous. This may arise partly from their old habits of tyranny, or at least of domination, and partly from the different nature of the peculiarities which distinguish the two sects. Justification by faith, and the right to free inquiry, are almost the only Protestant tenets which the Roman Catholic disputes, and neither of them can well be made the subjects of popular invective; whereas the Protestant can accuse the Roman Catholic of polytheism, of idolatry, and of slavish submission to the priest, and can denounce the abominations of confession, and the mischief of trusting to absolution. The unhappy claim to infallibility by the Roman Catholic Church renders it impossible for all the errors and corruptions which fastened on it during a thousand years of ignorance and superstition. The Roman Catholics, therefore, try to prevent doctrinal discussion — indeed, all public discussion; they try to gain their converts one by one, and rather to calumniate the

characters of the leading Protestants than to oppose their arguments. As the landlord is generally a Protestant, the priest almost always sides with the tenant against him, especially if he be an improving landlord. He protects the agrarian conspirators, stifles the evidence against them, and palliates their crimes; and, I fear, often rewards them by absolution. He certainly is more successful than the Protestant in obtaining the co-operation of his flock for public purposes. While we, with all our wealth, can scarcely keep our religious fabrics in repair, the Roman Catholics are covering Ireland with new chateaux, and even cathedrals. The Catholics have much better schools than we have, their charitable institutions are more flourishing, and better managed than ours. I believe that they are advancing more than we are in wealth'.

Cardinal Cullen and religious animosity in Ireland; why the Protestants avoid the company of the Catholic gentry.

'Religious enmity rages more fiercely than ever. I do not think that the people like the priests more than they did, but they fear them more. Everybody seems to fear them more. Scarcely any Roman Catholic will come forward in support of my Registration Bill, because it is feared that the priests will oppose it. Formerly each Roman Catholic diocese was a world of its own, under the rule of its bishop, and the bishops were rather Roman Catholics than Papists. Now Archbishop Cullen, who is Ultramontane, is converting the Church into a monarchy, with the Pope for its king, and himself for its viceroy'.

'Are the Roman Catholic gentry', I continued, 'more under the fear of the priest than they were, or less so?'

'I see as much of them as I can', he answered, 'but still it is so little that I can scarcely answer you. The Roman Catholics do not appear to wish to mix much with the Protestants, and the Protestants rather avoid them. The presence of a Roman Catholic is felt by many as a *gêne*. Some topics must be avoided, some opinions suppressed. The host whispers to his Protestant friends that there is a Roman Catholic present'.

'Has this mutual dislike', I asked, 'increased or diminished during the sixteen years that you have inhabited Ireland?'

'I am inclined to think', he replied, 'that it has increased. Formerly the relation between the two sects was contempt on one side, and fear on the other. Now, it is hatred on each side'—p. 114.

Two pious ladies on proselytism.

Redesdale, Friday, November 12.—I took a long ride with two ladies, whom I call G. and Z.

We talk of the religious war now raging in Ireland.

'Many persons', I said, 'have described it to me as one of the greatest calamities of the country. They say that it poisons all the relations of social life'.

'It is probable', they answered, 'that if there were no world but this, the happiness of the Irish people would be promoted by leaving them in their errors'.

'But I am told', I said, 'that the zeal on our side provokes equal zeal on the other; that their success is equal to ours, and that the conversions on each side are about equal; so that the mutual efforts do not really affect the proportion which the number of the members of one sect bears to that of those of the other'.

'That', they answered, 'is not true. The number of the converts to Protestantism is far greater than that of the converts to Roman Catholicism. The priests seldom try to make converts except among the gentry, and still seldomer succeed. Almost all that they attempt is to keep their own people, and to get back—often, unhappily, by persecution—those who have listened to us. They so eagerly proclaim their successes, that if they ever made converts among the lower classes, we should hear of them. But we never do, except in the case of husbands converted by wives, or wives by husbands. The Protestant proselytism *does* every year rescue from fatal error hundreds, and sets thousands on inquiry'.

'No Protestant', I said, 'can deny that the errors of Romanism are great and dangerous; but they make a portion only, and that much the smaller portion, of the Roman Catholic faith. The Roman Catholics teach the morality of the Gospel'.

'That is not the part of their religion', answered G., 'on which the priests dwell. They teach their pupils to rely on penance, absolution, ascetic observances, the truth of their belief, and the intercession of the Virgin. I stood, a few weeks ago, by the bedside of a girl of eighteen, who was dying of consumption. She was a favourite penitent of the priest of —, who is one of the best of his class. She told me that she was going to heaven, and that she deserved to do so, for that she had lived and was dying in the true faith; that if she was born in sin, that was washed out by baptism; and that if she had committed any sins since her baptism, she had been absolved from them. I asked her if she would like me to talk to her about Jesus. "No", she said, rather sharply, "I don't want to hear about Him at all". It is seldom that reliance on merits other than those of Our Saviour is so nakedly and frankly expressed. The people are generally taught to say that their only hope of salvation rests on the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. But they are taught to *say* it, not to *feel* it. Their real reliance is on what they think that they do for themselves, and, above all, on belonging to the true Church'.

'I suspect', I said, 'that controversy is one of the causes which induce the priests to dwell on the errors of their religion. These are the portions of it which are attacked, and which, therefore, they endeavour to fortify'.

'The priests in Italy', she answered, 'are not exposed to controversy, yet they give quite as much prominence to Romanism—that is, to Roman Catholicism—as the Irish priests do. The God of Italy, the being most invoked, is the Madonna'.

'They are grossly ignorant', I replied, 'and the errors of Rome, as the Archbishop has well shown, are a crop always ready to spring up in ignorance. But the French parochial clergy appear to me to preach real morality. My opportunities for observation, however, have been few'.

'Perhaps', she said, 'what you attribute to opposition is the result of the dependance of the priest on his flock. The French priest is salaried by the state. He can afford to be honest. The Irish priest lives by magnifying the priestly office, by representing himself as holding the keys of salvation, and by making salvation depend on the works and observances which give him power and profit. Then you must recollect that, even if our opposition has in some respects deteriorated the priests, in others it has improved them. They have been shamed into allowing a freer use of the Bible, reserving, of course—as a nun once told me—to themselves the interpretation of it. They would hardly venture to burn Bibles openly *now*. The great object of our missionary exertions is to make it possible to every Irish man and woman to have access to the truth, leaving them to profit or not by it as they choose. This is done, and the teaching of the priests is in some respects modified by ours'—pp. 128–5.

Dr. Whately finds good even in the teachings of the priests.

Redesdale, 1858.—The Archbishop has been reading my Journal.

'The picture of the priests', he said, 'is melancholy, but, I fear, faithful. And we, the English people, are answerable for much of their perversions. When Lord Grenville was congratulated on the approach of Catholic Emancipation—a measure which he had always supported—he refused to join in it. "You are not going to pay the priests", he said, "and therefore you will do more harm than good by giving them mouthpieces in Parliament". A priest solely dependent on his flock is, in fact, retained by them to give the sanction of religion to the conduct, whatever it be, which the majority choose to adopt. The great merit of Mrs. Stowe's "*Dred*" is the clearness with which this is exemplified in the Slave States. What can be more unchristian than slavery? unless, indeed, it be assassination. And yet a whole clergy of different denominations, agreeing in nothing but that they are maintained on the voluntary system, combine to support slavery'.

'I am frequently', I said, 'especially in Ireland, led into an argument by hearing the Roman Catholic priests called the priests of a false religion. There is much in their religion that I think false, but much more that I believe to be true. There is much in their teaching that is mischievous, but much more that is useful. There is really not much crime in Ireland. A few crimes of a frightful nature are committed; they fill us with horror and terror, and their peculiarly mischievous tendency—directed as they are against the improvement of the country—forces them on our attention. But burglary seems to be almost unknown. Colonel Senior never bars his doors or his windows. There is little theft, there is no poisoning, little

unchastity. One of the evils most common in a disturbed country, is the insecurity of the roads. Though Ireland has been disturbed for centuries, the roads have always been safe. The domestic affections of the Irish are notoriously warm and constant. Directly an Irishman gets to America, he thinks of bringing over his family. Between one and two millions a year have been sent to Ireland for that purpose ever since the emigration began. All this shows that the teaching of the priests has been in the main good'—pp. 129–30.

A Catholic cobbler at a controversial meeting.

Redesdale, 1858.—After dinner, we went to the Irish Church Mission House, to attend a controversial meeting.

It was held in the school-room—a large and lofty room, capable of containing 1,000 persons. It was nearly full when we arrived.

A Mr. Z., a missionary clergyman, presided.

The proceedings began by an extemporary prayer, followed by singing, which, together, lasted nearly an hour.

Mr. Z. then opened the subject, which was the three hundredth anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession.

He read what seemed to be rather a dull account of the beginning of her reign, from Canon Townsend's work.

A rough-looking man (I was told a shoemaker, or rather a cobbler), with a strong voice, some humour, an intimate acquaintance with Cobbet's 'History of the Reformation', and unbounded impudence, interrupted him; and the conference degenerated into an altercation between the clergyman and the cobbler, which lasted an hour and a half, until, to my very great relief, we separated.

Mr. Z. talked of the absurdity of Church Services in Latin. The cobbler said that if that was absurd, the Apostles were still more absurd, for they wrote in Greek.

Mr. Z. answered that Greek was then the prevalent language of the world.

'Not at all', said the cobbler. When Jesus Christ wandered over Judaea and Arabia Felix, did He speak Greek?'

Z. maintained that Queen Elizabeth's persecution of the Roman Catholics was political, not theological; that it was forced on her by the conspiracies against her, and by the attempts of the Guises to procure her assassination.

'As for the conspiracies', said the cobbler, 'they were trumped-up by Elizabeth herself, just as the English Government hired Smith O'Brien to make a rebellion in a cabbage-garden, and sent for him back again when they had made a show of transporting him. And if the Guises did try to get her assassinated, had not they a right to do so? She was a usurper and a heretic, and an enemy of God. I would not have done so myself, but it was not half so bad as the Queen of England's sending over Gavazzi and Mazzini to cut the throat of the Pope. You talk of our intolerance—you are ten times as intolerant'.

'At least', said Z., 'no Protestant in a Catholic country would

have been allowed to abuse the great men whom it honours, as you in this Protestant country have been allowed to abuse Queen Elizabeth',—a sentence followed by applause, which showed that the meeting was Protestant.

'This is not a Protestant country', said the cobbler, 'it is a Catholic country. I don't thank you for letting me speak the truth. You would stop me if you dared. You know that your time is come, that your reign is over, that your empire is going fast to perdition. Your toleration, if you have any, is mere cowardice'.

The audience consisted of men and a few women, some of them tradespeople, but more of a lower class. They seemed to be attentive and interested, but could not have learned much, as the discussion turned on matters of fact, with no attempt at proof, except that Mr. Z. read at full length the Bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth. It was all assertion on his part, and brutal denial on the other's. He kept his temper, and so did the audience, admirably.

I was told that I was unfortunate; that such a scene had never before occurred; that, had the discussion turned—as it generally, indeed, with this exception, always has done—on doctrinal questions, other Roman Catholics would have been eager to take part in it; that they would not have allowed the cobbler to be their mouthpiece, and that we should have had a real controversy, temperately managed—pp. 148–5.

The incendiary and wicked Pastoral of the Catholic Bishops.

Mount Trenchard, 1862.—'It seems to me', I said, 'that a more incendiary, a more wicked paper was never published, by the most unscrupulous political declaimers, than the address of the Roman Catholic bishops; which, while it condemned praedial outrages, palliated them as the natural consequences and means of resisting what they considered the oppression of the landlords. And even without this direct provocative, the mere denunciation of the English Government as a foreign tyranny, is enough, among a people so ignorant, so prejudiced, and so illogical as the lower Irish, to excite a general hatred of the law which the English Government enforces—p. 192.

The Priest suggests boasts to murderers.

'Beckham was a sufferer for the common cause. "From time to time", say the people, "a landlord or an agent is shot, and a poor man is hanged, and we get the land easier". I would not allow these exhibitions of defiance, or these boasts, suggested by the priest—that the murderer has made his peace with God, received absolution, and is going, by a quick death, to eternal happiness'.

'Is the priest sincere?' I asked.

'Probably', said S. 'He is sprung from the peasantry, and shares in all their passions and their prejudices. Every year convinces me more and more that there will be no peace in Ireland until the two religions—indeed, until all religions—are placed on an equality; and as the English Parliament will not endow the Catholics, all that I

hope is that it will disendow the Protestants. I believe that the great support of Romanism is the irritation occasioned by the presence of the Established Church, and by the bitter proselytism of its ministers and agents.

'If I had absolute power, I would endow every sect, and prohibit controversial preaching, and meetings for religious disputations, and tract-distributing, and sending Bible-readers about to disturb the peace of families where they are repulsed. The Roman Catholos, if they were let alone, would let the Protestants alone'.

'Would the priests take the money?' I asked.

'Most of them', he answered, 'would be delighted to take it, and the people would force them. The irregular pressure of dues is one of the causes of the poverty of the people, and of their attempts to appear miserable. They are in constant terror of the priest's exactions, and would not submit to them if he had sufficient provision from the state'—p. 257.

Two remedies for Ireland—one, to improve the priests; another, to get rid of them.

ASHTON, November 7.—Mr. and Mrs. B., and Miss C., dined with us. Miss C. belongs to a Tory family on the border between Waterford and Wexford, and has never been out of Ireland.

She asked what were my impressions as to the present state of Ireland.

'I do not find', I said, 'much change since I was here in 1858. Nor do I expect much change, unless some remedies are applied of which I see no immediate prospect'.

'And what are those remedies?' she asked.

'The great one', I answered, 'without which all others are mere palliatives, is, of course, the payment by the state of the Roman Catholic priests'.

'Do you call that a remedy?' she replied. 'I never before heard it so designated by a Protestant. I know that O'Connell proposed it; but years have passed since I have heard it even alluded to by a Protestant, or even by a Roman Catholic. Would you hire the bitterest enemies of your faith?'

'Certainly', I said, 'I would hire any enemy that I could. It seems to me that while the priests retain their present feelings, their present character, and their present influence, no great improvement of the Irish is practicable, unless Providence should again interfere, and thin their numbers by famine, pestilence, and emigration. While the priest remains the enemy of improvement, the enemy of education, the enemy of emigration, the enemy of law, and the promoter of the multiplication of families, of the subdivision of tenancies, and of the over-population which keeps the people idle and ignorant and miserable, the best that I can hope for the Irish is, that they will not fall back, that they will not return to their state in 1845.'

'I see only two practicable remedies. One is, to improve the priests; the other is, to get rid of them.'

'I would not make them rich—I would not give them more than they now have; but their incomes should not depend on their influence over the people, or on a popularity to be acquired by flattering their prejudices and inflaming their passions. I hope, too, that if the income of the priests were certain, and not obtained by degrading extortion and contest, a better class of men would enter the Roman Catholic Church'.

'I do not believe it', said Miss C. 'Look at Maynooth. The priests have become worse and worse, more and more disaffected, ever since its institution. Nothing is to be done by trying to conciliate Roman Catholics; they attribute every concession to fear. It inflames their hatred by exciting their hopes; the only mode of governing them is to put them down and to keep them down. You kept flattering and bribing O'Connell, not indeed with money, but with what he valued more—patronage and influence, and what did you get by it? He went nearer and nearer to rebellion every day. At last you had the courage to turn on him—you prosecuted and convicted him; and though the Whig party Lords set aside the verdict, he never recovered it. He was cowed for the rest of his life; so it would have been if you had had courage to resist him ten years sooner'—p. 258.

Dr. Whately on the ignorance and insincerity of priests.

'Stephen de Vere', he continued, 'when he denies that the Roman Catholic priests are proselytisers, on the ground that he never heard from an Irish Roman Catholic pulpit a controversial sermon, resembles a man who should say that a bull is an inoffensive animal because he does not bite. The priests well know that controversy is not their forte. They have no general knowledge, and a man without general knowledge, though he may be primed with separate texts and authorities, is soon silenced by a disputant with extensive information.'

'A convert, who had been educated at Maynooth and ordained, came to me to ask for a license to officiate. I was bound to recognise his orders, but I could not authorise him to preach in my diocese unless I thought him fit to be an instructor. I found that he knew no Greek, very little Latin, and scarcely any Theology. So I sent him back to prepare himself.'

'He told me that he was supporting himself by teaching mathematics. I examined him therefore a little in Euclid, but it was clear that he had not crossed the asses' bridge. At last I asked him to define a triangle. He said it was something with corners. "How many?" I asked. He said, that he believed that it had two. So I begged him to draw one. And he made a couple of lines crossing one another, thus X.'

'On the other hand, the more enlightened of the Roman Catholic priests probably suspect—indeed, if they are candid, *must* suspect—that where they differ from us they are often wrong, and therefore are likely to be often defeated in argument. They are forced therefore to proselytise in a different manner. They choose for their

field of action large parishes where there is a Protestant population too scattered to be attended to by their own minister, and where the benefice is too poor to maintain a curate. While visiting their own flock they enter the Protestant cabins, and, having the public opinion of the parish with them, they talk over the women and then the men.

'His opinion that they are not anxious to make converts is absurd. A Roman Catholic who believes that there is no salvation out of his own Church would be a monster if he did not compass heaven and earth to make one proselyte. And I know that they make many, but they do not boast of them, lest they should attract the notice of the Additional Curates' Society' (pp. 262-3.)

Dr. Whately on devotion to our Blessed Lady, and on fasting.

'Every Roman Catholic', I said, 'is a Polytheist. When a Roman Catholic praying to the Virgin says, "*Monstra te esse matrem*", he puts her, in fact, above God'.

'But he would not admit this', said the Archbishop. 'He calls it invocation, not worship.'

'I have no doubt', he continued, 'that the Virgin occupies a larger space in the thoughts of the uneducated Roman Catholics than Our Saviour does. She is described as constantly on the watch to save and to benefit her favourites; and her favour is supposed to be obtained by the means which men often use to propitiate females—not so much by a virtuous and benevolent life, as by praise and adoration specially directed to herself'.

'What is Thomas à Kempis's book "De Imitatione Christi"?' I asked.

'It is a misnomer', he answered. 'It is a very pious, very dull book, a dialogue between Christ and the Soul, and contains only a few passages really on the Imitation of Christ.'

'It is a subject on which it is difficult for a Roman Catholic to write, for no two things can be more different, or in many respects more opposed, than the life of Christ and that of a Romish saint.'

'Romish sanctity is essentially and ostentatiously ascetic. It differs from that of a Hindoo fakeer only in degree.'

'Our Saviour's life had not a taint of asceticism. Fasting, for instance, the ascetic practice most interwoven with Roman Catholicism, does not appear to have been practised or recommended by Christ.'

Providential mission of landlords.

"What is your theory", I asked, 'as to the purpose for which Providence created landlords?'

"I believe", answered Monteagle, 'that, in a case like the present, we are entrusted with wealth and intelligence exceeding those of our tenants, in order that we may assist them in their difficulties, provide for them the means of education, encourage and direct their efforts as cultivators, and promote their physical, moral, and intellectual improvement'".

"That duty—the duty for the performance of which I believe that Providence created landlords—is *the keeping down population*.

If there were no one whose interest it was to limit the number of the occupants of land, it would be tenanted by all whom it could maintain, just as a warren is tenanted by all the rabbits that it can feed. Competition would force them to use the food that was most abundant—every failure of a crop would produce a famine ; they would have no surplus produce, and therefore no division of labour; no manufactures, except the coarse clothing and furniture which each family must produce for itself ; no separation of ranks, no literature—in short, no civilisation. This is a mere picture of a neglected estate held in rundale in Ireland. This is the state into which every common in England would fall, if the lord of the manor were to allow it to be occupied by squatters. To prevent all this, Providence created landlords—a class of persons whose interest it is that the land should produce as large as possible an amount of surplus produce, and for that purpose should be occupied by only the number of persons necessary to enable it to produce the largest possible amount beyond their own subsistence”.

Mr. Senior recommends hanging for every person convicted a second time of robbery with violence.

‘I perfectly agree with you’, I said, ‘as to the propriety of making long sentences irremissible, except by Act of Parliament. Nor would I allow to justices and magistrates their present discretion. Every crime should have its fixed punishment. The caprice of a magistrate or of a judge should not decide whether a murderous assault should be punished by six months’ imprisonment, or by six weeks’ or by six years’. The lenity shown by our judicial authorities to acts of violence is one of the strangest phenomena in our present penal administration.

‘I would go further still. I would return, and return largely, to the only irremissible punishment—death. I would punish with death, three days after conviction, every person convicted a second time of robbery, accompanied by violence. Experience shows that such malefactors are never reformed. They go on from crime to crime until death. I would cut their course short, in pity to the public, and in pity to themselves. The common answer, that robbery ought not to be punished by death, lest murder should be added for the sake of concealment, does not apply. The garotter who strikes his victim down, secures his watch, and runs off, has not time to do more. He attacks him from behind, does not fear recognition, and would increase, instead of diminish, the chance of detection if he murdered him.

‘Pity for such men is the weakest of follies. They are wild beasts, and ought to be treated as wild beasts. What should we think of a right, claimed and exercised by a Secretary of State, to go every day to a menagerie, and let out, by mere rotation, one animal from a cage, without inquiring whether he released a monkey or a tiger ? The tiger, however, would be recognised instantly, and shot down in half an hour ; the ticket-of-leave *fera* may prey on society for months, or for years, in the disguise of a human being’.

DOCUMENT.

APOSTOLIC LETTER CONVOKING THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papas IX.,
Litteras Apostolicas quibus indicitur oecumenicum concilium
Romae habendum et die Immaculatae Conceptioni Deiparas
Virginis sacro an. MDCCCLXIX incipiendum.*

Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad futuram rei memoriam. Aeterni Patris Unigenitus Filius propter nimiam, qua nos dilexit, caritatem, ut universum humanum genus a peccati iugo, ac daemonis captivitate, et errorum tenebris, quibus primi parentis culpa iamdiu misere premebatur, in plenitudine temporum vindicaret, de caelesti sede descendens, et a paterna gloria non recedens, mortalibus ex Immaculata Sanctissimaque Virgine Maria indutus exuvias doctrinam, ac vivendi disciplinam e caelo delatam manifestavit, eamdemque tot admirandis operibus testamat fecit; ac semetipsum tradidit pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis. Antequam vero, devicta morte, triumphans in caelum concessurus ad dexteram Patris conscenderet, misit Apostolos in mundum universum, ut praedicarent evangelium omni creaturae, eiusque postestatem dedit regendi Ecclesiam suo sanguine acquisitam, et constitutam, quae est *columna et armamentum veritatis*, ac caelestibus dictata thesauris tutum salutis iter, ac verae doctrinae lucem omnibus populis ostendit, et instar *navis in altum saeculi huius ita natat, ut, pereunte mundo, omnes, quos suscipit, servet illaos.*¹ Ut autem eiusdem Ecclesiae regimen recte semper atque ex ordine procederet, et omnis christianus populus in una semper fide, doctrina, caritate, et communione persisteret, tum semetipsum perpetuo affuturum usque ad consummationem saeculi promisit, tum etiam ex omnibus unum selegit Petrum, quem Apostolorum Principem, suumque hic in terris Vicarium, Ecclesiaeque caput, fundamentum ac centrum constituit, ut cum ordinis et honoris gradu, tum praecipuae plenissimaeque auctoritatis, potestatis, ac iurisdictionis amplitudine pasceret agnos et oves, confirmaret fratres, universamque regeret Ecclesiam, et esset *caeli ianitor ac ligandorum solvendorumque arbiter, mansura etiam in caelis iudiciorum suorum definitione.*² Et quoniam Ecclesiae unitas et integritas, eiusque regimen ab eodem Christo institutum perpetuo stabile permanere debet, siccirco in Romanis Pontificibus Petri successoribus, qui in hac eadem Romana Petri Cathedra sunt collocati, ipsissima suprema Petri in omnem Ecclesiam potestas, iurisdictio, primatus plenissime perseverat ac viget.

¹ S. Max. Serm. 89.

² S. Leo. Serm. II.

Itaque Romani Pontifices, omnem Dominicum gregem pascendi potestate et cura ab ipso Christo Domino in persona Beati Petri divinitus sibi commissa utentes, nunquam intermisserunt omnes perferre labores, omnia suscipere consilia, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum omnes populi, gentes, nationes evangelicam doctrinam agnoscerent, et in veritatis ac iustitiae viis ambulantes vitam assequerentur aeternam. Omnes autem norunt quibus indefessis curis iidem Romani^m Pontifices Fidei depositum, Cleri disciplinam, eiusque sanctam doctamque institutionem, ac matrimonii sanctitatem dignitatemque tutari, et christianam utriusque sexus iuventutis educationem quotidie magis promovere, et populorum religionem, pietatem, morumque honestatem fovere, ac iustitiam defendere, et ipsius civilis societatis tranquillitati, ordini, prosperitat, rationibus consulere studuerint.

Neque omiserunt ipsi Pontifices, ubi opportunum existimarunt, in gravissimis praesertim temporum perturbationibus, ac sanctissimae nostrae religionis civilisque societatis calamitatibus, generalia convocare Concilia, ut cum totius catholici orbis Episcopis, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei*, collatis consiliis, coniunctisque viribus ea omnia provide sapienterque constituerent, quae ad fidei potissimum dogmata definienda, ad grassantes errores profligandos, ad catholicam propugnandam, illustrandam et evolvendam doctrinam, ad ecclesiasticam tuendam ac reparandam disciplinam, ad corruptos populorum mores corrigendos possent conducere.

Iam vero omnibus compertum exploratumque est qua horribili tempestate nunc iactetur Ecclesia, et quibus quantisque malis civilis ipsa affligatur societas. Etenim ab acerrimis Dei hominumque hostibus catholica Ecclesia, eiusque salutaris doctrina, et veneranda potestas, ac suprema huius Apostolicae Sedis auctoritas oppugnata, proculata, et sacra omnia despacta, et ecclesiastica bona direpta, ac Sacrorum Antistites, et spectatissimi viri divino ministerio addicti, hominesque catholicis sensibus praestantes modis omnibus divexati, et Religiosae Familiae extinctae, et impii omnis generis libri, ac pestiferae ephemerides, et multiformes perniciosissimae sectae undique diffusae, et miserae iuventutis institutio ubique fere a Clero amota, et quod peius est, non paucis in locis iniquitatis et erroris magistris commissa. Hinc cum summo Nostro et bonorum omnium moerore, et nunquam satis deplorando animarum damno, ubique adeo propagata est impietas, morumque corruptio, et effrenata licentia, ac pravarum cuiusque generis opinionum, omniumque vitiorum et scelerum contagio, divinarum humanarumque legum violatio, ut non solum sanctissima nostra religio, verum etiam humana societas miserandum in modum perturbetur ac divexetur.

In tanta igitur calamitatibus, quibus cor Nostrum obruitur, mole supremum Pastorale Ministerium Nobis divinitus commissum exigit, ut omnes Nostras magis magisque exeramus vires ad Ecclesiae reparandas ruinas, ad universi Dominici gregis salutem curandam, ad exitiales eorum impetus conatusque reprimendos, qui ipsam Ecclesiam, si fieri unquam posset, et civilem societatem funditus everttere connituntur. Nos quidem, Deo auxiliante, vel ab ipso supr mi

Nostri Pontificatus exordio nunquam pro gravissimi Nostri officii debito destitimus pluribus Nostris Consistorialibus Allocutionibus et Apostolicis Litteris nostram attollere vocem, ac Dei eiusque sanctae Ecclesiae causam Nobis a Christo Domino concreditam omni studio constanter defendere, atque huius Apostolicae Sedis, et iustitiae veritatisque iura propugnare, et inimicorum hominum insidias detegere, errores falsasque doctrinas damnare, et impietatis sectas proscribere, ac universi Dominici gregis saluti advigilare et consulere.

Verum illustribus Praedecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes opportunum propterea esse existimavimus, in generale Concilium, quod iamdiu Nostris erat in votis, cogere omnes Venerabiles Fratres totius catholici orbis Sacrorum Antistites, qui in sollicitudinis Nostrae partem vocati sunt. Qui quidem Venerabiles Fratres singulari in Catholicam Ecclesiam amore incensi, eximiaque erga Nos et Apostolicam hanc Sedem pietate et observantia spectati, ac de animarum salute anxxii, et sapientia, doctrina, eruditione praestantes, et una Nobiscum tristissimam rei cum sacrae tum publicae conditionem maxime dolentes nihil antiquius habent, quam sua Nobiscum communicare et conferre consilia, ac salutaria tot calamitatibus adhibere remedia. In Oecumenico enim hoc Concilio ea omnia accuratissimo examine sunt perpendenda ac statuenda, quae hisce praesertim asperrimis temporibus maiorem Dei gloriam, et fidei integritatem, divinique cultus decorum, sempiternamque hominum salutem, et utriusque Cleri disciplinam, eiusque salutarem solidamque culturam, atque ecclesiasticarum legum observantiam, morumque emendationem, et christianam iuventutis institutionem, et communem omnium pacem et concordiam in primis respiciunt. Atque etiam intentissimo studio curandum est, ut, Deo bene iuvante, omnia ab Ecclesia et civili societate amoveantur mala, ut miseri errantes ad rectum veritatis, iustitiae, salutisque tramitem reducantur, ut vitiis erroribusque eliminatis, augusta nostra Religio eiusque salutifera doctrina ubique terrarum reviviscat, et quotidie magis propagetur et dominetur; atque ita pietas, honestas, probitas, iustitia, caritas omnesque christianaee virtutes cum maxima humanae societatis utilitate vigant et efflorescant. Nemo enim inficiari unquam poterit, Catholicae Ecclesiae eiusque doctrinae vim non solum aeternam hominum salutem spectare, verum etiam prodesse temporali populorum bono, eorumque verae prosperitati, ordini, ac tranquillitati, et humanarum quoque scientiarum progressui ac soliditati, veluti sacrae ac profanae historiae annales splendidissimis factis clare aperteque ostendunt, et constanter evidenterque demonstrant. Et quoniam Christus Dominus illis verbis Nos mirifice recreat, reficit et consolatur “*ubi sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo ibi sum in medio eorum*” iccirco dubitare non possumus, quin Ipse in hoc Concilio Nobis in abundantia divinae suae gratiae praesto esse velit, quo ea omnia statuere possimus, quae ad maiorem Ecclesiae suae sanctae utilitatem quovis modo pertinent. Ferventissimis igitur ad Deum luminum Patrem in humilitate cordis Nostri dies noctesque fusis precibus, hoc Concilium omnino cogendum esse censuimus.

¹ *Math. xviii., 20.*

Qnamobrem Dei ipsius omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ac beatorum eius Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate, qua Nos quoque in terris fungimur, freti et innixi, de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio et assensu sacrum oecumenicum et generale Concilium in hac alma Urbe Nostra Roma futuro anno millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo nono in Basilica Vaticana habendum, ac die octava mensis Decembris Immaculatae Deiparae Virginis Mariae Conceptioni sacra incipiendum, prosequendum, ac, Domino adiuvante, ad ipsius gloriam, ad universi Christiani populi salutem absolvendum et perficiendum, hisce Litteris indicimus, annuntiamus, convocamus et statuimus. Ac proinde volumus, iubemus, omnes ex omnibus locis tam Venerabiles Fratres Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, quam Dilectos Filios Abbates, omnesque alios, quibus iure aut privilegio in Conciliis generalibus residendi, et sententias in his dicendi facta est potestas, ad hoc oecumenicum Concilium a Nobis indictum venire debere; requirentes, hortantes, admonentes ac nihilominus eis vi iurisiurandi, quod Nobis et huic Sanctae Sedi praestiterunt, ac sanctae obedientiae virtute, et sub poenis iure aut consuetudine in celebrationibus Conciliorum adversus non accedentes ferri et proponi solitis, mandantes arceque praecipientes, ut ipsimet, nisi forte iusto detineantur impedimento, quod tamen per legitimos procuratores Synodo probare debebunt, sacro huic Concilio omnino adesse et interesse teneantur.

In eam autem spem erigimur fore, ut Deus, in cuius manu sunt hominum corda, Nostris votis propitiis annuens ineffabili sua misericordia et gratia efficiat, ut omnes supremi omnium populorum Principes et Moderatores, praesertim catholici, quotidie magis noscentes maxima bona in humanam societatem ex Catholica Ecclesia redundare, ipsamque firmissimum esse Imperiorum Regnorumque fundamentum, non solum minime impediant, quominus Venerabiles Fratres Sacrorum Antistites aliique omnes supra commemorati ad hoc Concilium veniant, verum etiam ipsis libenter faveant opemque ferant, et studiosissime, ut decet Catholicos Principes, iis cooperentur, quae in maiorem Dei gloriam, eiusdemque Concilii bonum cedere queant.

Ut vero Nostrae hae Litterae et quae in eis continentur ad notitiam omnium, quorum oportet, perveniant, neve quis illorum ignorantiae excusationem praetendat, cum praesertim etiam non ad omnes eos, quibus nominatim illae essent intimandae, tutus forsitan pateat accessus, volumus et mandamus, ut in Patriarchalibus Basilicis Lateranensi, Vaticana, et Liberiana, cum ibi multitudo populi ad audiendum rem divinam congregari solita est, palam clara voce per Curiae Nostrae cursores, aut aliquos publicos notarios legantur, lectaeque in valvis dictarum Ecclesiarum, itemque Cancellariae Apostolicae portis, et Campi Florae solito loco, et in aliis consuetis locis affigantur, ubi ad lectionem et notitiam cunctorum aliquandiu expositae pendeant, cumque inde amovebuntur, earum nihilominus exempla in eisdem locis remaneant affixionemque, omnes et quoscumque, quos praedictae Nostrae Litterae comprehendunt, post spatium duorum mensium a die Litterarum publicationis et affixionis ita volumus obligatos esse

et adstrictos, ac si ipsismet illae coram lectae et intimatae essent, transunpiis quidem earum, quae manu publici notarii scripta, aut subscripta, et sigillo personae alicuius Ecclesiasticae in dignitate constitutae munita fuerint, ut fides certa et indubitata habeatur, mandamus ac decernimus.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae indictionis, annuntiationis, convocationis, statuti, decreti, mandati, praecipi, et obsecrationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Octingentesimo Sexagesimo Octavo Tertio Kalendas Iulias.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimotertio

- ✠ Ego Pius CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE EPISCOPVS.
- ✠ Ego Marius Episc. Ostiensis et Velerinus Card. Decanus Mathei Pro Datarius.
- ✠ Ego Constantinus Episc. Portuensis et S. Rufinae Card. Patrizi.
- ✠ Ego Aloisius Episc. Praenestinus Card. Amat. S. R. E. Vice-Cancellarius.
- ✠ Ego Nicolaus Episc. Tusculanus Card. Paracciani Clarelli a Secretis Brevium.
- ✠ Ego Camillus Episc. Albanus Card. Di Pietro.
- ✠ Ego Carolus Augustus Episc. Sabinensis Card. de Reisach.
- ✠ Ego Philippus Tit. Laurentii in Lucina Proto-Presb. Card. De Angelis Archiep. Firmanus et S. R. E. Camerarius.
- ✠ Ego Fabius Maria Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Coelio Presb. Card. Asquini.
- ✠ Ego Alexander Tit. S. Susanna Presb. Card. Barnabò.
- ✠ Ego Ioseph. Tit S. Mariae in Ara Caeli Presb. Card. Milesi.
- ✠ Ego Petrus Tit. S. Marci Presb. Card. de Silvestri.
- ✠ Ego Carolus Tit. S. Mariae de Populo Presb. Card. Sacconi.
- ✠ Ego Angelus Tit. Ss. Andreae et Gregorii in Monte Coelio Presb. Card. Quaglia.
- ✠ Ego Fr. Antonius Maria Tit. Ss. XII. Apost. Presb. Card. Panebianco Poenitentiarius Maior.
- ✠ Ego Antoninus Tit. Ss. Quatuor Coronator. Presb. Card. De Luca.
- ✠ Ego Ioseph Andreas Tit. S. Hieronymi Illyricorum Presb. Card. Bizzarri.
- ✠ Ego Ioannes Bapt. Tit. S. Callixti Pres. Card. Pitra.
- ✠ Ego Fr. Philippus Maria Tit. S. Xysti Presb. Card. Guidi Archiep. Bononiensis.
- ✠ Ego Gustavus Tit. S. Mariae in Transpontina Presb. Card. d'Hohenlohe.
- ✠ Ego Aloisius Tit. S. Laurentii in Pana Perna Presb. Card. Bilio.

✕ Ego Lucianus Tit. S. Pudentianae Presb. Card. Bonaparte.
 ✕ Ego Ioseph Tit. Ss. Marcellini et Petri Presb. Card. Berardi.
 ✕ Ego Raphael Tit. SS. Crucis in Hierusalem Presb. Card. Monaco.
 ✕ Ego Iacobus S. Mariae in Via Lata Proto-Diac. Card. Antonelli.
 ✕ Ego Prosper S. Mariae Scalaris Diac. Card. Caterini.
 ✕ Ego Theodulphus S. Eustachii Diac. Card. Mertel.
 ✕ Ego Dominicus S. Mariae in Domnica Diac. Card. Consolini.
 ✕ Ego Eduardus SS. Viti et Modesti Diac. Card. Borromeo.
 ✕ Ego Hannibal S. Mariae in Aquiro Diac. Card. Capalbi
 M. CARD. MATTEI *Pro-Datarius*.—N. CARD. PARACCIANI CIRELLI.
Visa de Curia D. Brutii.

Loco ✕ Plumbi.

I. Cugnonius.

Reg. in Secretaria Brevium.

NOTICE OF BOOK.

The Pentateuch. in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization. By Rev. W. Smith, Ph.D., Vol. I. London: Longmans; pp. 517. 1868.

Non nova sed nore: not any new-fangled theories far removed from the faith of ages, but the old teaching defended by fresh arguments: this appears to be the rule laid down for himself by Dr. Smith, in his answering the question: Who wrote the Pentateuch? His answer is not new. It is older than Christianity. It is what he styles the good old common-sense belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch: The spirit in which he addresses himself to his task is not new; it is the spirit in which St. Augustine declared that he would not believe the Gospel except on the authority of the Catholic Church. Dr. Smith thus concludes his preface:

“I submit this work to the judgment of the Holy See, knowing that to St. Peter and his successors Jesus Christ committed the feeding of His lambs and sheep. I look upon it as a happy privilege to be fed and taught by the chief shepherd of the one fold, and can never find the least difficulty in retracting without reserve whatever the Holy See may pronounce deserving of censure”.

And to this excellent tone of mind and orthodoxy of opinion he unites a thoroughly scientific treatment of his important subject. His faith does not fetter his liberty in expressing his sentiments. After his preface he never again makes mention of it throughout his work. His proofs are purely scientific, and he is careful to keep his own convictions out of the arguments, and to establish the

latter on independent grounds of rational evidence. Besides this, he brings to his work an extensive acquaintance with the literature of his subject, both foreign and domestic, and a very considerable amount of philological knowledge. There is, however, one class of arguments levelled against the authorship of the Pentateuch of which he declines to make any account. But this is far from detracting anything from either the completeness or the scientific character of his work. The arguments in question are those which attack the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch from the mere fact that it contains prophecies, and its credibility from the supposition of a miraculous element. Surely it is not too high a stand to take, to suppose as granted at least the abstract possibility of miracles and prophecies.

The volume before us is the first of a series which the author proposes to bring out on the Pentateuch. It deals with the question of the authorship alone, and although complete in itself, does not include the refutation of the separatist theory which would break up the Pentateuch into fragments contributed by post-Mosaic writers. The promise of future volumes goes far to meet the charge urged in a friendly spirit by F. Trochon, of the French Oratory, in his notice of the Rev. Dr. Smith's work in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (July, page 243). This writer complains that only half a page has been assigned to the discussion of the theory of Jehonistic and Elohistic fragments, which theory is still the principal basis of the attacks of the German so-called scholars. It is not Dr. Smith's intention to neglect this part of his undertaking.

Dr. Smith's book is arranged as follows: after a short introduction containing an historical sketch of the controversy, some interesting remarks upon the antiquity of writing, and a statement of the question, setting forth clearly what is meant by the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, the author commences the treatise proper. It is divided into two parts; of which the first deals with positive criticism, the second with negative criticism. The positive criticism occupies two books, respectively headed, *external evidence* and *internal evidence in favour of Mosaic authorship*. The negative criticism, after a short introduction, discusses (chap. i.) the alleged incongruity of the Pentateuch, and solves the historical, geographical, archæological, legislative, and linguistic difficulties alleged by the adversaries, and next passes (chap. ii.) to discuss the alleged incongruity of the Pentateuch with the person and character of Moses.

The belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, which had the prescription of three thousand years, was never disturbed until the revolutionary ideas of the last age were brought to bear on literature as well as on religion and society. To be sure

Straleo seems to have been sceptical; in the second century Celsus expressed some doubts; the Nasareans and the author of the *Clementine Homilies* denied that Moses could have written the work. Isaac Ben Jasos, in the eleventh century, and Aben Ezra in the twelfth, stood out for considerable interpolations, as did Carlstadt at the Reformation, and the Catholic canonist Masius. Hobbe, Peyerius, and Spinoza followed up these speculations, and Scamin and Clericus handled the subject with a liberty that was regarded as very dangerous. But, it was Wolf's attack on the genuineness of Homer, which, at the close of the last century, awakened a most formidable controversy against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. What that critic did to destroy the personality of Homer, was, by an easy transition, made to tell against the personality of Moses. Countless publications began to swarm from the German press, in which the Wolsian criticism was urged against Moses with great skill and daring. In England this school has its representatives in Geddes,¹ Donaldson,² Davidson,³ Colenso,⁴ Perowne,⁵ and the author of *The Book of the Law*: Lond., 1863. On the other side were, besides a host of Germans, Rawlinson,⁶ Macdonald,⁷ Parker,⁸ and, with some drawbacks, the judicious author of *The Mosaic Origin of the Pent. considered*: Lond., 1864.

Our author's thesis is, that the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is the only one consistent with the requirements of sound criticism. By the term *authorship* he means to claim for Moses the actual *writing* of the Pentateuch, whether with his own hand, or by means of a secretary, or in both ways, as occasion served.

The frivolous objection that writing was an invention more modern than the age of Moses, is well refuted by our author. The system of Egyptian hieroglyphics, fully and philosophically developed, and containing all the needful phonetic and even alphabetic elements, is written on monuments erected far more than a thousand years before Moses was born. On the inner stones of the Great Pyramid (for the erection of which the most moderate calculation will allow the interval of nearly a thousand years, the Exodus being fixed at the end of the fourteenth dynasty), the name of its builder, Cheops, is still to be seen marked in minium by the hands of the masons at the

¹ *Translation of the H. Bible.* London, 1792.

² *Jashar, Lind. and Eden.*, ed. ii., 1860.

³ *Introduction to the O. Test.*, vol i., 1862.

⁴ *The Pent. and Book of Joshua crit. examined*, 1862.

⁵ *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, crit. Pentateuch

⁶ *Bampton Lectures*, 1859.

⁷ *Introd. to the Pent.*, 1861.

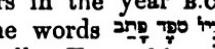
⁸ *Replies to the first and second parts of the Bp. of Natal's Pent.*, 1863.

quarries. The coffin of Menkaura (Mycerinus), the builder of the third pyramid, now in the British Museum, bears a legible inscription of some length. The oldest monument of the world, a tombstone preserved at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is inscribed with the legend of Shera, grandson of King Jeut, who was the fifth monarch of the second dynasty. The stupendous work of Lepsius (*Deukmäler*) is a vast store-house of hieroglyphics, proving them to have retained their essential character for more than three thousand years before the emperor Decius.

Nor were hieroglyphics confined to monumental inscriptions on stone or wood. In their simpler linear form they were used in works written on linen, or papyrus, or parchment. Such is the ritual called the "Book of the Dead". In a funeral chapel at Beni-Hassan is to be seen, among a group of figures, the royal scribe presenting to the governor a papyrus scroll bearing date the sixth year of Uertesen the Second, which in all probability is anterior to Abraham.

Though the linear hieroglyphic is more elaborate than the monumental one, even it was found to be too stiff for ordinary use. The cursive hieratic character was formed by shortening and rounding the figures. This character is found on a papyrus (the papyrus Harris), called the "Records of Ramses the Third", which is one hundred and forty-four feet long by sixteen and a-half inches wide, and which belongs to the time of Moses. And what is most conclusive of all is, that in the very earliest monuments given in Lepsius's *Deukmäler*, the papyrus-roll had already become the symbol for a book, and that the recognized hieroglyphic for writing was the constantly recurring combination of reed-pen, water-vase, and palette.

Since, then, writing was in use in Egypt, and since Moses was skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, it is an outrage on common sense to urge that he could not write.

Nor was Egypt the only seat of letters. The Cuthite Babylonians had already their cuneiform letters in the year B.C. 2200. And among the Semitic nations the words  meaning *write*, *book*, *ink*, are common to all. From this we infer that writing ink was known among the Semites in prehistoric times, before they broke up into separate nationalities, as Chaldees, Syrians, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, or Ethiopians.

The antiquity of writing enables us to believe that Joseph, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham, had probably written down the history of remarkable events in their own history, and Moses, no doubt, availed himself of these documents in composing the Pentateuch.

The first piece of positive testimony advanced by our author is that of Christ and the apostles. We think that his use of this argument has been unjustly found fault with by some. In the preface (p. 8) he distinctly declares that he adduces the authority of Christ more to serve as a beacon-light for the Christian, than as a demonstration to the sceptic. He considers the testimony of Christ¹ first in itself (pag. 26-36); next as understood by the Jews (37-39); then as understood by the disciples (39-42).

The first argument from the Old Testament may be thus stated. It is capable of critical demonstration that the Deuteronomy presupposes the rest of the Pentateuch. Now we can trace the existence of Deuteronomy from the last days of the kings back to Moses, through the reigns of Joshua, Jehosaphat, Amariah, Joash, Jeshisaphet, Solomon, David, Joshua (pp. 44-98). In this argument the author makes good the following points:

1. Deuteronomy was known as a book to the Hebrews throughout all their history, from the time of Ezra to Joshua, the successor of Moses.
2. Joshua was familiar with its facts, filled with its spirit, and versed in its language.
3. Moses was all along believed to be its author.
4. Deuteronomy presupposes the existence of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

Hence it follows that the Pentateuch in the last days of Moses was written in all its completeness as we now have it.

The second argument reverses the chronological process, and beginning with Joshua, shows that down to the Babylonish captivity, the Hebrew constitution and history and literature are all grounded on the written Pentateuch. To establish a solid basis for this argument, the credibility of the books of Joshua, of Judges, of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, is to be proved (pp. 106-120). Then the traces of the Pentateuch, as a whole, are pointed out in each reign from Joshua to Isaiah (pp. 125-225).

This closes the external evidence. The internal evidence and the part on negative criticism shall form the subject of a second notice.

¹ Mark, xii. 26; Lu, xx. 87; Mark, x. 5; Matt., xix. 8; John, v. 46-44, etc.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1868.

THE NATURE AND THE DUTIES OF THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE.¹

I NEED not say, beloved brethren, that the ceremony which has called us together to-day is one of unusual interest. The vast crowds here assembled, the vivid interest marked on your countenances, assure me that you appreciate it as I do.

It is always a solemn thing to witness the transmission of the Apostolic office—an act by which the Church renews her vigor, provides for her preservation or her expansion. As the plants throw out the seeds that produce other plants according to their kind, which take their places when they have themselves decayed, or rise up at their sides, rivalling the fruitfulness of the parent stock, so the Church organized by Christ preserves her life and integrity, and meets the exigencies of the hour, by the transmission of the Apostolic office, with all its duties, its graces, and its responsibility—from those who hold it one day to others duly appointed to exercise it on the morrow.

This act, at all times so interesting, becomes doubly so when, as is the case to-day, it is performed, not to fill a vacuum created by death, but to provide for growing expansion. The Church is then extending her tabernacles; she is establishing new centres of action. Two new constellations, as it were, are to-day being set in the ecclesiastical firmament. This cathedral, the mother of the churches of this vast diocese, becomes on this day in a higher sense a mother. Two of her daughters take rank at her side, and they also become mothers.

Be it, that this happens more by the increase and diffusion of the members already belonging to the fold, than by the conver-

¹ A Sermon preached at the consecration of Right Rev. William O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, and Right Rev. J. F. Shanahan, Bishop of Harrisburg, in the Cathedral of Philadelphia, July 12th, 1868, by Rev. M. O'Connor, S.J., of Baltimore, Maryland.

sion of those who knew her not. Whether it be by conversion or by increase and diffusion, we must rejoice to see the Church of God multiplying and filling the earth in obedience to the command given by her Divine Founder.

But for you, Right Reverend Fathers, whose light is this day set on the candlestick, on whose souls God places a seal that distinguishes you from all other men now and for ever more, it is an occasion of special interest. Christ this day makes you commanders of His hosts, with all the powers, and all the graces, attached to that high position. The Church, which is His agent in this great work, has endeavoured to impress these on you in the beautiful ceremonial which we have just witnessed. fraught, like all her other ceremonies, with instruction and power, and your deeply affected countenances, and the tear trickling down your cheeks, assure us that you have entered into the lesson.

Methinks I shall correspond best with the designs of the Church and with your wishes by making the words that proceed from this chair to-day be animated by the same spirit. Henceforth your lives will be devoted to the benefit of others. This people will be satisfied to-day with the advantages reflected by what shall be directly addressed to you for your own immediate benefit.

The words of my text suggest all I intend saying to you: "You are the salt of the earth". "You are the light of the world". "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven". I will speak to you of the nature of your office, and the obligations it brings with it.

To understand the nature of the office confided to you, we must go back to that day when our Blessed Saviour, surrounded by His disciples, from whom He was about to withdraw His visible presence, addressed them, saying: "All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth: go ye, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo! I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world". It was on that day that the body was organized into which you are now incorporated.

The redemption of the world was undoubtedly the greatest work of the Most High, its execution, that nearest to the heart of God, and most closely connected with the true interest of His creatures. This had been accomplished on Calvary as far as paying the price of our salvation, offering an atonement for all our sins. But the grace thus purchased had to be applied to the souls of men.

This, which is the work of God as much as the offering of the atonement, our Blessed Saviour was not pleased to perform by His own immediate agency. He had indeed proposed His holy doctrines, He had wrought wonders to confirm their truth, and laid down His life to open for us the heaven that we had forfeited. He arose again, and gave proof of His resurrection to the witnesses chosen to testify its truths to the world. But He did not, by His own immediate ministry, bring home to the souls of many the light of truth and the saving influences that He had established. This latter work He was pleased to perform through the agency of frail mortals, acting by His authority, strengthened by His grace. And, oh! what a work, and how clearly its performance shows forth the power, the goodness, the mercy of God!

The whole world, we may say, lay buried in darkness as hideous as it was baneful. Even the light that had seen set up amongst His chosen people had become but as a faint glimmering about to be extinguished. Elsewhere the foulest impiety had been enthroned. The human race had run its course, and in every form of social life, and under every grade of human culture, had not only shown itself unable to relieve its own wants, but was plunging deeper and deeper every day into the abyss. Human misery seemed only to fatten on the corruption that it produced, and even human institutions were about to be swallowed up in the universal disorder. Men made to the image of God seemed changed rather into the image of demons, and to be engaged in little else than in fitting themselves for that Hell that was every day opening wider its jaws.

It was into this festering mass that our Blessed Saviour launched that institution that would plant life in the midst of death, and rival, or rather excel, and in a higher order, the work He performed in the beginning of the world, when He said, "let light be made, and light was made".

Yes, beloved brethren, the change operated by God in the redemption of the world is a work more noble than was its creation. To this there was no obstacle but the inability of that which had not being; to the other there was not only an inability as great, there was the opposite tendency of evil, and the greater height to which redeemed man was to be elevated.

This great work our Blessed Saviour was pleased but to commence while He was visibly present on this earth. He carried out His beneficent designs fully only through the Apostolic body to whom He gave the commission and the promise, "Go", "teach", "baptize", "and lo! I am with you". To enable them to fulfil the one, and as a pledge that He sent His Holy Spirit imparting Him to them in His fulness, and at once thousands are brought

within the pale of salvation, and its boundaries go on extending until soon they become conterminous with those of the earth.

This work was prefigured by the priesthood of the Old Law, when bearing the ark of the Lord, they stood in the bed of the Jordan until the people passed over with dry foot. The waters that were below them rolled on to the sea, those that were above came rushing and roaring, but they stood together "upon a heap", and rising up, and up, and swelling, like a mountain, were seen afar off. But they remained as a wall, until the people passed over into the promised land.

Or it may be compared to the action of the priests of the Lord, who went seven times round and about the walls of Jerico and blew their trumpets, and the walls of the city fell down and all the people entered. The men of Jerico trusted in their towers and their fences, but the blast of the trumpet, not the engine of war, was the instrument which God was pleased to use for their destruction.

These things, as all else, happened to that people in figure. They were but a type of what God did under the new dispensation. The tide of wickedness which was overwhelming the world was arrested by the men whom God commanded to go forth into its midst. It continued indeed to roll and to threaten and to swell up its waters, so that those who looked on without faith, seeing all its accumulated fury, might have anticipated nothing but certain and speedy ruin. But God placed limits to its ravages, and forced it to lie back until His benevolent designs on His people were accomplished. Men trusted in the sword and in the ramparts within which iniquity had entrenched itself, but the heralds of His Gospel, armed only with the voice of truth, and proclaiming its saving message, made these ramparts fall down, and the Church of Jesus Christ was established in every clime. God alone, it is true, was able to effect such results, but He was pleased to produce them through the labors of the men whom He sent to teach, to baptize, with whom He promised to be to the consummation of ages.

They were "the salt of the earth", "the light of the world". The Incarnate God so made them. It was through them that He dissipated the darkness that was brooding over the world, it was through them that He willed to give life and purity to that mass of corruption into which the human race had degenerated. Even the institutions directed for their temporal welfare were saved by the same agency.

It is into this body, Right Reverend Fathers, that you are incorporated to-day. For the Apostolic office which Christ instituted was not a passing thing. Like the evil that was to be encountered and mastered, it was to last for ever. Christ promised to

be with it all days, even to the consummation of ages. It must, therefore, have been intended by Him to remain itself all days to that end. The first eleven whom He addressed associated others with themselves in the great work, and then paid the debt of nature. But the body that had been then established remained. As, in the physical order, while the several particles of which each body is composed are perpetually disappearing and making way for others that take their places, the body itself continuing in all its natural properties and functions, so while the members of the mystical body of Christ, which is His Church, are ever giving way and replaced by others, the body itself ever continues the sublime functions assigned to it by its Founder.

This perpetuation of the Apostolic ministry has ever been effected by the laying on of hands by those who rightfully exercise the office. Thus Paul transmitted it to Timothy, thus he commanded him to transmit it to other faithful men, thus it has been transmitted in unbroken succession to the Pontiff who to-day lays hands and transmits it to you. And it is your great privilege not merely to receive the rite, but to be able to point to the important fact that you receive it as faithful men, resolved to keep the deposit entrusted to you, and that you receive it through a succession of men equally faithful, who preserved what was confined to them in their respective generations—that you receive it not from men who took up the office uncalled, men whom the Apostle describes as “ravenous wolves”, nor from men belonging to that class, which he also alluded to, who, though once of the true fold, spoke “perverse things” to draw disciples after them. Oh! were you even able to point to an unbroken chain, connecting you through the external rite with the Apostles themselves, if any link consisted of a man who had made to *himself* disciples—that is, instead of preserving and transmitting the deposit as he had received it, had sought to establish opinions of his own and enlist others in their support, that man should be branded as one who had spoken “perverse things”, and your connection with him would only make you partakers of his crime. It would but aggravate impiety by treachery. Against such, Saint Paul warned his faithful followers to beware, and Saint Jude marked their distinguishing trait, when he said, “They are they who separate themselves”.

But in being lawfully incorporated into that body whose maxim is, and whose maxim and practice have ever been, to adhere to the faith once delivered to the saints, you, Right Reverend Fathers, are engrafted into that body to which Jesus Christ gave the commission. You, too, in your day are “the salt of the earth”, “the light of the world”. You are called to

be the agents and instruments of Christ in His designs for the salvation of the world—an office which Saint Paul does not hesitate to designate by the startling title of "helpers of God".

"Helpers of God"—that is, His agents and instruments, and freely coöperating with Him in that work which He prized so highly, on which His heart was set from eternity, agents and instruments in that work which His Incarnate Son proposed to Himself on coming down to this earth, for which He laboured and died, but which He brings into actual effect and completion through you and your free coöperation, so that, if you fail, His eternal designs and beneficent longings and labours are, to a certain extent, frustrated, whereas, when you are faithful, your work is the very work of God, that which of all others He prizes most.

It is true that all the priests of God are in many respects like you, His agents and instruments in this noble work; nay, they are your equals in that which is most sublime—the offering of the great sacrifice and the administration of the sacraments. But besides your possessing this power in its fulness, it is under the authority of your orders that all others discharge their duties. You, in your respective spheres, will be the soul of that phalanx that goes forth to the work of God. It is for you to assign to each one his sphere of action, it is for you to quicken, and rule, and direct; to be the eye that sees all, that watches over all, that is accountable to God, and responsible to men for all. To you alone belongs that authority that is the guardian, and to the world the pledge of faithful adherence to duty.

We have only to consider the various figures under which the Church of God and your relation to it are represented, to have a proper idea of the character of your sacred office. The Church is represented as the spouse of Jesus Christ—pure and spotless—her purity is placed under your guardianship. It is for you, with the powerful weapons which God has placed in your hands, to war against all that would tarnish her beauty. The Church is represented as an army in battle array. You are not mere soldiers fighting in her ranks, nor mere subalterns animating others to bravery. You have each the command of a whole army, and it depends on you in a great measure whether it shall march on to victory or destruction. It is not indeed an army detached from other armies similarly manned and officered, it is one of many engaged in the same service, fighting for the same cause, and all under the supervision of a general chief. But a whole corps is under your supervision and direction. If in the commander there fail vigilance, or singleness of purpose, or devotedness, it will be vain to expect victory through the bravery of those in inferior positions. Though solitary bands may escape,

nothing but ruin awaits the host. The Church is a ship bearing a precious freight to the heavenly port through the troubled sea of this world. You are its pilots, obliged indeed to sail in a squadron with others all pursuing the same course and bound to the same destination. But, oh! if you fail in a vigilant eye or steady hand, what can be expected but that your own ship shall be wrecked amidst the rocks and the quicksands, and that confusion be cast amongst those by whom you are accompanied? The Church is a body—the body of Christ. You are its most noble members, those through whom the rest receive power, vigor, nourishment. You are the arm to defend it, the eye to watch over it, the heart that sends forth life to its most remote extremities. The Church is a house—the house of God—you are stewards in that house, unto whose charge are committed all its treasures. It is a temple—the temple of the living God—you are the pillars on which it rests.

Great is the dignity of man, from the mere fact that he is made to the image of God;—greater, inasmuch as he has been engrafted on Jesus Christ and lives by His life, “made partaker of the divine nature”. What shall we say of you whom God has brought so near to Himself, whom He has called to such close union and co-operation with Him in the greatest of His works, to whom He grants, I may say, a participation of many of His most noble attributes?

“A helper of God”, and that in the most noble of His works. Is not this alone enough to overwhelm us with confusion? What He came from heaven to accomplish, He is pleased to accomplish chiefly through you.

“The light of the world”. He Himself was the true light, “the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world”. Yet now He, who is light and truth, saith to you also, “you are the light of the world”, for such He is pleased to make you.

“The salt of the earth”. It was He and He alone who could give life. Yet he now communicates to you also this property. Through you is the corrupt mass of the world to be leavened—through you is He pleased to impart to the weak and to the dead the vivifying power that will fit them for heaven.

God has left many spiritual blessings to men, you are their dispensers. You are “ambassadors for Christ”. Your commission is not written on a parchment that might perish, nor sealed with a wax that might be counterfeited or effaced. It is written in the bright light of God’s work, sealed by His Omnipotence.

The “ministry of reconciliation”, which is one of His own primary functions, “He gave to us” also, says the Apostle, and when He “shall sit on the seat of His Majesty”, He promises

that those whom He has chosen to this office "shall sit in twelve seats to judge the twelve tribes of Israel".

No wonder that when He created an institution invested with such a commission, He appealed to that "all power" that was "given Him in heaven and in earth", or that He used those words fraught with such high meaning, "As the Father has sent me, so I send you. He that heareth you, heareth Me; he who despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he who despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me".

From this view of the nature of your functions, Right Reverend Fathers, it is easy to conclude what manner of men you should endeavour to be, and I put it forward chiefly for this purpose. You are the "light of the world": you should be like the Baptist, a shining and burning light, spreading abroad the truth, and enkindling in all the fire of divine love. How great must be the power of both in you, when from your flame they are to be imparted to many. You are the "salt of the earth". You must come in contact with the corruption of the world, and act on it with a power that will dissolve its baneful elements and impart to them a new nature. How great must your virtue be to resist and overpower the mass of evil that we everywhere witness, or see threatening. Teaching is good. The truth which it imparts is the basis of the spiritual edifice that you must erect. But in the economy of Divine Providence the work is perfected by what I might call the process of transmission and imitation; that is, it will not be by saying how men shall act that you will lead them to practical holiness, but by showing them this holiness in your lives, with a power that will make it loved and imitated. You will do in the spiritual what natural fathers do in the physical order—you will make others to your own likeness, and thus be their fathers in the order of grace.

This, to be sure, is above all the work of God. But, as I have already stated, this work He performs through you, giving to your action a power of which it is itself incapable. He is acting in you and with you. The results when obtained are eminently His, for you are but weak instruments, entirely unable to effect them. But this action of God through you will not be effective except with your coöperation, and it will be abundant in proportion as you render yourselves worthy instruments. It is thus that in the wise but mysterious counsels of God you are the "salt of the earth", "the light of the world". And oh! Right Reverend Fathers, what a responsibility to be thus accountable for the salvation of many and many souls redeemed by Jesus Christ, to feel that heaven will be peopled more fully in proportion as you are holy, that neglect to correspond to the invitation to holiness which God gives you may involve the

eternal loss of many souls, which God wished sincerely to save, for which Christ shed His most precious blood, but which in His mysterious counsels He determined to save only through you—through your fidelity in corresponding to your vocation to holiness.

The offering of the Holy Sacrifice, in which the priest by the power given by God causes the body and blood of Christ to be present on the altar, holds it in his hands, approaches it to his lips, and offers it up to the Eternal Father, according to the declaration of the great Chrysostom, demands from him a holiness which should exceed in brightness that of the purest of the sun's rays. How much more is demanded from you, on whom so much depends, in whose holiness that of each priest should not only find a type, but should receive from it new vigor and lustre.

God required even the priests of the Old Law to be holy. "Be ye holy", He said to them, "as I am holy". In your more elevated sphere a holiness is demanded, which, as St. Chrysostom remarks, requires not merely that you be cleansed from sin, but that you possess an eminence and great excellence in all virtue, a richness in good works, which should be so great, as St. Basil says, that, "if you stood in the midst of the angelic hosts before the throne of God, you should not fall short of them by comparison".

It was the fear of failing to correspond to these high requirements of their state that made the saints tremble when called to this high office. They knew, indeed, they were called to be "the salt of the earth", "the light of the world", but they feared that the light might be changed into darkness, that the salt might lose its savor, and be fit only to be trampled under foot. At this they trembled.

But that God who is rich in mercy has provided means by which all that He requires may be easily accomplished, so that you can now say with the Apostle: "I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me".

When God commanded Moses to make for Him a tabernacle, with many things for the use of His sanctuary, He showed on the mountain a tabernacle to whose likeness He wished the other to be made, and He told him to look and make it according to the pattern that was shown him. The same God requires of you to make for Him a sanctuary in your own souls, and to adorn it with many virtues. To enable you to succeed, He has provided for you, too, a model which He commands you to look on and then to form yourselves "according to the pattern". This model is Jesus Christ, He is not only a model showing what to do, He is a power enabling you to do it. Depending, then, on the

aid of His grace, your great effort should ever be to look to Him, to study carefully His life, and labor to copy it in your own. His love and union with His eternal Father, His burning zeal for the Father's glory, for the diffusion of His truth and holiness, His ardent desire, His never-ceasing labors for the salvation of men, His special love of the poor, the miserable, the wretched of all classes, His meekness, and patience, and modesty, and all His other virtues, should ever be before your eyes, and as the lens seizing the sun's rays transfers the image of the natural object before it to the delicate plate, impressing on it every line and shade, and enabling it to reproduce them in many other faithful copies, so earnest and devout prayer will enable you to stamp a living likeness of Christ on your own souls, and from these to transfer and reproduce it in the souls of those entrusted to your care. This should be the great business of your lives, your great aim: it is the sure and the only means of carrying out the object for which you are this day set up in the Church of God.

When all the virtues of Jesus Christ are proposed for your imitation, when you are required to endeavour to copy all in an eminent degree, it might be considered wrong to point out any one as deserving special commendation, and if desired, it might be thought difficult to make a selection. But that a choice can and ought to be made is clear, when we find that our Blessed Saviour Himself did this for us. Amongst the many virtues that adorned His precious soul, He selected one which He recommended in a special manner to the imitation of His nearest followers, especially to those whom He placed highest in His Church. That virtue was His *humility*. On entering into the world, and in going out of it, and during His whole earthly career, His constant lesson, by acts even more than by words, ever was. "Learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart". "Yes, learn of me", as a holy writer paraphrases it, "not to create the world, not to perform wonders, but learn that which I value more, which is to be meek and humble of heart". When He was about to depart from His disciples, girded with a towel, and humbling Himself even to wash their feet, He said to them: "I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so do you also".

It was this virtue which in a special manner distinguished His Blessed Mother, the highest and greatest of all pure creatures. It was this that made God "look upon her", and "do mighty things to her", so that "all nations" should call her "blessed".

All those who were distinguished in His service, all those whose ministry was by Him made most efficacious, were particularly distinguished by this virtue.

It is meet then that on this day I lay special stress on the neces-

sity of practising it, that I recommend it as that which above all other things should be clearly seen in your lives. It should distinguish you from others more than any other mark of your dignity. It will be the brightest and truest ornament of your souls. It will enable you to guard against the snares of the enemy, who so often appears in the form of an angel of light and presents his plans under the plea of undertakings of zeal. It will be the true basis and guide of Apostolic zeal, courage, firmness, and perseverance, and of all other virtues. For he who is low in his own eyes and loves holiness in the eyes of others, will look to God alone for approbation, for light and for strength, and guided by God, leaning on God, working with God and for God, or rather letting God work in him and through him, he cannot be deceived or shaken. Possessed with this spirit, you will not despise because you meet, as you will often meet, in your most zealous labors, with disappointment and ingratitude, even where you have least reason to anticipate them. You will be ready to labor for the poor, for the neglected, who are the chosen friends of God. You will be above the opinions of the world, rejoicing for the sake of men when they harmonize with heaven, heedless when they set up their own views as their standard. Possessing this virtue in an eminent degree yourselves, you will make it be loved by men, thus spreading abroad its sweet odor, and communicating that which men want most of all, and now more than ever. And that God who is jealous of His own glory, finding you, even when most successful, looking on yourselves but as useless servants and referring all to Him, will be present in your words and in your acts, He will give His blessing to your labors, and with His blessing power, and they will thus be mighty to overcome all obstacles. You will then, above all, become "the salt of the earth", "the light of the world", and will bear many to the haven of salvation.

Fear not, Right Rev. Fathers, that in being low in your own eyes, or that rejoicing in your lowness being admitted by others, your dignity shall suffer, or your authority be impaired. The one and the other are never so much appreciated or felt so efficaciously as when held by those who claim nothing for themselves, whose good works shine indeed before men, but so shine as to create the conviction that they seek not to glorify themselves, but to glorify their Father who is in Heaven.

All this is what the Church wished to express in her various ceremonies which accompanied the essential rite that has been performed. She wishes you to form a high idea of your dignity, but this above all, that you may live worthy of it. The various garments with which she has clothed you, the mitre on your head, the ring on your finger, the cross on your breast, the staff

in your hand, the other ornaments which she has placed on your persons, have all their lesson, and all are intended rather to show and to impress forcibly on you the virtues that must henceforth distinguish you, than to obtain for you the admiration of men. Unless what they are thus intended to express truly accompany them, they are but baubles. They are intended by the Church to be ever before your eyes to make you remember her expectations. May her wishes and hopes be realized abundantly in your regard.

It is at all times a great privilege to announce the truths of our holy religion, to cast abroad the seed which may produce fruit to salvation. How much more pleasing when one feels that he is casting it on good ground! This is most assuredly my position to-day. That Pontiff who has laid hands upon you has long witnessed your zealous labors, and has marked you out for the important career upon which you are now entering, and with the concurrence of his brethren, obtained the authority of the Supreme Pastor to elevate you as he does to-day to the episcopal throne, feeling relief and joy in placing on worthy shoulders a portion of the burden which he has himself hitherto borne with so much zeal and so much success. The other prelates and these priests by whom you are surrounded, so long the witnesses of your labors of love, all rejoice in the wider field now opened to your zeal, and anticipate for you a glorious future—glorious before God, who loves truth in holiness, and wills the salvation of all men. This people, edified by your virtues, which shone amongst them as a burning light, many of them benefited by your ministrations, rejoice to see that light placed on a candlestick, that it may shine for the advantage of greater numbers.

May I add, that he who addresses you fully partakes in the joys and the hopes of all those around you. Acquainted with you, Right Reverend Father of Scranton, for more than a third part of a century, he has watched your course from the threshold of the sanctuary until you are elevated to its highest degree, and has always admired your devotedness to the most humble and comparatively obscure duties of the ministry, your love and zeal for the poor, your sacerdotal bearing, your unwearied perseverance in every good work. He cannot but feel assured that these virtues are destined to shine with increased lustre in your elevated position. He does not claim a similar acquaintance with you, Right Reverend Father of Harrisburg, who were scarcely born when his acquaintance with your venerable associate began. But as far as his attention was directed to you, it was attracted chiefly by your peculiarly modest deportment, and the sacerdotal spirit that plainly showed itself in your countenance. These virtues, Right Reverend Fathers, better

known and more fully appreciated by those whose duty made them more nearly connected with you, have caused you to be called to the high office conferred on you to-day. The dignity is great, the responsibility would be overwhelming if you had not a God to rely on, whose strength can make all things easy, who will perform even wonders when necessary for His designs on the elect.

It is the general belief that the founders of new churches are generally endowed by God with special graces, that the vigor of the first stock may be felt in their future growth. May the founders of the new churches of Scranton and Harrisburg be filled with the spirit of holiness in such a manner that from their fulness it shall flow over abundantly to many generations.

Take up, then, your croziers, Right Reverend Fathers, with courage and firmness all the greater because you feel your own nothingness, and therefore throw yourselves entirely into the arms of God. In your first fervor raise your hands to-day and bless this people which has come here to encourage you in your glorious undertaking, to assist you with its prayers. If the natural feelings excited to-day pass away, as to some degree they necessarily must, let your fervor only gain the more in the depth and strength of the purpose of the soul. With hands uplifted in constant prayer and with never ceasing devotedness bless the people committed to your charge, labor for them with assiduity even unto death. With Jesus Christ ever before your eyes and in your hearts, go forth determined, as far as your powers aided by grace will enable you, to copy His love, His devotedness, His zeal, His patience, and above all His humility. Be the living representatives of His holiness as well of His authority. Determined to spend and be spent for Him and for those whom He loved, let your lives shine before men with an effulgence of every virtue that will eclipse the jewels with which you are adorned.

You are "the salt of the earth", you are "the light of the world". "So let your light shine before men that they see your good works and glorify your Father who is in Heaven".

SUBTERRANEAN ROME.

11. *The historic Crypts in the Cemetery of St. Callistus.*—The cemetery of St. Callistus was the most celebrated of all, after that of the Vatican, where the relics of the glorious apostles SS. Peter and Paul reposed. It was the burial place of most of the popes who ruled the Church from the commencement of the third century down to the epoch of peace. According to the documents of the middle ages, this long line of pontiffs were buried in a chamber not far from the spot where rested the relics of St. Cecilia. In another *cubiculum* in the cemetery the same authorities placed the tomb of St. Cornelius, pope and martyr, with which they coupled the name and memory of the great St. Cyprian of Carthage, who had been the friend and correspondent of St. Cornelius. And yet, the precise spot where all these treasures were concealed was unknown for centuries. It was known that the cemetery of Callistus was on the Appian Way; but modern archaeologists, misled by the documents of the mediaeval pilgrims, were accustomed to place it in the cemetery of St. Sebastian, which was properly called *Ad Catacumbas*. To the learning and judgment of De Rossi we owe the re-discovery of this wonderful subterranean city, which binds up in its own history the history of the Roman Church during the first four centuries. We shall give our readers a sketch of the growth of the cemetery itself, and while doing so, we shall linger, at the proper time, to describe some of the leading historic crypts which it contains.

About a mile from the gate of the city of Rome which at present opens on the Appian Way, and on the right hand side of the road, have been found columbaria and epitaphs belonging to the noble family of the Cecili and their *liberti*. These monuments are of the first period of the empire. It is precisely in this spot that the cemetery of Callistus spreads, like a net, its underground passages; and the point whence they start is a group of subterranean apartments, where recent discoveries have brought to light numerous inscriptions recording names of Cecili. This shows that the area in which the Christian cemetery was excavated, was originally the property of that noble family, by whom it was assigned as the burial place of its members who embraced the faith of Jesus Christ. At what date, and by whom, was the work undertaken? The ancient records attribute the cemetery to Zephyrinus and Callistus, and make mention of a Lucina, to whom the land had belonged. There is an almost unbroken series of matrons named Lucina, who

from time to time enriched by their munificence the Roman Church. But, the crypts on the Appian, which are properly styled of Lucina, are clearly far older than the third century, when a Lucina interred therein the body of Pope St. Cornelius, and moreover, the *Coemeterium Callisti*, also called *Coemeterium Lucinae*, had been excavated long before Callistus was appointed to preside over it. The Lucina, therefore, who inaugurated this cemetery, was a matron of the second century, and probably the very Lucina who lived at the time of the apostles. The inscriptions in the very oldest portion of the subterranean crypts bear the names of Christians called Emilii, Emiliani, Cornelii, who belonged to the Cecilii Metelli, while the vineyard under which the excavation was made, presents the epitaphs of pagan members of the same families, whose names are almost identical with those of their Christian descendants.

The cemetery was, therefore, under protection of the legal rights which ownership of the land conferred upon this powerful family, and it occupied the space which the law attached to one of the noble monuments that flanked the Appian. The flight of stairs by which entrance could be obtained was open to the road, and corresponded to the monument itself, and led straight to a double *cubiculum* adorned with paintings of the greatest antiquity, which represent, under symbolical forms, the doctrines of the Gospel, especially the Eucharist, eternal life, and, in the history of Jonas, the resurrection. The age of these paintings, according to all the arguments adduced by De Rossi, must be referred to the second century, or to the end of the first. In the cemetery of Lucina, thus inaugurated, interments, especially of clients of the family, must have taken place during the empire of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius. But the devastation wrought in the first level of the cemetery has deprived us of all the epitaphs that were once placed on the graves.

About the time of Marcus Aurelius, in the second half of the second century, another space or area was measured out and assigned to the Christian cemetery at some little distance from the original excavation, on the road that joins the Appian with the Ardeatine Way. Two wide stairs were opened into this new portion, and in it were buried members of the family which in the eyes of the law was its owner. Among others, the famous martyr St. Cecilia was buried here. And here she rested until the year 821, when Pope Paschal the First discovered the tomb and transferred her precious relics to her basilica in the Trastevere. We will interrupt our history of the cemetery to describe what occurred on that occasion.

Paschal the First, as the *Liber Pontif.* relates, was elected in January, 817, and from the first months of his Pontificate made

search among the ruins of the catacombs for the relics of the most illustrious pontiffs and martyrs of the Roman Church. Two thousand three hundred bodies of famous saints were found by him *dirutis in cemeteriis seu cryptis jacentia*, and solemnly translated to the churches within the city walls. Among other relics, he removed the bodies of the pontiffs, who, as we shall see, were interred in the chamber immediately adjoining the sepulchre of St. Cecilia. He made careful search for the shrine of the illustrious martyr, as he himself tells us in the diploma published on this occasion, but not being able to discover any traces of it after long investigation, he acquiesced in the opinion that it had been carried off by Aistulphus in the year 755, when so much injury was inflicted on the catacombs. Four years after, in 821, the Pontiff, while assisting at a vigil, seated on his throne towards daybreak in the Vatican Basilica, overcome by sleep and lulled by the soft chanting of matins, had a vision, which he himself ingenuously relates, and in which St. Cecilia appeared to him to urge him to continue his search for her remains. She told him that when engaged in the search he had before undertaken, he had stood close to her; so close, that they could easily have exchanged words with each other: *tanto penes me fuisti, uti proprio loqui invicem ore valeremus.* The Pontiff resumed his search, and found the sacred body *inter collegas episcopos, sicut in sacratissima illius passione manifeste narratur.* Her virginal body was clothed in cloth of gold, and at her feet were laid rolled up together the linen cloths which had been bathed in her blood: *lintamina cum quibus sacratissimus sanguis ejus abstersus est de plagis, quas spiculator trina percussione crudeliter ingesserat, ad pedes beatissimae virginis in unum revoluta plenaque cruore invenimus.* With his own hands the Pontiff raised the sacred body and carried it to the basilica called after her name in the Trastevere. In 1599, Cardinal Sfrondrati, being engaged in restoring the church, was anxious to behold the relics which Paschal the First had deposited therein. He found the body of the saint, the blood stained cloths, the gorgeous robes all intact; and so marvellous was their state of preservation that he seemed to himself to witness rather the burial of a martyr just dead, than the disinterment of one who had been put to death fourteen hundred years before. Bosio, who witnessed the scene, has left an interesting account of it, which has been admirably commented upon by Dom Gueranger, the latest of the biographers of St. Cecilia. The body lay in a coffin of cypress wood, and this in a marble sarcophagus. It was not laid on its back, as bodies are usually laid in the grave, but on the right side, with the knces drawn together, the arms loosely stretched out, and

the face turned towards the earth. "Methought I saw her", says Bosio, "at the moment and in the way she breathed forth her soul after her three days' agony, wounded in the neck by a triple blow which yet had not been strong enough to separate her head from her body. The golden tissue of her robe was sprinkled with drops of blood; near her feet lay folded the linen cloths which had been used to wipe up her blood, and to one of these cloths there still adhered a fragment of her skull which had been crushed by the lictor's axe". The crypt where this glorious martyr had remained for so many years, was found by De Rossi adorned with paintings. A painting representing St. Cecilia is visible on the wall next the *cubiculum* where the popes were buried. Under this there is a niche, containing in fresco a half length figure of our Redeemer after the Byzantine style, and in front of it the site of an altar. On one side of the niche, and under the saint's feet, is a painting of St. Urbanus, who had first interred the body of the saint in a marble sarcophagus in that very place. The empty space where the sarcophagus had stood is still distinctly to be seen.

We now return from our digression to the history of the cemetery.

In 180 Marcus Aurelius died, and was succeeded by his son Commodus, who put an end to the persecution. In 185 died Pope Eleutherius, who was buried with his predecessors in the Vatican. To him succeeded Victor, who, by favour of Marcia, obtained the liberation of the martyrs who had been exiled in the mines of Sardinia; and amongst others who then returned to Rome was Callistus, whose history is the subject of the *Philosophimena*, and who was afterwards to give his name to our cemetery. Victor died in 197, and was buried in the Vatican. His successor, Zephyrinus, recalled Callistus from Antium, whither he had been sent, and placed him over the cemetery on the Appian Way. Here Zephyrinus himself was buried, thus establishing a second Papal burial-place, for almost all his successors of the third century were interred after his example in the Appian instead of in the Vatican. The reason of this important change was that the cemetery was then acknowledged by the emperor as belonging to the body corporate of the Christians, who as a *collegium funeraticum* were not prohibited by the law, and Callistus, as head of the clergy, was naturally the director of the corporation. Thus the cemetery on the Appian became the official Christian cemetery, and hence the burial-place of the popes was transferred from the Vatican to the Appian.

During the diaconate of Callistus the cemetery was much enlarged and improved. It was a season of rest for a time.

To it are to be referred two *cubicula* adorned with most interesting paintings, alluding to the Eucharist and Baptism, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.

But the persecution soon recommenced. The assemblies of the Christians were watched and denounced, and it is to this period we are to refer the opening made from the cemetery into a neighbouring sandpit, *arenaria*, by which the Christians might escape from pursuit.

Zephyrinus died in 218, and was buried in our cemetery; Callistus succeeded him in the Chair of St. Peter, and yet he was not buried with his predecessors in the cemetery to which his name had been given. Nor was his successor Urban buried there. Pontianus, who succeeded Urban, was exiled to Sardinia in 235, and there, during the persecution of Maximinus, abdicated the pontificate. Antherus was elected to the vacant chair, and was put to death after a reign of forty days, in A.D. 236. Next came Fabianus, in whose pontificate Pontianus died in Sardinia. In A.D. 237 Maximinus was killed, and the Church enjoyed peace, during which the pope asked, and obtained permission from the emperor, to bring to Rome the body of Pontianus, which he interred with great solemnity in the papal crypt in A.D. 237. At this period a new area was added to the cemetery. Fabianus, though he died a martyr's death, was interred in the papal crypt. In A.D. 251, Cornelius was elected pope, and died a martyr at Civita Vecchia, whence his remains were brought to Rome by Lucina, who buried them in the crypts called of Lucina. However, Lucius his successor was buried there; as was also Pope Stephen. Stephen's successor, St. Sixtus the Second, was beheaded, with his four deacons, while celebrating the Holy Sacrifice in the cemetery of Pretextatus in 258. He too was buried in the papal crypt. Valerian caused the cemeteries to be confiscated, but they were restored to pope Dionysius by Galienus. The popes Dionysius, Felix, Eutychianus, Cajus, were all interred in the papal crypt, and after Cajus no other pontiff was buried in that sacred spot.

At this point in our narrative it will interest and instruct our readers, to have placed before them an account of the discovery of this papal crypt.

In the month of March, 1854, the *lucernare* which gave light to the corridor leading into this sanctuary, was opened by the excavators; towards the beginning of April access to the rooms themselves was obtained; and early in May the level was reached. On the 11th May, Pius the Ninth visited the crypt, and stood in the sepulchral chamber where so many of his predecessors of the third century had been interred.

First to claim attention are the inscriptions marked on the

walls by the visitors, who in former times came to pay the homage of their prayers at the shrine of the martyrs. Even in the most famous pagan temples, and in the tombs of the Egyptian kings at Thebes, similar inscriptions are to be found upon the walls. They are expressions, not only of adoration towards the divinity, but also tender memories of absent dear ones, whose names, by a natural instinct, rise to the lips under the influences of religious feeling. Perhaps there is not a single monument of antiquity known to us, which offers a larger harvest of such inscriptions, than the very crypts of which we are now treating.

These mural inscriptions may be divided into three classes: the first is composed of bare names of persons, sometimes with an addition indicating their quality; the second, of acclamations similar to those which occur in sepulchral epitaphs and on some domestic utensils; the third, of invocations directly addressed to the martyrs. Concerning the first class it is to be remarked that the names which are written on the walls within reach of the hand and upon constructions of the third and fourth century, are in general of Roman etymology and without any addition to point out the quality of the person; whilst such names as are written upon the plaster covered by paintings in the Byzantine style, or in spots out of ordinary reach, are of foreign origin, frequently preceded by a cross, and almost always followed by letters to signify *presbyter*. Of the first species we have the following: Ρουφίνα, Πολυμικός, φῆλξ, Λεωνος, Λεω, *Maximi*, *Amanti*, *Probiniani*, *Sebatia*: of the second, *Bonizo*; *Felici presbyter peccator*; *Prando pr. indignus peccator*; *Ildebran (d) (Et) elred(i) ep. (episcopi)*; *Joannes pres.*, and other priests whose names were placed near the altar on which they had celebrated the Holy Sacrifice. The acclamations are the following: *Iconi bibas*; *Donate vivas...*; *Victorine vivas...*; *Ponti vivas in Deo Christo*; ΕΛΙΑ ΒΙΒΑΚ ΙΝ ΔΕΟ; ΓΕΛΑΣΙ ΣΗΣ ΕΝ ΘΕΩ; *Eliane vivas in eterno*; *Leonti vib(as) in vita eterna*; *Fortuni te in pace*; ...*in pace astra pete*. These formulas are all of the style commonly used before the fourth century. The commemoration of persons living or deceased, dear to the writers, and recommended by them to God through the intercession of the martyrs, constitutes the third class. On the doorway of one of the crypts there is the invocation *Sancte Suste (Siste)*, and a little lower *Suste san(kte)*. Then follows a series of invocations, of which one only remains entire: *Sancte Suste, in mente habeas in horationes Aureliu Repentinu*. *O holy Sistus, in thy prayers be mindful of Aurelius Repentinus*. Numerous other similar inscriptions follow, though they are all more or less mutilated. On the lateral walls we find these:—

*Marcianum Successum Severum Spirita Sancta in mente
havete et omnes fratres nostros.¹*

Petite Spirita Sancta nt Verecundus cum suis bene naviget.

*In mente abete Saturum . . . Arantium Ar. . . . Petite pro
me Eustachium.*

Ελαφιν οιο (sic) μνιαν εχεται (sic).

Διονυσιν εις μνιαμ εχεται (sic).

*Otia petite . . . et pro parentes . . . et pro fratribus ejus . . .
vibant cum bono. . . .*

And by way of crowning this beautiful litany of prayers comes the exclamation written on the sacred spot by some pious pilgrim:—

GERVSALE CIVITAS ET ORNAMENTVM MARTYRVM D̄I CVIVS

and here the sentence breaks off unfinished. It is clear, however, that the writer had before his mind the third verse of the psalm, *Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi.*

These beautiful inscriptions, in which the Catholic practice of prayers to the saints is so clearly set forth, have been pronounced by De Rossi to belong to the third and fourth centuries. The language employed, as he remarks, is not the ecclesiastical language of the Christian period, but possesses the savour of classic Latinity. The words *otia petite pro parente* recall the Horatian expression *otium Divos rogat in patente prensus Ᾱgaeo.* The other prayers resemble in style and language the inscriptions at Pompeii. The words *in mente habeate omnes fratres nostros, in mente habeas in orationibus,* were in common use among the Christians of the third century. In St. Cyprian's fortieth letter we read *fratres nostros ac sorores . . . in mente habeatis in orationibus vestris.* And in a sepulchral inscription of an Aurelia Maria of the fourth century, found at Aquileia, we have: *Martyres sancti in mente havite Maria.*

I will describe the crypt as it was when disinterred under my own eyes. . . . In the end facing the door there is a marble step, with four holes, some like squares, others like parallelograms, which manifestly served to fasten the same number of little pillars, on which rested an isolated table of square form, that is to say, an altar on which the priest could offer up the Holy Sacrifice with his face turned towards the people, as in the Basilicas. In the wall behind the altar is the principal sepulchre, excavated, like a box, in the *tufa*, the outside being built of brickwork of second century or of the first part of the third. Over this sepulchre there is a quadrilateral opening,

¹ *Spirita* is the plural of *spiritum*, which form frequently occurs in Christian inscriptions of the third century. *Spirita Sancta* thus signifies *Holy souls.*

covered with fine white plaster, which was intended, as we learn from other similar monuments, to protect the marble slab that closed the grave. Mensal sepulchres of this kind, surmounted by a rectangular or semicircular arch, are very ancient in the Roman Catacombs, and I have already shown that the sarcophagus of St. Cornelius had been originally placed in such a tomb, and that, when the repairs made by St. Damasus obstructed the table of that sepulchre, a small altar was erected to serve in its stead. Precisely the same thing has happened in the crypt which I am now describing. The table of the sepulchre had been partially covered and obstructed by arches and buttresses constructed by Damasus when he was enlarging the neighbouring crypt of St. Cecilia. It was then that the isolated altar was substituted for the sepulchral table. This sepulchre, distinguished from the others and occupying the most remarkable position, was the primitive table of the sacred mysteries and the primitive altar of our crypt. The remaining sepulchres are simple *loculi* excavated in the walls, with two large niches made to receive sarcophagi on the level of the floor, and some graves constructed under the pavement. . . .

While the rubbish was being removed from the spot, I watched with eager eye for everything like a letter on the marble, and in each letter that I saw I sought for some syllable of the name of one of the pontiffs who were buried in the cemetery of Callistus, or for some remnant of a Damasian poem. Among many fragments of epitaphs belonging to the fourth and following centuries, written on large stones and appertaining to non-subterranean sepulchres, I saw some letters of monumental shape and beautiful design, resembling those of Damasus, and executed precisely like the inscription placed in front of the sepulchre of St. Cornelius, which I attribute to Siricius, the successor of Damasus. These few letters, placed side by side where the broken stones fitted each other, made up some syllables, and the entire word QVIA, which, no doubt, formed part of some metrical composition; but although I did my best to supply a phrase which might throw a little light on the sense, my labours were all in vain. Nor were any other fragments of the same stone ever found.

But when the workmen had reached the lower strata of the rubbish, there came to the surface every now and then fragments from which I could not restrain my eye and my thoughts. They were thin slabs of the kind we call cemeterial, that is, employed to close the loculi which were excavated in the walls; the letters were Greek, the characters of the third century. On one fragment I read . . . TERωC . . . ; on another . . . OYKIC . . . ; on another . . . ANΟC. Can these be, I asked myself, remains

of the epitaphs of the Roman pontiffs who were buried in the cemetery of Callistus: *αν TERωC, λ ΟΥΚΙC, φαβι ANOC, or ποντι ANOC, ευρυχι ANOC?* My doubts, or rather my hopes, were soon turned into certainty; and the discovery of other fragments of these same slabs gave us the following inestimable names: ANTERωC EΠI(σκοπος); ΦΑΒΙΑΝΟC ΕΠΙΜ(α)PT(υρ); ΛΟΥΚΙC (επισκοπος); ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝ ΟC ΕΠΙC (κοπος).

Meantime the excavators were collecting through the rubbish copious fragments of a great metrical inscription in letters of the true Damasian form. The first fragment that came to light contained no more than the initial letters of three lines, all beginning with the letter H. The sight of this fragment brought to my lips, *Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste trophaea,* *Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Christi,* *Hic positus longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos.* These verses belong to the most famous of the compositions of the poet-pontiff; and the ancient manuscripts have given us the entire text, with glosses, alluding to the group of the most illustrious pontiffs, with St. Sixtus at their head, who are buried in the cemetery of Callistus. In the *Sylloge Palatina*, edited by Gruter, and in the collections of epigraphs at Closter-neuburg, the following verses are preserved:—

Hic conjesta jacet, quaeris si, turba piorum;
 Corpora Sanctorum retinent veneranda sepulchra,
 Sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia coeli.
 Hic comites Xysti portant qui ex hoste trophaea,
 Hic numerus procerum servat qui altaria Christi,
 Hic positus longa vixit qui in pace sacerdos;
 Hic confessores sancti quos Graecia misit,
 Hic juvenes puerique senes castique nepotes
 Quieis mage virgineum placuit retinere pudorem.
 Hic fateor, Damasus, volui mea condere membra,
 Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.

The accuracy of the restoration thus made upon so slight a remnant of the inscription was proved by one hundred and twenty-six other fragments of the marble, which when arranged together, exhibit the entire text of the poem, with the very orthographical peculiarities which exist in the Palatine Codex.¹

We now resume the history of the cemetery in which all these treasures are hidden.

In 303 the persecution of Diocletian commenced. The cemetery of Callistus was confiscated. To protect the shrines of the martyrs, the Christians were not content, as before, with demolishing the stairs that led in view of all, to the subterranean

¹ *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii. pp. 14 sqq.

passages; they now filled with earth the entire of the first area of the cemetery and rendered it inaccessible. In the third area they removed from their original graves the bodies of SS. Calocerus and Parthenius. Pope Marcellinus was not interred in the cemetery of Callistus, but in that of Priscilla, which, it appears, was exempted from the confiscation. Under Maxentius, who succeeded Diocletian, the persecution was ended about 306, but the Christians did not so soon regain possession of the sacred places, nor were they at once recognized in their former capacity of a corporation with the Pope or deacons at their head. Pope Marcellus, who endeavoured to restore order in the ecclesiastical government, and who was opposed by the impenitent apostates, was condemned to exile by Maxentius, and, like Marcellinus, was buried far from the Appian. Eusebius succeeded him alike in the chair of Peter, the disturbances from the heretics, and the pains of exile. Miltiades took the place of the two exiles, and after the space of about a year was recognized by Maxentius as the legitimate representative of the Christian society in Rome. In consequence of this recognition the Pope sent his deacons to the prefects' tribunal to take formal possession of the restored ecclesiastical places. The body of Eusebius was transferred from Sicily to Rome, and by Miltiades interred in the cemetery of Callistus, where an ample crypt, that had hitherto served as a place of assembly, was decorated with marbles and mosaics for the purpose. And when at length peace was formally restored to the Church, the papal crypt was again opened; but the rest of the area remained filled with earth, and upon the spot thus occupied other galleries and tombs were opened. Miltiades was interred in a magnificent sarcophagus in a large cubiculum, and was the last pontiff buried in the cemetery of Callistus. About the second half of the fourth century were commenced the restorations undertaken by Pope Damasus, who transformed the primitive crypts, where the more illustrious saints were interred, into chapels, to which devout pilgrims from all places began to throng. Sixtus the Third imitated his example and decorated the papal crypt, and seems also to have painted on the *lucernare* of the crypt of St. Cecilia the images of the saints whose relics were at that period carried to Rome from remote cities, into which the barbarian hordes were carrying fire and sword. About 430, the body of St. Optatus, Bishop of Vesceter, and martyr, was carried from Numidia and interred in the cemetery of Callistus. And he was the last bishop and saint who was interred in the crypt of the cemetery.

The barbarians entered Italy and carried their ravages to the very walls of Rome. They inflicted irreparable injuries on the

shrines of the martyrs. When peace was restored again, the Christians replaced some of the inscriptions, and the painting representing St. Cecilia appears to have been restored in the seventh century. In the eighth century the invasion of the Lombards helped still more to dismantle the cemetery. In 817 even the situation of the supulchre of St. Cecilia was unknown, and its discovery in 821 is the last page in the history of the cemetery of Callistus.

We have dwelt thus at length on the history of this noble cemetery, that our readers may have some idea of the close connection that exists between it and the history of the Roman Church, especially in the third century. We can now proceed to examine what light the monuments found in the cemeteries throw upon the doctrines and practices of the early Christian society.

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE.¹

“O Rome! my country! city of the soul!
The orphans of the heart must turn to thee”.

How many glories of the past rush to mind, how many endearing memories are awakened in the soul by the magic name of Rome! Pagan orators and poets saluted her as the Eternal City, Queen of the universe, whose origin is divine, whose laws are everlasting, whose power embraces a world-wide range.

“*Omnia Romanae cedant miracula terrae*”.

This was an empty dream in the city of the Caesars; but how is it realized in Christian Rome! The home of the Vicar of Christ, the throne of the fisherman of Galilee, its spiritual rule extends from shore to shore; the See of Peter—its line of sainted pontiffs, as if by a golden chain, binds the faithful of to-day with the Redeemer’s cross on Calvary; it has become indeed the centre of civilization, the mother of arts, the fountain source whence flow the streams of science and salvation to distant lands. Yes, it is not its palace of the Caesars, its forum, its triumphal arches, its capitol, its amphitheatre, that I would seek in Rome: it is the hallowed sanctuaries of the saints, the trophies of the martyrs’ triumphs, the city of God, the new Jerusalem of Christ:

“Peter’s see, the source of pastoral power,
The world’s capital :

¹ Lecture delivered by Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D., 31st of August, 1868.

What realms she does not hold by arms
She rules by religion".

For three hundred years Rome was the battle-field of Christian faith; it was purpled with the blood of martyrs from every distant land; and yet even then a pagan emperor declared that he was ready to exchange the imperial diadem for the sceptre of the pope of Rome. But, from the day when the heralds of Constantine proclaimed the triumph of the Cross, the imperial rulers ceased to make Rome their capital: "It is not meet", says an ancient writer, "that the emperor of the earth should hold his sway in that city which heaven's eternal emperor has made the capital of the Christian religion". The city of the Caesars became henceforth the inheritance of Christ, the common country of all the faithful, and that mysterious course of Providence began, which after three centuries forced the successors of St. Peter to assume the temporal sovereignty of Rome.

It is true, indeed, that it was only in the eighth century that the successors of Constantine finally surrendered the dominion of Rome; but long before that period the sovereign pontiffs had been its only protectors and fathers; they were, so to say, its uncrowned monarchs, and their rule, almost in spite of themselves, was supreme in the territory of the Seven Hills.

When, in the fifth century, barbarian hordes, like surge after surge in the storm, rushed over Italy, laying waste its fertile plains, it was the popes that preserved a remnant of its people for Rome. In the year 409 Alaric led on his two hundred thousand Goths against the devoted city. To a holy monk, who on the way sought to appease his fury, Alaric replied: "It is not of myself that I advance towards Rome, there is one who urges me on, and daily torments me, saying: 'Go, plunder Rome'". The wealth and opulence of the world's capital were soon the prey of the barbarian hordes. For three days the city was one continued scene of massacre and plunder; those alone who took shelter in the churches of Saint Peter and St. Paul were saved; the rest of the inhabitants, hitherto the masters of nations, were now led away to slavery.

For forty years the pontiffs laboured to heal the wounds thus made by the sword of Alaric. Then Attila, *the scourge of God*, crossed the Jura mountains, and, with his countless Huns, rushed down as an avalanche upon Milan, Aquileia, Pavia, and Verona. It was his boast that the grass should cease to grow where his legions passed. No power could resist his fury, and destruction everywhere marked his onward course. The emperor Valentinian the Third, with his court, fled in terror from Ravenna. One man alone was found not disheartened amid the terrors of this dread crisis. He had grown old in the service of the poor and

guardianship of the flock of Christ. He had already crushed the Eutychian heresy, and restored peace to the Church by the council of Chalcedon; now he fearlessly goes forth to confront the advancing foe. On the 11th of June, 452, Pope Leo the Great, robed in the sacred vestments, and accompanied by his deacons, presented himself before Attila on the banks of the Mincio, where now stands the little town Governolo. At his words the surging torrent was rolled back, and Attila declared to his angry chiefs that as the pontiff prayed him to desist from his enterprise, one venerable in mien, appearing in the heavens, commanded him to obey. Thus Rome was saved.

Scarce have the citizens ceased their grateful acclamations to their deliverer, when another storm from the south bursts upon the seven hills. Genseric, with his Vandal fleet, setting sail from Africa, poured his well trained troops upon the plains of Italy. At the city walls Pope Leo met the barbaric devastator, and though for fourteen days all that Vandal rage could reach was devoted to destruction, yet, at his prayers, the chief basilicas at least were saved, and from their walls, when Genseric retired, eighty thousand citizens came forth, the sole remnant of a population which, a century before, was reckoned at three millions.

Another while, and Totila advanced to enrich his followers with the spoils of their former masters; and now the anathema of Babylon is repeated by the finger of God in the dust of Rome. *Urbem reliquit vacuam*, is the concise narrative of Procopius; whilst another contemporary annalist assures us that "for sixty days Rome was so desolate that no human being could be found there, and no living thing but the wild beasts that flocked to it from the surrounding country".

Yet did not the pontiffs cease to watch over the deserted walls, and for two hundred years they continued to be the temporal fathers, as they were the spiritual pastors of Rome. The Greek emperors had still their ministers there, yet, as Muratori remarks, "the chief authority was vested in the pontiffs, who, by the force and majesty of their station, and by that escort of virtues which surrounded them, wielded a placid sway over the city and its territory". Indeed, had it not been for the wonderful vigilance of the popes, Rome would soon have ceased to exist. As Pestum, with its noble temples; as Pompeii, arising from the ashes of Vesuvius; as Memphis, amidst the sands of Africa, so now Rome would have nothing but its marble wilderness to attract the gaze of the distant traveller.

As years went on the Greek emperors scarce deigned a commiserating look towards the ruined city. To use the words of Gibbon, "the lofty tree was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on the ground . . .

Like Thebes or Babylon or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle which again restored her to honour and dominion". Saint Gregory the Great, in his letter to the emperor, complained that everything was given up to the mercy of the barbarians: "the cities are destroyed", he says, "the fortresses dismantled, the open country, stripped of its inhabitants, is become a wilderness for want of cultivation, and the servants of Christ are as daily victims immolated by the sanguinary superstition of these idolaters". Elsewhere he laments that the provisioning of the city, the appointment of consuls and officers, the enrolling of troops, the defence of the walls, the maintenance of public order, all devolved upon the shoulders of the Vicar of Christ. Well indeed does the infidel historian add: "Gregory might justly be styled the father of his country".

It cannot surprise us that Rome should be thus abandoned by the Greek emperors. It had no longer ought to attract their avarice or repay their guardianship. There were other cares moreover to engross their thoughts. Hordes of Tartars precipitated themselves in quick succession on the defenceless frontiers of the east. The cloud-like cavalry bands of these barbarians, clothed in the skins of wild beasts and armed with rude lances, could not be checked by courtier soldiers, brilliant in their armour but cowards in their hearts, and it was necessary to summon away the veteran troops of the west to defend the imperilled throne of their master. Then it was that the Lombards descended into Italy, no longer as a passing wave of barbarians, but settling down on the deserted lands, and snatching city after city from the enfeebled grasp of the imperial deputies. Pope Stephen the Second, in the name of the Roman people, wrote to the emperor, earnestly imploring aid against the destruction that menaced them. But as the Romans of old had abandoned Britain, so now the Greek emperors abandon Rome, a prey to the storm that encompassed it. Then it was that through the necessity of self-preservation, and to save the city and its people from utter destruction, began the temporal sovereignty of the Pope in Rome.

The Britains in their distress invoked Saxon aid, and in their allies soon found new masters. The Sovereign Pontiffs were happier in their choice. Abandoned by the imperial power, the first thought of Pope Stephen was to seek to avert by treaty the menacing invasion. A treaty indeed was made, but only to be violated by the perfidious Lombards. The pontiff exhorted the people to appease the anger of God by public prayers and penitential deeds. In one of the penitential processions the Pope himself was seen moving barefooted around the walls and bearing upon his shoulders a large wooden cross to which was attached

the violated treaty of the Lombards. The next day the aged pontiff, despite the Alpine storms of mid-winter, set out in disguise through the enemy's territory to supplicate the assistance of the French king. Soon the troops of Pepin restore peace to the beleaguered city, and thenceforward the sword of the chivalrous Franks guarded the gates of Rome. Pepin and Charlemagne made it their boast to avenge every insult offered to the Vicar of Christ; and whilst they repelled invasion from the approach of Rome, they proclaimed to the world in their capitulars that that city should remain for ever inviolable as the home of the spiritual ruler of the Christian Church and the patrimony of the successors of Saint Peter.

How glorious was the Christmas Day of the year 800, when Charlemagne, having come for the fourth time to Rome as defender of its freedom, knelt at the threshold of Saint Peter! The barons, clergy, and people, were assembled there to pay him honour, and whilst with universal acclaim they hailed him as champion of the Holy See and deliverer of Rome, the pontiff poured the sacred chrism upon his brow, and crowned him with the imperial diadem of the West.

I have thus endeavoured to briefly sketch for you the origin of the temporal sovereignty of the popes. It arose from the necessities of society and the free choice of a grateful people; and the rights of the pontiffs, confirmed from age to age by the sanction of Christian nations, now stand before us with a prescription of eleven centuries. Assailed solely by the reckless theories of communism and revolution, these rights are confirmed by every principle of social justice and morality. Let the government of Europe be produced that can boast of like titles in its dynasty; but till then may the agents of socialism rage in vain around the time-honoured throne of the successors of Saint Peter.

It would be tedious to mention in detail the many benefits which, in the exercise of their temporal sovereignty, were conferred by the popes on the territory of Rome, on Italy, on all Europe. I can only refer briefly to a few of them, and yet they should be treated of in full, to do justice to the claims of the papal sovereignty.

From the first moment that this charge devolved upon the popes they laboured incessantly to restore society in Italy, to reorganize its scattered members, to consolidate its strength. As an instance, I may name Leo the Fourth, of whom Voltaire thus writes: "Leo the Fourth, in his defence of Rome, proved himself worthy of its princedom; he fortified the city, armed the militia, and guarded against every attack; he was a native of Rome, and like some stately column that stands erect though

encompassed on every side by ruins, he alone, in that vile age of barbarism, seemed to retain the full genius and ardour of the early republican age" (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ii. 28).

Will I speak of the pontiffs as men of learning and science? Suffice it to mention Pope Sylvester the Second. Gioberti was no friend of the Holy See; still, writing of this great pope, he is forced to cry out: "The primacy in science is a characteristic glory of Rome and its pontiffs. The most surprising man that stands before us in the varied range of human science throughout the middle ages belongs to that illustrious see; and as individual genius is placed in bolder relief by the disproportion of its age, I know of no one to be compared in point of science with Gerbert, Pope Sylvester the Second". It is not without some national pride that I have chosen the name of this great pontiff, for he came forth from the Irish school of Bobbio, where in the tenth century still lived the traditions and the science of Saints Virgilius and Columbanus. And allow me to add that no century in the annals of Christendom presents more cheering scenes than the age that bears the name of Pope Sylvester. Saint Henry the Second ruled in Germany, and with his holy spouse, Saint Cunegunda, diffused amongst his people the blessings of peace and piety. The Hungarians, with their king Saint Stephen, renounced their paganism and assumed the banner of the Cross. In Denmark another sainted monarch died martyr to his zeal. Norway was governed by Saint Olaus; Scotland by the good Saint Margaret. We had at home the bright example of the bishop-king, Saint Cormac. England enjoyed the laws of Edward the Confessor; whilst in France the pious son of Hugh Capet strenuously laboured to lessen the evils of feudal anarchy. What a blessing it had been for mankind if some century of modern times had reckoned so many saints among its sovereigns!

I would also wish to speak of the patronage of literature for which the world is indebted to the popes. Suffice it to name Nicholas the Fifth, who prepared a home for the Grecian muses exiled from the East. He loved to be styled the friend of Poggio, Marsilio Ficino, and Bessarion, and by the encouragement which he gave to the blessed Angelico da Fiesole he laid the foundations of that school of painting which has ever since held the post of honour and preëminence in Europe.

Will I refer to their efforts to maintain the liberty of the Church during feudal times, and to preserve a spotless ministry within the sanctuary of God? In the iron age of feudal despotism ecclesiastical functions and benefices became the spoil and traffic of princes. Bishops were chosen, not called by God, but forced by the secular power upon the Church: they were selected,

not for their virtues and spirit of religion, but for the attainment of worldly ends. Holy men had to blush for the desolation of the sanctuary, and it seemed as if the ark of salvation was about to be submerged amid the surging vices of a wicked world.

It is thus the divine Redeemer permits at intervals His holy Church to be imperilled. At one time it is corruption that assails it; at another it is heresy or schism. Sometimes the smile of the powers that be, sometimes open persecution, promises to achieve the work of Satan. But the Redeemer's words are our guarantee that *His* presence cannot fail in holy Church. He may slumber for awhile, as in the storm of Genesareth, to teach His apostles not to place too much reliance on human power or human genius; for, the salvation of His earthly spouse must come from His divine hand alone; but in His own good time He shall hush the winds and waves, and calm and sunshine shall once more shine on His mystic bark.

It was Hildebrand, Pope Gregory the Seventh, that was raised up by God to break the shackles that bound the milk-white hind, and restore to her her freedom. In the silence of the cloister he had wept over the evils of the Church, and when raised to the chair of Peter it was his first resolve to remedy them. Henry the Fourth, with all the power of Germany and all that was wicked in Italy and France, was leagued against him; yet the genius of Hildebrand triumphed over them all. He died indeed in exile, a victim of persecution, but even then his victory was secure, and his name is embalmed in the memory of holy Church as the faithful guardian of her sanctuary. One of the greatest men of modern times was heard to exclaim: "Were I not Napoleon, I would wish to be Hildebrand"; and historical research in our own days has proved that whilst Henry the Fourth was the Nero of Germany, Gregory the Seventh was the unflinching defender of social order and religion in Europe, thus verifying the dying words of the great pontiff: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore is it that I die in exile".

Need I do more than mention the efforts of the popes to preserve inviolable the sanctity of Christian marriage? Yes, they braved every peril in enforcing it, and often too it was their glory to suffer in that holy cause. The names of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, and Philip Augustus of France, at once recur to mind; and yet there is another monarch nearer home to whom I will rather refer. When Henry the Eighth in shameless passion would divorce his lawful queen, he wrote to the pontiff: "Grant the favour which I ask, and England shall be with you; if you refuse it you shall feel my wrath". Clement the Seventh well knew the stubborn heart of Henry, but above all the law

of God should be maintained, and sooner than favour the passion of the monarch, he allowed the fair jewel of England's kingdom to be snatched from his tiara, or rather from the crown of Christ.

The popes never ceased to exercise their power for the suppression of slavery, and from the days of Gregory the Great, who so beautifully laid down the duties of Christian masters, to the encyclical of Pope Gregory the Sixteenth, in 1840, there was not one in the long line of pontiffs but laboured strenuously to promote emancipation and to lessen the evils of slavery. At the same time they have never been prevented by human regards from rebuking despotism and assisting those who were oppressed. During the long dreary period in which our own dear country suffered all the woes of irreligious persecution, the popes were the only friends of our fathers. A little later, when the hydra of revolution raged in France, towards the close of the last century, and when it was the boast of England to welcome some of its victims to her shores, the sovereign pontiff, with the limited resources at his command, was able to support no fewer than twenty-four thousand refugees. In our own times, when each effort of Poland to regain her independence was crushed by brute force, and provoked the most vexatious enactments and the direst excesses of cruelty, the powers of Europe looked on in sullen silence. The voice of the pontiff alone was heard, and the encyclical in reproof of tyranny and in support of the just claims of that Catholic people, shall be cherished as one of the most glorious monuments of the reign of the present immortal pontiff.

I should also commemorate the untiring zeal of the popes in propagating the faith of Christ, and extending to the remotest regions the blessings of the Cross.

“ How beauteous on the hills the feet of Him
 (T is thus Isaias sings),
Who preaches heavenly peace, and brings to man
 The tidings of good things !
Christ first, His Vicar now to us fulfils
 This gracious work of God ;
No land by seas or mountains so concealed,
 But Peter there hath trod”.

There is however one great benefit for which Rome and Italy and Europe are indebted to the sovereign pontiffs, and which merits more than a passing mention in the matter of which I treat: this is their preservation from Moslem barbarism. See the results of Mahometan conquest in Africa and the East. The shores of Morocco were once renowned as the home of industry and science; now the wild beasts of the forest dispute there the

mastery with pirates: Egypt, despite all its natural resources, is a wilderness: Arabia has relapsed into barbarism: Syria and Palestine present nothing but ruins and desolation: and the same ruin and barbarism would reign over all Europe at the present day, were it not for the influence and exertions of the sovereign pontiffs.

From the first moment that the Mussulman cloud began to gather on the horizon, the popes sounded the alarm, and never did they cease their vigilance till the half-moon set for ever in the reddening waters of Lepanto.

When all Spain had been well nigh subjugated by the Moors, and when the Saracen leaders looked down from the slopes of the Pyrenees upon the rich plains of central Europe, meditating new conquests and vowing to exterminate the Christian name, it was a Roman pontiff, Saint Gregory the Third, that aroused the martial ardour of the Franks. Medals blessed by the pope on the altar of Saint Peter's were distributed to the army of Charles Martel, and on the plains of Poitiers the myriad Mahomedan hosts were humbled to the dust by the soldiers of religion. Europe was saved, and after God it owed its preservation to the vigilance of Pope Gregory.

I pass over the almost uninterrupted struggles of the ninth and tenth centuries. In the beginning of the eleventh, a Saracen fleet landed a large army in the north of Italy; they ravaged the coast of Tuscany, but were driven to their ships by the courageous troops of Pope Benedict the Eighth. Before setting sail, the emir sent to the pontiff a sack full of nuts, with the message that as many as were these nuts, so many legions would he bring back next year to raze the very foundations of Rome. Pope Benedict was not idle. The Normans who hitherto had vied with the Saracens in the plunder of North Italy, were invited to his standard. He even journeyed on to Germany, and at Bamberg prayed the emperor Henry the Second to defend the interests of Christian Europe. A powerful army soon crossed the Alps to aid the pontifical troops, and when the emir returned with a numberless fleet, he again was driven back with slaughter from the coast of Italy.

And as I have mentioned the Normans, allow me to refer to another incident which is characteristic of those times, and explains to us how it was that the popes were able to enlist peoples and armies, otherwise conflicting, in the one common cause of the defence of the Christian name. In the year 1049 Leo the Ninth ascended the throne of Saint Peter. The Normans renewed their irruptions into central Italy; at Dragonara the papal army was defeated and the victors rushed on to Civitella, where the pope then resided. There the Normans knelt before

Leo, offering themselves to take the place of his valiant soldiers. The pope in tears returned with them to the battle field. For two days the Normans by fasting and prayer sought to expiate their fault, but Pope Leo felt that his end was at hand. Three days before his death, summoning his clergy to his bed-side, he said to them: "The time is come for me to leave this world. Last night I was shown the land of Heaven, and whilst I marvelling at what I beheld, all the brethren who died in Apuleia fighting for the Church, came before me. Their garments shone like gold; each held in his hand a palm of unfading beauty; they all called to me aloud: 'Come and dwell with us, for it is by thee that we have gained this glory': and I heard another voice which said: 'In three days thou shalt rejoin us; this is thy place; thy throne is prepared and awaits thee'". Thus eight hundred years ago was anticipated the glorious scene of Castelfidardo, when once more the soldiers of Rome became martyrs of faith. There was this difference: the modern Saracens continued their career of reckless plunder, whilst the Norman troops became the champions of civilization and liege soldiers of the cross.

It was to defend Europe against the tide of Saracenic barbarism that the crusaders marched to the Holy Land. The master minds of Sylvester the Second and Gregory the Seventh had already resolved on this line of warfare, but it was reserved for Urban the Second and the Council of Clermont to carry it into effect. The great Carthaginian leader immortalized his name by transferring the seat of war into the rich territories of his assailants. Such was the course which the pontiffs now judged to be the only defence of Europe against the Saracens. After the fall of the Carlovingian dynasty, Europe was split up into innumerable independent princedoms, rivals in their aspirations and their interests. Too weak to resist separately the Saracen assault, and too jealous to combine against the common foe, they must inevitably have fallen one by one before the ever increasing power of the crescent, were it not that the common father of all combined their energies under the banner of faith, and moulded them into one compact whole. Abelard, indeed, like the modern rationalists, derided the crusades, but the *folly of the cross* ever triumphs over the vain wisdom of false philosophy; by the crusades Europe was saved, society was reconstructed, and the feudal dissensions, and jealousies, and rival ambitions of petty princes were forgotten amid the cries of "Dieu le veut", as the crusaders bearing the banner of the cross marched to the rescue of the sepulchre of Christ.

The exertions of the pontiffs against the Mahomedan foe were not confined to exhortations. They themselves were foremost in every enterprise in defence of Christian Europe. In

the celebrated defence of Belgrade, sixty thousand men, equipped by Pope Callixtus the Third, fought under the renowned Hunyad, and the Papal legates, John de Carvayal and St. John Capistran, were there to encourage the troops. The Turkish camp soon became a prey to the Christian army, and forty thousand of the Saracen slain attested the fury of the combat.

Seven years later, Pius the Second, though well nigh weighed down by years and infirmities, when he saw the Turkish armies again mustering all their strength on the banks of the Danube, thus addressed the assembled cardinals:

"Let our words to the princes of Europe no longer be : *Ita*, go to the combat against the enemy of Christianity ; but let us say : *Venite*, come with us to combat your own foe : when they see the Vicar of Christ, aged and infirm, assuming the crusader's staff and sailing for the Holy Land, they will be ashamed not to share his perils. As for me", he added, "I will take my place in the foremost ship, and from its prow I will raise my hands in prayer to implore on their arms the blessing of the God of victories".

And again he said :

"No doubt war is unsuitable to the weakness of old men and to the character of pontiffs, but when religion is ready to succumb, what can detain us ? We shall march with our standard of the cross unfolded, we shall bear with us the relics of the saints, we shall have with us Jesus Christ himself in the holy Eucharist".

Grand indeed would have been the spectacle of the venerable pontiff thus appearing before the walls of Constantinople; but God had not willed it so. At the appointed day the Pope arrived at Ancona, where thirty thousand crusaders were assembled, but as the Venetian galleys entered the port to receive his army, the Pontiff expired, turning a last fond look towards the land of his desires.

His successor, Paul the Second, continued his efforts to combine the powers of Europe against the Saracens. It was at the shrine of the apostles, and under the protection of the Pontiff, that the Albanian hero, Scanderbeg, derived the resistless ardour which achieved for him twenty-two victories over the armies of the Sultan. When Mahomet the Second heard of this hero's death, he is said to have danced with joy, and exclaimed : "Now that the Albanian lion is no more, I shall exterminate the Christians". Albania indeed was soon overrun with Turkish troops, and the inhabitants were everywhere put to the most cruel torture and death. The letters, however, and prayers of the Pope aroused Europe from its lethargy. Once more an army of two hundred thousand men was mustered from France, Germany, and Italy ; and though the Pontiff, like his predecessor, expired at the moment

that success seemed to smile upon his enterprise, the terror alone of such an armament checked the victorious Moslem in his career. Moreover, the enthusiasm which it awakened in Europe produced another happy fruit: it led to the conjunction of the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, which was the signal of triumph of the Christian cause, and soon banished for ever the Mahomedan rule from the peninsula.

For St. Pius the Fifth, however, was reserved the crowning glory of that great work which had so long engaged the thoughts of the sovereign pontiffs. The Sultan Soliman was accustomed to say of this great Pope: "I fear the tears of the old man more than all the arms of Europe": he might have added that he feared his prayers. St. Pius, under the tiara wore the humble habit and loved the religious cloister of St. Dominic, and the pilgrim may still visit the silent cell at St. Sabina's on the Aventine, where, shedding tears and with arms extended, he stood entranced for hours in prayer, looking towards the East on the memorable day of Lepanto. At length he exclaimed: "Thy cause, O Lord, has triumphed", and hastening to the altar, he there with joy invited his astonished companions to entone with him in thanksgiving, "*Te Deum laudamus*". That joyous hymn was soon re-echoed throughout Europe: the efforts of the holy pontiff to combine all the energies of Christian princes, and still more his tears and prayers, had merited at length the blessing for which all Christendom had so long sighed—the Saracen power was for ever discomfited, and Europe was again saved from the horrors of barbarism. Well may we apply to this great Pontiff the words used by a Protestant historian in regard to an earlier pope:

"He might now give his blessing to all the emperors, kings, princes, and lords of Christendom, and say: Without me you would not be what you are. The popes have saved antiquity and civilization, and Rome is worthy of remaining as a sanctuary in which to shelter all the precious treasures of the past".

But it is now time to devote a few words to the enemies of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, and their fate. The first great enemy was the court of Constantinople. Though unable to defend its own territories, yet it ceased not for centuries by secret intrigues and open assault, like Piedmont of the present day, to disturb the peace of Italy. One instance will suffice to show the enmity which the eastern heretics bore to the sovereign pontiffs. Pope Martin had renewed the anathemas of his predecessors and combated with zeal against the Monothelite heresy, of which the Greek emperor was the avowed patron. One day a hired band of assassins seized him at the very thres-

hold of the Vatican, and hurried him away to the sea coast. For fifteen months he was dragged in chains from island to island, and at length was exposed as an enemy of the emperor to the fury and insults of the mob in Constantinople. The aged pontiff, barefooted, with tattered stole and tunic, and covered with filth and blood, yet praying aloud for his persecutors, was dragged through the streets and subjected to every insult. Soon after he expired in exile in the Chersonesus, but the miracles which were wrought at his tomb attested to the world how different was the judgment of God from that of man.

Had it not been for this false pride and hatred against Rome, ever inherent in heresy, the statues of Mahomet and Soliman and Amuret would not now wear their laurel wreaths in the eastern capital. The aegis of the popes, as it sheltered Europe, so also would it have guarded the east from the Saracen sword, and instead of the half-moon, symbol of barbarism, the banner of the Cross would to-day be unfurled on the battlements of Saint Sophia.

The names of Arnold of Brescia and Cola di Rienzi have of late years become familiar in the Protestant literature of England, which extols them as champions of liberty against the tyrannical government of papal Rome. Their history, indeed, has much in common with the revolutionists of modern times, but it is far different from what our novelists and socialists pretend.

Saint Bernard wrote to Pope Innocent regarding Arnold of Brescia: "Beware of that youth from Brescia. His words are honey, but his tenets are poison: 't is the scorpion with a dove's head. Already Brescia has cast him forth; France banishes him; Germany rejects him; it remains for Rome to anathematize him". A little later, in 1139, anathema was indeed pronounced against his tenets in the general council of Lateran, yet Arnold would not submit. Many adventurers were attracted to his standard by his illusive cry of "Rome, the capital of the Italian republic". At the same time he solicited aid from the emperor of Germany, and, heedless of consistency, wrote to him: "Down with all who resist Caesar: behold our cry! we are resolved to make thy dominion universal and unrivalled". Many indeed were the tumults which the followers of Arnold excited in Rome; in one of them even a sovereign pontiff, Pope Lucius the Second, was killed. Still the Romans refused to be led away by the deceptive visions of revolution. One day whilst the pope was absent, the citizens assembled, and full of rage and disgust, caused Arnold to be summoned before them; a popular tribunal was extemporized: Arnold was declared to be a disturber of the public peace and an enemy to

his country. In the popular frenzy he was beheaded; his body was burned, and its ashes were cast into the waters of the Tiber.

Cola di Rienzi, the last of the tribunes of Rome, walked in the steps of Arnold, and met with a similar fate. He was one of those who, during the papal residence in Avignon, proceeded thither with Petrarch and other deputies of the Roman people to pray Pope Clement the Sixth to return to Rome. The Pontiff, knowing his energy and the popularity which he enjoyed, conferred on him the dignity and name of Tribune, with full power for the suppression of crime and brigandage in the territory of Rome. Led away by ambition, Cola di Rienzi soon indulged in every excess. Fully equipped, he proceeded to the porch of the Lateran Basilica, and there striking with his sword towards the points of the compass, he proclaimed that the whole world should thenceforward obey his rule. Rome was amazed at his folly, and the citizens, seizing on him, sent him in chains to the then reigning pope Innocent. The clemency of the pontiff after a while restored him to his liberty and his former dignity, taking care at the same time to appoint a cardinal legate to guide and control him in the government of Rome. The rage of the citizens was, however, soon again kindled against him: the popular voice accused him of heinous crimes, and at length he was murdered by an angry mob on the 8th of October, 1354.

The period of the residence of the popes in Avignon has been well styled the seventy years' captivity of the people of Rome. Many times the pontiffs were asked by their subjects to return amongst them. On one occasion Petrarch thus addressed the pontiff: "Do you choose to arise on the last day with the Avignonese, or with the holy apostles Saints Peter and Paul, with the martyrs Laurence and Stephen, with the confessors Gregory and Sylvester? And what can you answer, O holy Father, when, on the last day, Saint Peter shall say to you, what reverence did you show my tomb? what love did you show my people?" The popes, indeed, were more than desirous of returning to the holy city. Of one of them (Pope Benedict the Twelfth) it is told that night after night he would mount the watch tower of his palace in Avignon, and there sighing and praying, would stretch forth his arms towards his widowed church. The intrigues of princes, however, and the tumultuous scenes in Italy, prevented the popes from realizing their desire. It seemed as if Providence had decreed to make known to the world the necessity for the free exercise of the pontifical rule in Rome. Long had holy Church to weep for the schisms and other evils that sprung from this period of captivity. Rome itself well nigh became a desert; its population

was one hundred and fifty thousand when the popes set out for Avignon; it numbered only seventeen thousand when they returned to the Vatican. At length an humble virgin, renowned for her sanctity, set out on foot across the Alps, and presented herself before Gregory the Eleventh. She spoke to him in the name of God: "It is the wish of heaven that you fulfil your secret vow to return to Rome". The pontiff stood amazed; he had indeed, in the secret of his heart, vowed to return to Rome; but he had feared to make it known to any one, so many were the difficulties that seemed every day to render its realization more and more impossible. It was Saint Catherine of Sienna that thus spoke to the pontiff in the name of God. He obeyed, and on the 17th of January, 1377, Rome rejoiced once more in the presence of its chief pastor and its sovereign.

I will not speak of the many attacks which in succeeding times were made against the papal rule in Rome. The sack of the city by the Lutheran army of de Bourbon for awhile menaced it with utter destruction. The affrescoes of Michael Angelo in the Pauline still present the traces of their fires; the sacred ceremonies of religion were travestied in the public streets by a drunken soldiery, and outrages to humanity and religion were perpetrated which awakened an outcry of indignation throughout all Europe.

At the close of the last century these scenes were again renewed in Rome in the name of the directory of France. The venerable pontiff Pius the Sixth, who for twenty-three years had ruled the Church of God, was commanded to leave the holy city for a distant prison. To a priest whom he asked to accompany him, his words were: "Have you courage enough to accompany us to Calvary?" As he hastened to prison he exclaimed: "How vividly do the early ages of the Church now recur to my mind —the ages of her triumphs": and well indeed, for in his sufferings and his sorrows were once more sown the seeds of the Church's victory. His successor Pius the Seventh was also destined to taste the bitter cup of persecution. Napoleon at the zenith of his power, said to his ministers: "Can the sentence of the old man cause the muskets to drop from my soldiers' hands?" Yet so it was: the snows of Russia caused that very calamity to beset his hitherto victorious troops. Under the blighting sentence of excommunication the faded laurels fell from Napoleon's brow: and whilst the pinioned eagle was sent to pine away its days of misery on a dreary rock, the holy father returned to his capital amidst the joyous acclaims of a grateful people:—

"The Arabs have a fable that the great pyramid was built by the antediluvian kings, and alone, of the works of men, bore the weight of the flood. Such as this was the fate of the popedom. It

had been buried under the great inundation, but its foundations had remained unshaken, and when the waters abated it appeared alone amid the ruins of a world which had passed away" (*Macaulay's Essays*).

And now we should turn our thoughts to the immortal pontiff who so happily reigns. But his sorrows and his triumphs are household words in every home of Christendom, and hence they require no more than a passing reference. When in 1848 revolution held out its promises, its friendship, and its richest boons, Pius the Ninth, by his golden words, "*Non devo, non voglio, non posso*", laid down the basis of Christian freedom, and drew the line of eternal separation between true liberty and communism. From that day all the storms of infidelity and socialism have raged around the throne of Pius the Ninth, but thanks to Providence they have raged in vain. Castelfidardo presented a glorious spectacle to the world. It was indeed the combat of the two standards: on one side revolution, brute force, and injustice, personified in Victor Emmanuel and Cialdini, and exulting in a momentary triumph; on the other, religion, honour, and justice, with Pius the Ninth and Lamoriciere. Never, in the verdict of Europe, had the temporal power of the popes so great a triumph, never did Christian chivalry present more glorious champions. The martyrs of Castelfidardo, combating for Pio Nono's throne, became sponsors for all that is good and honourable and just in society; they died in its defence, and by their death they secured its triumph.

Before concluding, I would wish to tell you who are the present enemies of the temporal sovereignty of the popes. They are the socialists of Italy, combined with adventurers from every part, from Hungary and Poland, from France and Russia, and I must add from England too,—men fanatical in their hatred of the Catholic Church, or revolutionist in their principles, who rush with frenzy against the popedom, which they instinctively recognize to be the mainstay of morality and social order. They are aided by all who wish to undermine society, or who under the name of liberty seek loose reins for libertinism and brigandage throughout Europe. They are aided by the anti-Catholic press of England: they are aided still more by England's funds. Even in Ireland collections have been made in Protestant churches which I could name, in aid of the attacks on Rome, and these collections have been enforced by some orange landlords on their tenantry. St. Bernard, describing the Italian revolutionists of his day, says:

"Odius to earth and heaven, they have assailed both the one and the other; impious towards God, reckless towards things sacred, factious among themselves, envious of their neighbours, inhuman towards

foreigners, . . . they love none and by none are loved. Too impatient for submission, too helpless for rule; . . . importunate to gain an end, restless till they gain it, ungrateful when they have gained it. They have taught their tongue to speak big words, while their performances are scanty indeed" (*De Considerat. iv. 2.*)

Who would not say that these words described the revolutionists of our own day? The oppression of the poor, the bankruptcy of the state, the plunder of monasteries, the insecurity of life and property throughout the whole peninsula, public insults to religion, war against the helpless virgins of Christ, these be thy triumphs, O Italian revolutionists! So dreadful are the abuses, so horrible the crimes of these enemies of God and man, that the present meek Pontiff was forced thus to describe them in his Encyclical of 17th of October, 1867:

"Cast your eyes around you, venerable brethren, and you will see and deeply deplore with us the detestable abominations which now chiefly desolate unhappy Italy. . . . The venerable commandments of God and the laws of holy Church are utterly despised, and impiety uplifts its head unpunished, and triumphs. Hence all the iniquities, all the evils and the injuries we behold with the utmost grief of our soul. Hence these numerous arrays of men who walk in iniquity, serving under the banner of Satan, upon whose forehead is written 'Falsehood', and who, called [by the name of rebels, and turning their mouths against heaven, blaspheme God, sully and contemn every thing sacred, and treading under foot all rights, divine and human, breathe only carnage like rapacious wolves. These are they who shed blood, lose their souls by most serious scandals, and seek most unjustly to profit by their own malice, carrying off by violence other men's goods, afflicting the weak and the poor, increasing the number of widows and orphans, showing favour for reward to the impious, while they refuse justice to the poor, plundering, and, in the corruption of their hearts, shamefully glutting themselves with all evil passions, to the very ruin of civil society itself".

Were we to listen to the infidel press of Europe, the Roman people should also have joined in the revolutionary war against the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See. But it is not so: the Romans have learned too well the fate of the usurped provinces and the sad tale of the adjoining kingdom, to seek to substitute a military despotism for their present mild rule. No; the Roman people love to prove on every occasion their devoted loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiffs. They proved it when with universal acclaim they welcomed Pio Nono returning from his exile. They proved it year after year, refusing to afford a plea to Piedmontese intervention, which was ever ready at the frontiers. They proved it when the French army was withdrawn, and when they formed special troops for the defence of the Pa-

trimony of St. Peter, and swelled the Zouave battalions to repel the Garibaldian bands. They proved it in the towns of the Sabina, which were entered by surprise by the invading revolutionists; but the inhabitants soon chased the freebooters from their walls with the rallying cry of *Viva Pio Nono*. They proved it, in fine, when unsolicited they formed volunteer corps of guards to maintain order in the city of Rome, whilst the gallant army of the pope went forth in the name and with the blessing of the whole Christian world, to humble to the dust the Garibaldian pride on the plains of Mentana.

Yes, the Romans know too well the privileges they enjoy under the mildest and most beneficent rule of Christendom to associate themselves with the revolutionists of other kingdoms. No deaths from starvation are heard of in Rome; no emigration is forced upon its people to secure the means of subsistence; ruin is not brought upon its families by a sudden monetary crisis; for centuries the small holders are protected by an admirable tenant-right: its capital, the great centre of attraction for the *elite* of Europe, is enriched by an ever increasing train of wealthy visitors: there is no form of human misery but has the noblest institutions for its relief: everything is done by the government to alleviate the condition of the poor: the whole revenue of the Pope is devoted to public works for the good of the country; the schools and universities present a gratuitous education even in its highest branches to all: there is no monopoly in its offices, and the highest post is open alike to the sons of the humblest artizan as to the scions of its noblest houses. Such are but a few of the special features of that Rule which the Roman people refuse to exchange for the disgrace and misery and oppression and bankruptcy of their neighbours.

But let us suppose that the Roman people were at length to be seduced from their allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiffs, should this suffice to justify the powers of Europe in acquiescing in such a revolutionary course? I unhesitatingly reply that it should not. It is not for itself alone that the patrimony of St. Peter enjoys the Papal government, but it is moreover for the common good of all Christendom. An American statesman has well illustrated this point. The district of Columbia, as the seat of government, enjoys a special independence. Now, were this state, he says, to proclaim itself desirous of being annexed to an adjoining state, surely no man of common sense in Congress would by his vote sanction their desire, for the plain reason that its exceptional government is given to it, not for itself alone, but for the benefit of all the United States. Even so, no change can be justified in the form of government of Rome without the approval and sanction of all Christendom. That sanction Chris-

tendom shall never grant, and never shall the powers of Europe permit the Holy See to be deprived of its principality, which is necessary for the due exercise of its sacred mission, and which is the sure guarantee of its freedom in its spiritual sovereignty. No! Europe cannot be deprived of the patrimony of Saint Peter, which, hallowed by the memories of a thousand years, and sanctioned by all that is venerable in society and religion, is the sanctuary and home of art and piety, the source of every blessing to mankind, the only check against irreligion, communism, and tyranny, the only hope for social order, civilization, and true Christian liberty. The Christian pilgrims from afar shall not cease to fondly turn to that kingdom of the heart as to their home, and all Christendom, in the outpouring of its affections, shall from age to age greet the Pontiff-city as we to-night salute her: *Ecce perpetua.*

EDUCATIONAL DANGERS.

(CONTINUED.)

THE second engine used by the enemies of religion in France for the maintenance and spread of infidelity is, the illustrious Bishop of Orleans tells us, the *Educational League*—*La Ligue de l'Enseignement*. This *League* has been introduced from Belgium into France by the Freemasons and the "*Solidaires*"—the members of an impious association, the avowed object of which is, as our readers may be aware, to prevent persons from receiving the sacraments or any of the sacred rites of the Church in life or in death. The *Educational League*, with a wonderful spirit of propagandism, has established throughout France libraries and courses of instruction for men and for women, and even for girls and young children. Their banner is inscribed, "*Spread of Education*"; but under this device is hidden the scheme of propagating irreligion. The founder of the "*League*" in France, whose name is given by Mgr. Dupanloup, M. Jean Macé, is a Freemason; and both his declaration and those of the organs of Freemasonry leave no doubt of the masonic origin of the scheme and of the spirit which animates it. Now the third article of the statutes of the "*League*" declares, when speaking of the education to be given by their association, that "neither politics nor *religion* shall have any part in it". And lest there should be any mistake as to the meaning of this article, one of the leading masonic journals declares that religion is "useless as an instrument for forming the minds of children, and that from a certain point of view it is capable of leading them to abandon all

moral principles. It is incumbent on us, therefore", concludes this journal, "it is incumbent upon us to *exclude* all religion. We will teach youth its rights and duties in the name of liberty of conscience, of reason, and, in fine, in the name of *la Solidarité* (*Le Monde Maçonnique*, Octobre, 5866 [1866], p. 372). And again: "Freemasons must give in their adhesion *en masse* to the excellent '*Ligue de l'enseignement*', and the lodges must, in the peace of their temples, seek out the best means of making it effectual. Their influence in this way will be most useful. *The principles we profess are precisely in accord with those which inspired that project*" (*The same journal*, Feb., 5867 [1867]. And in April of the same year the same organ of Freemasonry contained the following paragraph: "We are happy to announce that the 'Educational League' and the statue of *our brother!* Voltaire meet with the greatest support in all the lodges. There could not be two subscription lists more in harmony with each other: Voltaire, the representative of the destruction of prejudices and superstition; the Educational League, the engine for building up a new society based *solely upon learning and instruction*. Our brethren understand it so". In fine, that there may not remain upon our minds the least doubt as to the identity of the principles of this League with those of Voltaire, we find its founder in France proposing at a great masonic dinner a toast to the memory of that arch-infidel; while the newspaper, *Le Monde Maçonnique*, from which we have quoted so largely, informs its readers, that at one of the "professional schools" described in our last number the prize for good conduct (*le prix de morale*) was awarded to "*the daughters of a free-thinker, who have never attended any place of religious worship*".

The books which are found in the libraries established by this "Educational League" are, as might be expected, in keeping with its principles. Among those books, destined, forsooth, for the moral education of youth of both sexes, and of men and women of the working classes, we find works of Rousseau and of Madame George Sand.

We do not know how to conclude our notice of this portion of the illustrious prelate's letter, than by citing his words at pp. 23 and 25 of his pamphlet. They seem to warn us, as well as those to whom they are specially addressed, that it is incumbent upon us to use the greatest vigilance in this matter of education; for we too may be deceived, perhaps unintentionally, but still deceived. It would not be the first time that sincere and good men have been deceived in Ireland.

"This 'Educational League', as well as the society for 'Professional Schools', exercises at this moment the most active and extensive propagandism, rallying around it, as always happens, thanks to

the motto inscribed upon its standard, good and sincere men, who are deceived, and lend their support without knowing it to a detestable object".

And again:

"Good and sincere Catholics, who, deceived by the motto of the association, have given their names to this '*Educational League*', take part without knowing it in a masonic institution, and in building up this new state of society, from which religion is to be banished. Well may the Bishop of Metz say: 'These persons forget that, like Proteus in the fable, Freemasonry knows how to multiply *ad infinitum* its transformations and its names. Yesterday it called itself '*les solidaires*', or *morality independent of religion*, or *freedom of thought*; to-day it takes the title of an *Educational League*; to-morrow it will find some other name by which to deceive the simple'".

Before leaving this subject, it may not be out of place here, while treating of our own educational dangers, to remind our readers that the University of London, which finds favour with many Catholics, has lately put forward into most objectionable prominence among the subjects for its matriculation examination, one of the books which find special favour with the '*Educational League*'—we mean portions of the works of the infamous George Sand.

It is not necessary to delay long upon the third plan by which irreligion and impiety are spread in France. Mgr. Dupanloup informs us, that courses of public lectures are authorized in the chief towns and cities; and the examples given by the illustrious prelate of the teaching of these lectures are indeed appalling. Materialism, the eternity of the world, and the impossibility of its creation from nothing, the denial of the whole supernatural order, the denial of the unity of the human race, the development of man from the ape; these are among the subjects taught, without let or hindrance, to unsuspecting youth—nay, the teaching of which is encouraged in every way.

But we come to consider the fourth fact, or rather series of facts, mentioned by the Bishop of Orleans, in order to show what just reason there is to fear the educational dangers by which Christian society is threatened—"Positivism, pantheism, materialism, atheism, all those systems which agree in denying the existence of God, of the human soul, of free will, of a future state, and of the first principles of the moral and social order, have sought, especially of late, to take forcible possession of education. Now-a-days the doctrine is openly advanced, that 'sensation is a property of matter; that thought is a movement of matter'; 'that free will does not exist; that *conscience* is also a property of matter; that a crime is the logical, direct,

and *unavoidable consequence of the moving passion*"; "that a force not united to matter is an absolutely unmeaning idea"; "that all creative power is the affinity of matter"; "that, consequently, man must have come from the transformation of the animal species; that he is derived from the ape; that he is, in fact, an ape in a high state of development and perfection". These vile theories, which remind us of the worst theories and the most infamous books of the eighteenth century—*Man a Plant; Man a Machine; Man an Ape*,—this abominable doctrine the youth of our schools, led astray by its teachers, applauds; this is the precipice down which it blindly rushes. Materialism triumphs in the School of Medicine of Paris" (pp. 31, 32). The lectures of the school were inaugurated last year amid cries of *Vive le materialisme*, and on the 30th of December last a candidate for degrees was permitted by the Medical Faculty to advance the following revolutionary doctrine, grounded on the materialistic principles he had been taught: "Who still speaks to us of free will? As the stone which falls to the ground obeys the laws of weight, man obeys the laws which are proper to him...Responsibility is the same for all, that is to say, *none*". And again: "Physicians must not be accomplices of the magistrates and judges", who punish men for acts for which they are not responsible" (pp. 32, 33). Here we have a sample of the teaching given in the *Ecole de Medicine* of Paris, not only the first medical school of France, but among the chief schools of Europe. And this sample is, unfortunately, not a solitary one. The Medical Faculty and the University of Paris gave medals in 1866 to two dissertations, in one of which we find a denial of the act of creation and of God the Creator, and a rejection of every metaphysical idea, *as useless and dangerous*; while human thought is set down as produced by *heat!* In the other we read the following propositions: "Matter is eternal". "The notion of a *First Cause* is useless and irrational—it is *chimerical!*" Again: "It is absolutely impossible to explain the existence of a creative power"; and "an immaterial being is not necessary for the production of life". And, "To attribute the phenomena of life to *an immaterial soul*, is to substitute a *chimerical being* to the hypotheses of machinists". "Materialists have done good service to physiology by disengaging it of metaphysical entities. The idea of the *soul*, of an *immaterial power*, is a mere abstraction; in fact, nothing of the kind exists. It is as useless as it is absurd to seek elsewhere than in bodies themselves the conditions of the existence of phenomena". In fine, the youthful candidate for university distinctions winds up by saying, that "Man must not be over proud of his endowments, for, perfect

though he be and capable of perfection, he has not gained this high position of superiority which he holds *without having passed through all the animal series*. Neither must he be humbled at his lowly origin; for as C. Vogt has said: It is more glorious for him to be an ape developed into perfection, than an Adam fallen from his high state!!! (pp. 34, 35).

Again, on the 25th of last July another candidate for university distinctions in medicine, speaking of the intellectual symptoms of madness, says that "*Theologism*", by which he means religious belief of any kind, causes madness; and that to return to "*Theologism*", or conversion from incredulity to Christianity, is a fact which partakes of the nature of mental aberration, and is a tendency of a "*sick brain*". The same person repeats over and over that theology and metaphysics—belief in the existence of the human soul and of God—are two causes constantly predisposing to madness. The young man who maintains these opinions tells us, as we might expect, that "for a long time he is unfettered by any theological belief"; he acknowledges only one master, *Auguste Comte*; and one faith, *Positivism*. He tells us, that "*Polytheism* is more logical than monotheism"; that "*Intellectual decay* is shown by a greater or less return to religious belief"; and that it is "*only little minds*" which have any religious convictions.

But this is not all. Moral principles as well as the truths of religion must disappear. If there is no God, the "*Absolute*" does not exist; there is no such thing as *absolute truth*; truth is *only relative*, it depends on the state of our brain; what is truth for us to-day, is false to-morrow. "*All our notions are only relative*", says the dissertation approved by the Faculty of Paris. "*The science of morals, notwithstanding its pretensions to being an absolute science, is the most relative of all the sciences*" (p. 38); that is to say, there is no essential difference between good and evil; virtue and vice are to be distinguished one from the other, not by any intrinsic quality, but by the changing dispositions of the human mind!

And unhappily these principles, subversive of all morality, are not advanced by the aspirants only to academical distinctions; most certainly, the students would not advance these theories had they not learned them from their masters. Hence we find one of the professors in the University Faculty of Bordeaux asserting, that "even among civilized nations, moral ideas are *so relative, contradictory, and independent of exterior and individual relations*, that it is impossible, and will always be impossible, to find an absolute definition of '*goodness*'" (p. 38, note). And *La Revue Medicale*, in its number of the 31st October last, publishes the discourse pronounced by one

of the physicians of the Faculty of Paris, M. Verneuil, over the grave of another member of their learned body, Doctor Fouchee, from which the following extracts are taken by the Bishop of Orleans (p. 39, note):

"We are reproached with believing with the sages of old that Fate is blind, and as such presides over our lot. And why should we not believe it?...Humbling and sad as is this admission, still we must make it; imperceptible elements of the great social organization, appearing upon this earth as living beings, fragments of matter, agitated by a spirit, we are born, *we live, and we die, unconscious of our destiny*, playing our part without any precise notion of the end, and in the midst of the darkness which covers our origin and our end, having only one consolation: the love of our fellow-man".

"This simple philosophy alone", M. Verneuil continues, "assuages our grief and ends by drying our tears. By the side of the half-open tomb we ask, whether he, whom it contains, served the good cause without deceit.....If, by his intelligence or his kindness of heart, he laboured in the great work, we say, he has paid his part of the common debt, and *whether he returns to his original nothing or not*, whether he is destroyed or merely changes his form, whether he hears our words or not, we thank him in the name of the past and of the future".

Another distinguished Professor published in 1866 *Lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System*. Mgr. Dupanloup gives us the following extracts from the work:—

"We admit", he says, "without any restriction, that intellectual phenomena in animals are of the same order as in man". . . . "As for *free will*, we comprehend a certain kind of free will in the more intelligent animals; and, on the other hand, we may add, that perhaps man is not so free as he would fain persuade himself he is". And "*as to feeling the distinction between good and evil*, it is a grave question, *which we must first study in man himself!*"

In other words, it is not so clear that there exists any such distinction at all.

We have, then, one of the most distinguished of the medical schools of Europe teaching that man is only a development of the ape; that God and the human soul do not exist; that physicians and those who study man's nature must not become the accomplices of the civil magistrate, who alone is guilty, and not the irresponsible assassin whom he sends to the scaffold; and, in fine, as a consequence of all this, that society must be *radically reformed* by means of *Positivism*.

And let it not be supposed that these principles are merely announced as abstract principles; conclusions are drawn from

them which must fill every thinking mind with horror. The author of one of the dissertations referred to above says that "the time will come, perhaps it has already arrived, when patriotism will be no longer a virtue *but a vice*".

And what shall we say to the following sentiments, uttered by a lady who has translated into French Darwin's work on the *Development of the Human Species*, and who sees "*with surprise and grief how false have hitherto been our political and civil laws, and even our religious morality.*" One of the *vices*", she says, "*least frequently noticed, but not the least grave in itself*, is that *imprudent and blind charity* in which *our Christian era* has always sought the ideal of social virtue, and which the people would fain convert into a kind of fraternal obligation, although its most direct consequence is to *multiply and aggravate in the human race the evils which it pretends to remedy*. Through it the strong are sacrificed to the weak, the good to the wicked, beings endowed with every high quality of mind and body to the vicious and deformed. What follows from this *unreasonable protection* bestowed exclusively upon *the weak, the infirm, the incurable*, even upon the wicked, in a word, upon *all whom nature has afflicted*? There is a tendency to perpetuate indefinitely the evils from which they suffer; the evil, instead of diminishing, increases, and increases at the expense of the good"!

Well may the Bishop of Orleans, after quoting these lines, exclaim, that we seem to have come back again to the most cruel and monstrous times of paganism, to the law of Lycurgus copied into the *Twelve Tables*—"If a child be deformed, let the father himself slay it! *Puerum, pater, cito necato*"; and to the barbarous maxim of Seneca—"As we kill mad dogs or wild bulls, so we drown children that are born weak or deformed. This is not anger; it is reason; it is to deliver the sound social body from what is useless. *Rabidos affligimus canes, trucem atque immansuetum bovem caedimus . . . liberos quoque, si debiles monstruosique editi sunt, mergimus. Non ira, sed ratio est a sanis inutilia secernere*"! (pp. 44, 45).

And let it not be supposed that these atrocious doctrines are confined to professors and scholars in their learned disquisitions. Mgr. Dupanloup tells us, that a newspaper in great circulation lately declared as its opinion that "it was hard to say the precise amount of free will necessary for virtue or vice"; and, comparing the greatest criminals with the greatest saints and benefactors of the human race, it could not see what share free will had in the noble works of St. Vincent de Paul and Fenélon, or in the atrocities of highwaymen and murderers! And *Le Journal des Débats* has recently taught that society has no right

to *punish* criminals, but only to *defend itself* against them, as we defend ourselves against a dangerous wild beast! Even a member of the French Senate has proclaimed, that "*principles of morality and a system of justice founded upon a new basis* must gradually be created and *substituted for the old Bible, for all those absurd books called codes of morality, which enfeeble the mind and soften the brain!*"

Such are a few among the many means which the enemies of religion make use of to spread irreligion in France. Unfortunately their efforts are not without results. Eighty students of the *Ecole Normale*, the great training school of teachers for the north of France, have applauded these sentiments in a public letter. Several of the professors of the Faculty of Medicine have received ovations from crowded class-rooms; millions of immoral and irreligious books are scattered throughout the country; reading rooms and circulating libraries are established, containing such books as Renan's *Life of Christ*, Prudhon's *Social Revolution*, Eugene Sue's *Mysteries of Paris*, etc.; and thus Freemasonry, under the pretext of combating ignorance, wages a deceitful and implacable war against religion. "*We too*", says the organ of the Freemasons (*Le Monde Maçonnique*, in June, 1866), "*we too expect our Messiah, the true Messiah of the mind and reason—universal education!*"

But it is time we should come to the moral of our sad tale, and make its application to our own country. We have made these long extracts from the pamphlet of the Bishop of Orleans, because we are convinced that it behoves all, clergy and people, who are anxious to maintain religion in Ireland, to receive his words as addressed to themselves; not indeed that the storm, which has already come down upon France, has actually broken on Ireland, but because all who read the signs of the times may see the clouds gathering and may even hear the muttering of the thunder. The danger for Ireland is not Protestantism, but unbelief. Our educational danger is not open proselytism, but non-Catholic systems, which will weaken the hold of religion on the youthful mind, shut the priest out of the school, or admit him only at stated times, and thus estrange the lambs of the sheepfold from their pastors. It is true we have no "*professional schools for females*", the avowed object of which is to train the future mothers of our country "*in morality without religion*", under infidel teachers; but we have schools founded upon the principle which in the French "*professional schools*" is the cloak for every evil, viz., that the schools should be *open to children of all religious persuasions, without religious distinction*".

We have no "*Educational League*" or courses of public lectures, established and promoted for the purpose of getting the

education of the country into the hands of Freemasons and of other enemies of the Church; but we have, especially in England, public men of great power and influence who leave no means untried to divorce education from religion, and even to force upon the country (what is called) "secular" education. Again, the most gigantic efforts are made—perhaps we, the Catholic body, and especially we of the clergy, do not realize the fact as we ought—the most prodigious efforts are made to spread licentious and irreligious writings, and even good and sincere men lend their support, without suspecting it, to this propagandism of evil. Thus we have seen that the London University has placed one of the books of the infamous George Sand on its list of works to be presented at matriculation; it has also put forward a work of Dumas', whose name, most assuredly, is not one to be introduced with approval to youth; while on the latest list of works to be brought up by the candidates for entrance we find the *Heroides* of Ovid, of which the *English Cyclopaedia*, edited by Charles Knight, no bigoted witness it will be admitted, gives us the following judgment:

"The voluptuous pictures of Ovid are only concealed with a transparent veil, and even this is sometimes withdrawn. It is rather singular that the *Heroides*, which abound in obscure allusions and in voluptuous imagery, and are often difficult to understand, should have been so much used as an elementary school-book in modern times".—*English Cyclopaedia*, article *Ovid*.

In fine, the degrading doctrines of the Paris School of Medicine are not professed in this country; the barefaced materialism and atheism taught there amidst the acclamations of the hearers are not heard in the lecture-rooms in Ireland; but is not the eternity of punishments in the other life denied by one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin? Is not the inspiration of parts of the Sacred Scripture called into question by another teacher of youth in that same University, to which several unsuspecting Catholic parents deem it *useful and respectable* to entrust the completion of their children's education? Worst, perhaps, of all, is it not well known that Auguste Comte and the "Positive Philosophy", of which he is the founder, have a large and increasing school of followers in the University of Dublin; that philosophy, of which the infidel doctrines of the French teachers and their pupils are the legitimate consequences; that philosophy to which those materialists and atheists look for the regeneration of society: "*Society must be radically reformed by means of Positivism*"?

As we have mentioned the philosophical system of Auguste Comte, we beg to recommend to our readers the articles on

"*Positivism*" which appeared in this journal in March and April, 1866. The poisonous principles with which it inoculates the mind, and its wide-spread influence even in English literature at the present day, are there clearly explained. Almost unconsciously many a person adopts its formulas; and while speaking of "*Providence*" and "*Nature*" and a hundred such phrases, seems to avoid the mention of the Great God, whose personal existence, as indeed the existence of anything beyond the material world, Positivism calls in question. Philosophical systems, it is true, are born and grow in schools; but the experience of the past, and especially of the French Revolution last century, shows that in a generation after their birth they leaven for good or evil the literature of their native place; and in the second generation the principles on which they rest become the moving principles of the nation. Positivism has worked its way and is constantly working its way each day more and more into English literature: let us hope that, as far as our people are concerned, it will not effect the end which one of Comte's chief disciples set before himself, viz.: "*to set humanity free from illusions*", that is, from a belief in Providence and in a Creator; "*from vague disputes*", that is, from disputes regarding man's origin and final end; and "*from deceitful idols and powers*", that is, from the living God. "*University Education*", we have been told by those who desire its advent, will bring upon us, if it be uncontrolled by religion, this torrent of deadly evils; there is no dyke to prevent the bitter sea from pouring in upon us and overspreading the land, save CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

The following questions have often been proposed, and never till the present day have rubricists been able to supply a satisfactory answer:

- 1st, Can the Holy Communion be administered to the faithful from pre-consecrated particles, in Mass *de Requiem*?
 - 2nd, Can Communion be administered before or after Mass *de Requiem*?
 - 3rd, What vestments should be used in Masses for the dead?
-

The S. Congregation of Rites, by the decree which we now publish, has at length decided:

- 1st, That in Masses for the Dead, the Holy Communion may be distributed to the faithful from the pre-consecrated particles.

2nd, That the same may be done both before and after Mass. The condition, however, is added, that there should be some *rationabilis causa* to justify such distribution of the Holy Communion *before* Mass. Moreover, the blessing by the priest is not to be given in such communions, either before or after Mass.

3rd, Black vestments are always to be used in Masses *de Requiem*, one only case excepted, viz., when the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for the Forty Hours Adoration takes place on All Souls' Day:

Decretum Generale.

Post liturgicas recentiores leges a Svmmis Pontificibus Pio V., Clemente VIII., Paulo V., et Urbano VIII., conditas, gravis exarsit controversia inter Doctores et Rubricistas "An in Missis defunctorum aperiri possit tabernaculum ad Fideles pane Eucharistico reficiendos". Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio prima vice interrogata, in una Albinganen. 24. Julii 1683. ad IV. respondit. "Non esse contra ritum ministrare communionem in Missa de Requiem, vel post illam cum paramentis nigris, omissa benedictione, si administraretur post missam". Verum controversia nondum composita identidem Sacra Rituum Congregatio peculiaribus in casibus responsa dedit, quin unquam ad generale Decretum deveniret. Interea ex nonnullorum doctorum placitis, tum pervasit opinio, posse nempe fidelibus Sanctam Eucharistiam ministrari particulis tantum in Missa pro defunctis consecratis; tum in aliquibus locis mos invaluit missas defunctorum celebrandi in paramentis violaceis, ut non solum intra Missam, sed etiam ante vel post eamdem pietati fidelium Sacra Eucharistia refici cupientium satisficeret. Quapropter Episcopis praesertim Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem saepissime rogantibus ut per generale Decretum quid hac in re faciendum sit statueret, Sacra eadem Congregatio die 12. Aprilis anni 1823. in una Panormitana edixit ut gravis haec quaestio videtur peculiariter et ex Officio. Quod iterum obtinuit anno 1837. in una Mutinen, ubi ad III. Dubium "An mos qui perdurat adhuc communicandi in Missis defunctorum cum particulis praeconsecratis, possit permetti, vel etc." responsum est: *Dilata et servetur rescriptum in Panormitana* 12. Aprilis 1823. Nihilominus ob temporum ac rerum circumstantias isthaec peculiaris negotii hujusmodi salebrosi disquisitio ad aetatem usque nostram dilata fuit; siquidem in Convento die 16. Septembbris anni 1865. collecto cum ageretur de usu coloris violacei in Missis defunctorum in altari ubi Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum asservatur, responsum fuit tertio "Dilata, et reproponatur una cum alio dubio an Sacerdos possit aperire ciborium ad Communicandos fideles cum paramentis nigris". Tandem novis supervenientibus Sacrorum Antistitum precibus die 3. Martii anni 1866. in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Comitiis propositum fuit Dubium una cum sententia quam ex officio aperuit alter e Consultoribus "An sacerdos possit aperire Ciborium ad communicandos Fideles in paramentis nigris?" Verum Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Patres

Cardinales responderunt : *Dilata, et scribat alter Consultor, nec non Assessor, reassumptis omnibus ad rem facientibus; habita praesertim ratione relate ad opportunum.* Typis traditis communicatisque hisce sententiis tum Reverendissimi Assessoris tum alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris specialiter deputati, Sacrorum Rituum Congregatio in Ordinario Coetu hodierna die ad Vaticanum coadunata est : ubi Eminentissimus et Reverendissimus D. Cardinalis Nicolaus Clarelli-Paracciani loco et vice Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Cardinalis Constantini Patrizi Praefecti absentis idem proposuit Dubium, et Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi re mature accurateque perpensa etiam quoad opportunitatem responderunt : *Affirmative seu posse in Missis defunctorum, cum paramentis nigris, Sacram Communionem Fidelibus ministrari, etiam ex particulis praeconsecratis, extrahendo pyxidem a tabernaculo. Posse item in paramentis nigris, ministrari Communionem immediate post Missam defunctorum ; data autem rationabili causa, immediate quoque ante eandem Missam ; in utroque tamen casu omittendam esse benedictionem. Missas vero defunctorum celebrandas esse omnino in paramentis nigris ; adeo ut violacea adhiberi nequeant, nisi in casu quo die 2. Novembris Sanctissimae Eucharistiae Sacramentum publicae Fidelium adorationi sit expositum pro solenni Oratione Quadraginta Horarum prout cautum est in Decreto Sacrae hujus Congregationis diei 16. Septembris anni 1801. Et ita decreverunt, ac ubique locorum si Sanctissimo Domino Nostro placuerit, servari mandarunt die 27. Junii 1868.*

Facta autem per me Secretarium Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. relatione, Sanctitas Sua Decretum Sacrae Congregationis approbavit et confirmavit die 28. Julii anni ejusdem.

C. Episcopus Portuen. et S. Rufinae Card. PATRIZI S. R. C.
Praefectus

DOMINICUS BARTOLINI S. R. C. Secretarius.

Loco  Sigilli

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.

An Illustrated History of Ireland, etc., by a member of the Poor Clares' Convent, Kenmare: second edition, 1868.

We sincerely congratulate the gifted author of the *Illustrated History of Ireland* on the unparalleled success which has attended her efforts to popularize the history of our country. The first edition was exhausted in a few months, and now a cheaper and much enlarged issue is welcomed with merited applause both in this kingdom and in America. We hope another time to treat at greater length of this work and its many peculiar merits; our present space only allows us to say that we recommend it most earnestly to all our readers. It is a book which should be found in every Catholic family, and it is undoubtedly the best manual of Irish history that has ever been presented to the English-speaking public.

II.

Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, by Myles O'Reilly, M.P. London, 1868.

The early ages of Irish history present the names of but few of our countrymen who attained the martyr's crown. We find many who were famed for their sanctity and penitential deeds, many too who won the palm of virginity, or who as apostles bore the light of Christian truth to pagan nations, but the white-robed army of martyrs had but few representatives in our calendar. The sixteenth and succeeding centuries claimed as their privilege to cement the walls of our time-honoured Church with the blood of countless martyrs. Mr. O'Reilly, whilst ever at his post to render important services to our country in parliament, wished also to share with the public his rich stores of literary research. In the above work he has with great care collected the names of those who laid down their lives for the faith during the so-called Reformation era, and he merits every commendation for presenting in a free and eloquent translation, the authentic records of their sufferings. The following extract will suffice as a specimen of the style of his valuable work:

“The sixteenth century saw in Ireland the commencement of a persecution, which, gradually increasing in intensity, culminated in the middle of the seventeenth in the most exterminating attack ever

endured by a Christian Church. The fanatical followers of Mahomet, in the seventh century, propagated their faith by the sword ; but the hordes of Cromwell abandoned the attempt to make the Irish converts, and turned all their energies to blotting out Catholicity in Ireland by the destruction of the Irish race : the Irish were recognized as ineradicably Catholic, and were slain or banished to wildernes ses where it was believed they must become extinct. Whilst this persecution was one mainly and essentially of Catholicity, it was embittered and prolonged by every other element which could exacerbate and increase its ferocity ; the differences of race, of conquest, of government, all added their elements of bitterness to intensify and prolong the strife.

"England had conquered Ireland, but never absorbed its identity in her own, and, although she nominally ruled it, her rule up to 1600 was far from being consolidated. England became Protestant, whilst Ireland remained Catholic, and hence the persecution of the believers in one faith by the adherents of another, it was also (as was the case in the Netherlands) the persecution of the conquered by the conquering race, of the old government by the new, of the possessors of the land of the country with those who sought to confiscate it for their own advantage. How infinitely this has tended, for three hundred years, to prevent all impartial and good government in Ireland, is patent to all. One incidental good, however, resulted from it ; the fire of persecution surely but slowly fused into a common nationality all Irish Catholics of the various races which had so long remained separated. Norman and Celt, Palesman and 'mere Irish', forgot their differences in their common Catholicity ; the laws which had sought to exclude men of Irish descent from certain posts in the Church became obsolete when the honours of the Church were the passport to martyrdom ; and so also the dislike of the Irish outside the pale to seeing bishops of English descent appointed to sees in their country gradually faded away before the heat of a common persecution. Dr. MacMahon, a pure Irishman, became Archbishop of Dublin, a see which had been occupied uninterruptedly by Englishmen since the time of St. Laurence O'Toole ; the see of Tuam was filled by Archbishops Bodkin and Skerrett ; and the sainted Oliver Plunket, the 'Palesman', was welcomed enthusiastically by the Irish of Armagh. Out of the furnace of persecution there arose a new nationality for Ireland, composed of Irish Catholics ; whether of Irish, of English, or of Scotch descent, it has continued to our day, and we may hope will endure to the end. And it is a nationality of which we may well be proud, and which may console us for the sad deficiencies of our secular history.

"The natural development of political society in Ireland was arrested at the end of the twelfth century by the English invasion, ere the country had been consolidated under one government, and for some four hundred years the English did not succeed in reducing the whole island under one rule ; thus, since 1200, Ireland, as a whole, has never had a national government or national life ; and,

since 1500, even the local Irish governments, or rules of the great chiefs, had disappeared. Thus we may say that since 1200 we have no great consecutive national political history or national government, to the gradual development of which we can look back with pride and content; but, on the other hand, we can trace with unadloyed satisfaction the history of our Church alike in tempest and in calm—her struggles in the dark and stormy ages of persecution, and her renewed youth and vigour in the serener atmosphere of our own days. Hence it is, I confess, that the history of religion in Ireland has always had peculiar charms for me; and although I have ever felt the deepest interest in the gallant, but gradually less and less successful, struggles for independence of my own race, I have dwelt with still deeper interest on the religious history of the same race, a history of progress and development alike in prosperity and in adversity, a history which links the past with the present and the future—a past to which we can revert with well-grounded pride, a present in which we can recognize with gratitude the fruit of the struggles and sufferings of our forefathers, whose example we are called on to imitate, a future to which we may look forward with humble but well-grounded hope".

END OF VOL. IV.

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